[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

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[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

[For information on the Yahgan yékamuš or medicine-man, see category 116, pages 1297-1367.]

1: Gusinde 5366 Yahgan 5365

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

[For information on the *Kina* or youth initiation ceremony, see category III., pages 439-812.]

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[Information on the Kina or men's society initiation ceremony will be found in category 116, pages 1202-1297.]

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OOO The Yahgan; the Life and Thought of the Water Nomads of Cape Horn

[Die Yamana; vom Leben und Denken der Wassernomaden am Kap Hoorn]

by Martin Gusinde

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Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

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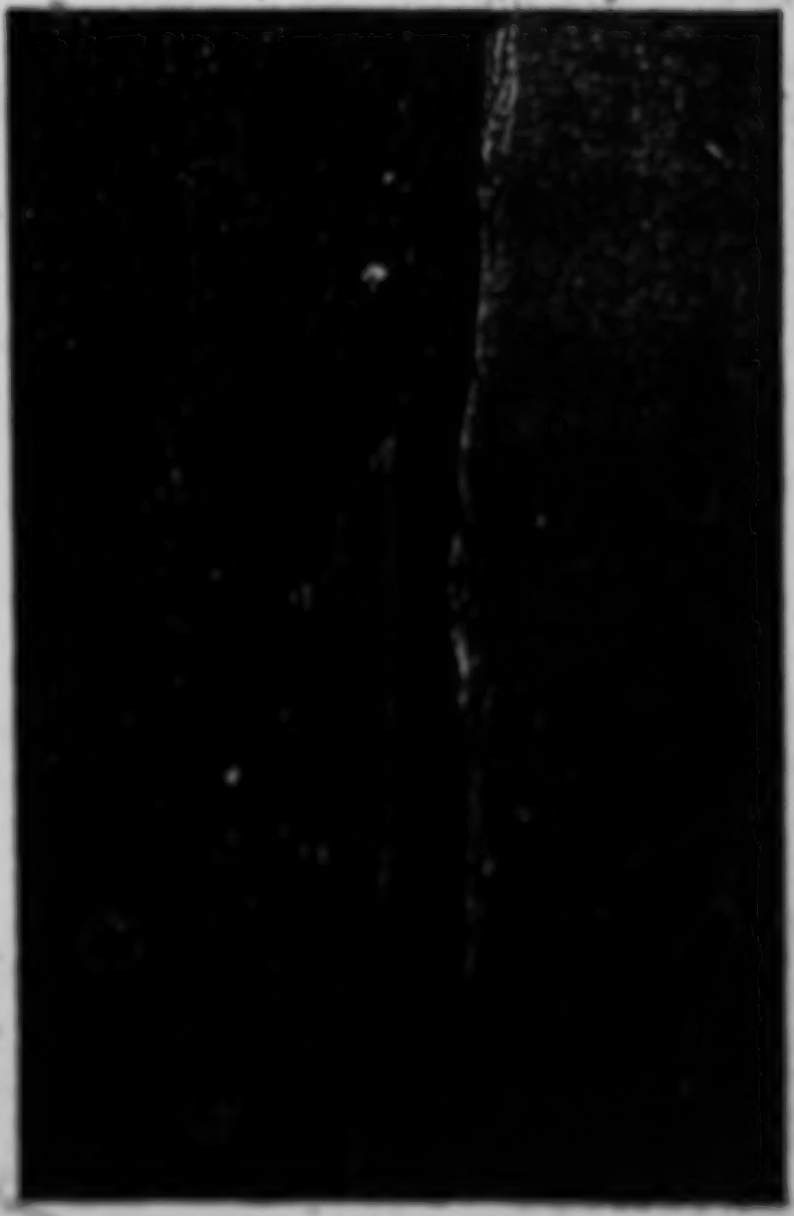

Part 6

Economic Life

(1) The home of the Tenaxa /Tolgan/ is that vast mass of rock-crowding farther two Antarctic ocean like irregular fragments of land broken off from the solid bulk of the South American continent. It is swept by raging storms. Frost-crested waves beat against its rocky shores. The rainless brine eats into its rocks. Heavy dewless and dense snowstorms seldom permit the golden light of the sun to break through, and the entire landscape is wrapped in a weird gloom. The temperature of the air is kept low by the cold ocean current from the south. The large expanse of ocean forms abundant rainfall, and a disagreeable dampness soaks everything. Heavy frosts and extreme drops in temperature are, so far as known, almost entirely absent because of the moderating ocean, but the moisture-laden air and the dripping dampness everywhere have a most unfavorable effect on plants, land animals, and human beings that cold would have (p. 11 /annotations/). Only a few hardy specimens of flora (p. 18 /annotations/) and fauna (p. 20 /annotations/) can flourish. For the human beings destined to live in this desolate region, narrow limits have been set for their demands on life and for the development of material possessions.

(2) Actually, the Tenaxa have not mainly adapted themselves to the natural conditions of their homeland to the extent they were forced to do so, overrating their environment, they have learned to themselves a dignified human existence of the most modest kind. Specifically, they have arranged their affairs so advantageously that, under the given conditions, another primitive people could scarcely improve anything essential. Creative intelligence and long experience have taught them to make their very meagre mineral resources reap them. Their extremely limited material possessions relieve them of all cares with regard to daily necessities and permit them to enjoy life. Almost everything the Tenaxa calls his own is very functional. In his various arrangements he is far from having achieved the perfection and artistic accomplishments manifested by the people on the opposite side of the globe in the Arctic region. The things that hinder and impede him are almost completely beyond his influence.

§3 /All/ natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Tatsans. This is equally true of the neighboring Sulk'sans /Cha/ (Vol. I, 183). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nomadic way of life. They practice the occupation of a people at home on the water and along the shore. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The outlying of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Tatsans. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Tatsans. The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives [illegible] only exclusively on a meat diet.

§23 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the huts furnish the raw materials for their property to goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but ensure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being succumbs at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

§24 Preparedness for unforeseen circumstances precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A loose, carelessly constructed hut [illegible] for a night or for a few days.

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serves as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, and household furnishings could scarcely be scantier or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /367/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 214 /untranslated/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unprepossessing picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 214 /untranslated/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the undiminished continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

A. The Dwelling

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342 The dwelling arrangements form a considerable part of the material culture of the Yamana people and are in perfect accord with their roving, hunting life. The dwelling need offer only transitory shelter, for a single night or for a few days. If, for good reasons, it is advisable to remain longer at the same place, the ordinary light, loose construction is made a little more solid, but ordinarily a weak frame suffices. According to the site, there are two types of huts: the dome-shaped and the cone-shaped (1). Generally it is /368/

1. According to Despard (b) :680, the huts vary with the season. There are "two kinds -- the ashallee, or summer house; and the uccr, or winter house" /cited in English/. The former is supposed to be built with a few poles; "the uccr is more carefully prepared and much larger" /cited in English/. This assertion is inaccurate, for the huts have the same form in summer as in winter. Later Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869) also distinguished "the winter wigwam" from a "summer wigwam" /cited in English/.

[36] inhabited by a single family (2). A permanent assemblage of many

2. Lovisato (b) :132 distinguishes three forms of huts, according to use and purpose. Apparently he misinterpreted native words and took this division from a long description by Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869).

families, such as a village settlement, would be totally untenable. All this likewise contributes to the unequivocal characterization of the Yamana dwelling as extremely humble.

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362 511 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their paltry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for coziness or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, he dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

484 511 361 Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest, or finds mussel banks where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /369/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

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because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

361 Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they stay there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

342 361 Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in construction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

361 /369 cont./
362 he wants to steer in the direction of a food supply; where /370/ and when something falls into his hands he will stop and land. Accordingly, the landing place determines whether the family will erect only a small protective roof or a cone-shaped hut or the somewhat more elaborate construction of a dome-shaped dwelling. For the latter many long flexible green saplings and thick foliage are needed; for the second type, several short poles suffice; for the first, the few hides which everyone carries along in his canoe are adequate. Whatever external circumstances present, whatever the landing place offers, what at the moment seems most suitable, that is what the Indian *chooses and decides to do. Plans far in advance would prove* not only impractical for him, but usually also impossible to carry out, and therefore he does not even consider them. As though by way of compensation, however, he has a ready mental agility for making sudden resolves, and this helps him in every situation to make an instantaneous decision.

The greatest contrast to permanent settlements is the very temporary shelter which a sudden impending need teaches him to erect very quickly. Whatever the Indian happens to find, he hurriedly collects and uses to help himself as best he can. One cannot call such provisional contrivances dwellings, since they are meant only to offer cover for brief hours, for example, during a storm or rain, during sunshine, or because of an unconquerable crosscurrent. They are erected in a few minutes and are always arranged according to the local condition (4).

> 4. It is only with reference to this that the following words are valid: "The Fuegians have several kinds of huts; they vary their constructions according to the nature of the country they are in and according to the length of time they must stay there" /translated from French/ (La Nature: 274).

342 372 Often they crawl under an overhanging rock, into a shallow depression in a rock, or into a flat cave-shaped dip in the ground, using dense brush or coverings of pieces of leather to keep out pouring rain or a sweeping wind. Mostly they are content to use slight, effortless movements of the hands which suffice to keep the fire glowing steadily

/370 cont./
342 or to start a big flame. A Yamana family would scarcely ever
372 enter deeper rock declivities and actual caves, of which there are few, because they would not feel comfortable there and because the amount of smoke that would develop from the indispensable fire would drive them out again (5).

5. A few suitable rock formations and caves serve merely as cover which our Indians seek out in order to be barely sheltered for a few hours against sudden storms. In this sense Hyades (f): 558 is correct when he says: "They also settle under an overhanging rock in some easily accessible cave; for them the essential thing is to be able to build their fire" /Ed., translated from French/.

342 Actual wind screens, such as are indispensable to the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), are used as seldom as cave dwellings. /371/ It is true that for brief, forced encampments or for an urgent rest stop a simple protective roof is erected from rather large boughs covered with thick foliage, the free ends of which come together at the top, or they use a few poles and place pieces of leather on them to form a sheltering wall, or finally, they make a rude shelter of brushwood stuck in the ground as close together as possible. In all this, however, they do not follow a unified, invariable plan, but in each case choose what is possible and functional, depending on whether the sun is shining or whether they must mitigate the annoyance of bad weather, whether there is plenty of foliage at hand or nothing but a field of stone. Such a casual and transient shelter is called astêla. When the family travels on, they naturally abandon this construction without further thought to the destructive forces of nature and thus give up their right of ownership to it (6). I saw the three basic types

[423] 6. Rau (in Outes [g]:57) is the only one who holds the mistaken view that "the huts do not belong to the persons who built them, but rather are common property" /translated from

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/371 cont./

Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342 133 137 The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342 In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/372 cont./

372 many advantages over the cone-shaped one. The former is more tightly constructed; hence the warmth inside is evenly distributed up to the walls, and the moist air is dried. The good cover all around prevents the annoying penetration of rain and snow. The less intense wind here in the west is kept out by the covered side walls, thus permitting the fire to glow undisturbed and the smoke to be drawn off in a straight line overhead. The Indians know how to appreciate all these advantages of the dome-shaped hut, which to a foreigner appear negligible. The flexible, long, thin, somewhat irregular and bent trunks of the beech are very suitable for the framework of this type of hut. The cone-shaped hut requires straight, uniform trunks which in the west are seldom found in the required numbers in one spot. Thus, it is the environment that favors the construction of the dome-shaped hut.

In the east, on the other hand, there are far fewer protected spots on the edge of the water. Along the north shore of Beagle Channel eastward from Ushuaia, the coast, except for isolated crannies, lies exposed to every wind and storm from the south and southwest. This is even more true of the long south coast of Navarino Island and of the three islands in the eastern outlet of Beagle Channel. If the Indians were to erect the closed dome-shaped hut on the open, broad surface of the gently sloping shore, they would have to be prepared to have their handiwork blown down by a strong gust of wind. With a cone-shaped hut one need fear this fate only in the most severe storm and tornadoes. The loosely set rows of slender trunks permit the wind to pass through and do not by any means offer the broad striking surface of the dome-shaped hut. In the east the young beech trunks [137] show uniform growth. The flat ground provides the conditions for this; they shoot up more slowly and at the same time develop breadth. They stand about within easy access. They are excellently adapted for the cone-shaped hut because the heaviness of the small trunk alone contributes to the solidity of the entire structure. Since the smoke is constantly at the mercy of the wind and gusts which stir the air even inside the hut, there must always be a convenient escape for it; the cone-shaped hut affords this much better than the other type. When there are sunny days free of rain, which in the west are less frequent than here in the east, a woman pulls the pieces of leather off the frame with a simple movement of her hand, and the interior quickly dries in the convenient cross-ventilation. Adaptation to the conditions

/372 cont./

342 of the weather and the landscape is easily recognized in the cone-shaped hut.

As a matter of fact, the boundary for the two types of huts /373/ coincides with the boundary between the rainier western zone and the drier eastern area. This boundary is a somewhat wavy line from Punta Divide through Angostura Murray to Nassau Gulf. Accordingly, the eastern and central Yamana had the cone-shaped hut, while the Wollaston people and those in the south and west used the other type of hut. The eastern shore of Hardy Peninsula should be regarded as a sort of transition area, since, according to travel accounts (8),

8. See below the references to Fitz-Roy, Pickering, Mission Scientifique, Dabbene, and Lothrop.

both forms were found there. The partial adoption of the cone-shaped hut may have occurred there only since the introduction of the European iron ax, but this cannot be determined today.

It is remarkable that some of the earlier seafarers definitely observed the types of construction peculiar to the east and west. In Parker Snow (a) :I, 264, we read: "Their dwellings on the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego are the conical wigwam built from branches of trees over a hollowed space of ground. On the west part their habitations I believe are somewhat different" /cited in English/ (9).

9. In Volume I he uses as a frontispiece, "Woman of Fuegia and child." The two are standing in front of their pointed conical hut which is drawn in a stylized manner and is at least twice the height of the Indian woman. On the frontispiece of Volume II, "Fuegian and his food," we also see a pointed conical hut. Both pictures were made in Banner Cove on Pictón Island. Fitz-Roy:(a) in his frontispiece shows a Yapoo-Tekeenica man and in the background a family in front of their cone-shaped hut. This drawing was made in Portrait Cove in the eastern half of Beagle Channel.

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372 Colvocoresses:36, 38 expresses himself more specifically. The hut that he saw on the northeastern shore of Nueva Island "was constructed of logs, the lower ends of which were spread round so as to form nearly a perfect circle, while the upper ends leaned against each other" /cited in English/. This refers unequivocally to the conical shape. In Orange Bay he encountered the other type of hut: "it was built of boughs, leaves, and earth; in shape it resembled a bee-hive, and was impervious to wind and snow" /cited in English/. He even accounts for the advantages of the latter type of construction as against the former. Later Hyades (f) :556 referred to both types of huts; the one he compares "to a haycock, in form and in size ... except that the hut is often more conical than a haycock" /translated from French/. Even in the first report about the Fuegians there is a brief reference to their dwellings. Decker (in Brosse-Adelung:275) says of those he observed on the southern shore of Navarino Island (probably in Bahía Windhond) that they "are made of trees, round at the bottom, and, like the tents, end almost in a point at the top where there is a small opening to let the smoke out" (10). According to the few accounts given here, the eastern Yamana built cone-shape dwellings exclusively.

10. His comparison, "like the tents," as well as his drawing of three huts in the picture of that landing place, leaves no room for doubt that he meant the conical hut (cf. Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/).

/374/ We have comments no less definite on the shape of the huts in the west. From an early time George Forster (b) :243 reports on the inhabitants of Christmas Sound: "They live under a few dried branches tied together, which constitute the skeleton of a low, round, open hut; over this is placed some brush and a few bundles of dry grass, and here and there the gaps are covered with a seal skin." A half a century later Pickering:18 describes a hut in Orange Bay as follows: "In shape it was hemispherical, having the apex unfinished for the passage of smoke: and it seemed to be the work of but a few hours with the unassisted hands" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Fitz-Roy, a few years earlier, on April 9, 1830, came across another type of hut in the same bay: "We afterwards found that these Yapoos

/374 cont./

342 built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes, [western Yamana and Halakwulup /Alacaluf/], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" /cited in English/ (King:428). Later, (a) :140, he expresses himself even more exactly: "A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner" /cited in English/ (11). The huts of the others,

11. His error may have arisen from the fact that he carried on his observations chiefly in the western part of Cape Horn and on the western Patagonian archipelago, where we find only the dome-shaped hut.

namely, the western tribal groups, "are shaped like bee-hives" /cited in English/. Hence, the eastern shore of the Hardy Peninsula must be regarded as the region where the two forms of huts mingled. Aside from that, the west was acquainted only with the dome-shaped huts (12).

12. More recently, Lothrop (b) :128 agrees with this geographical distribution.

[177] The advance of Europeans has increasingly lessened the isolation of the individual ethnic groups from one another, and since then the peoples of the west and east have also crossed the boundary between the zones of the types of huts. During their brief visit in strange regions, however, they conveniently retained those forms to which they had been accustomed from olden times (13). Thus, the Mission

13. A certain Fell (VP:VI, 180; 1859) reports that in the Wulaia region "all the wigwams here are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people" /cited in English/. He does not make clear, however, whether he means the conical or round huts.

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342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [q] :343). Modern times have brought about a [177 still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron 412] ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /375/ This explains why both types of huts

14. Lothrop (b):128 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1902, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last 342 Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where 177 European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (e):157 (and in MM:XVIII, 189; 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

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opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (a):163, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b):133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron ax introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy posts required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron ax quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut mërana completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, gūlĕkĕr[17], remained as a dwelling.

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If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron ax among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

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In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a looser or more stable construction, depending on whether

/375 cont./

342 they were planning to stay in one spot briefly or for a longer time. For the more solid construction, heavier trunks were necessary, which took more time and labor to assemble. In the last few decades every man has had an iron ax, and with this he fells trunks even as thick as an arm without particular effort. For lighter construction a few /376/ sticks suffice, and these are usually lying around campsites that are much frequented. In the building of his hut the Yamana again proves to be a person who makes himself wholly dependent on given circumstances at any particular moment. He shows his clear grasp of the state of affairs, from which he makes an instantaneous decision.

If the completely open, unprotected campsite, the inclemency of the weather, or his desire to remain for several days demands it, he aims at the outset for a more stable construction that will offer greater protection. He gathers together ten to 20 poles as thick as an arm, sometimes also thicker posts two meters high, and places them on the flat ground, inclining them toward the center. Their own weight causes them to lean firmly against one another, and they are not bound together. The interstices are filled with lumps of earth, roots and turf, and balls of dried algae and tree lichen, which are covered with leafy twigs and short pieces of bark. Larger areas are also covered with dried seal skins which must be tied together with tendons or thin, narrow leather straps because gentle air currents loosen them and they are pulled down by their own weight. Initially the ground is cleared of tossed-up algae, rotten wood, and fresh bunches of grass, and a layer of earth several centimeters deep is scraped aside. Thus the entire inner surface is a little lower than the surroundings (18).

> 18. Sometimes a good deal of earth was dug out of the interior of the hut. Fell entered a hut in the Wulaia region. "The so-called floor is about three feet beneath the surface of the ground, so that when the inmates enter, they have to go as if under ground" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 180; 1859).

There is little variation in the size of this construction. Usually the number of inmates is the determining factor. The vertical

/376 cont./

342 dimension up to the peak is about 1.80 meters; the diameter of the approximately circular floor plan is about 3.30 meters; the straight-line width of the entrance, measured on the floor, is 0.90; and the length of the main post and of those flanking the entrance is two meters or more (19). The entrance is closed off with a piece of leather

19. Concerning the measurements of the conical hut, Hyades (q):343 says that "they scarcely exceed two meters in height at the highest points, and their diameter at the base varies from three and a half to five meters" /translated from French/. At variance with these proportions, Hyades (f):556 mentions incredibly large measurements.

or a few sticks are placed against it (20). This hut defies even quite

20. This type of hut was described in detail by Bridges (MM:III, 118; 1869), Hyades (q):342, and Lothrop (b):128.

strong winds (21).

21. A comparison of the cone-shaped hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 194) with the Yamana type of dwelling shows many points of agreement, but also significant differences.

A somewhat lighter construction of the same shape is also built. About 12 smooth, straight poles as thick as a /377/ chair leg and up to 1.90 meters long are placed upright on the ground in a circle with their free ends leaning against each other. The diameter of the groundplan scarcely ever exceeds 2.90 meters. Over this completely loose framework of straight sticks, rather large dried seal skins are spread and tied together with short, narrow straps. If the required sticks are lying about the campsite from a previous time, the dwelling is ready in a few minutes. If, however, the man has an iron ax handy, he can make it in almost as short a time. Since this structure, as such, is not very firm, it can be built only in protected spots or when there is no wind. A

/377 cont./

342 strong gust of wind makes it collapse immediately.

From the start the builder intends this hut to serve only as a transitory makeshift to shelter his family while they rest for a few hours or for a single night. Afterwards it is a matter of minutes to take down and fold the pieces of leather. The family is again ready to travel on.

The loose cone of smooth sticks is left standing. Soon a gust of wind scatters it, and a family landing at the same place later on can easily erect a protective dwelling (22). One frequently comes

> 22. Fitz-Roy (a):215 confirmed the fact that the sticks of a hut framework are never purposely destroyed: "The natives allow them to decay naturally, but never wilfully destroy them" /cited in English/.

across an abandoned encampment, and there are usually enough dry sticks lying around for the loose construction of a hut. Familiar places or favorable hunting areas are visited repeatedly by different families for varying periods of time.

Both of the cone-shaped huts we have just described have a single entrance which is regularly placed away from the wind (23).

> 23. "Branches or tree trunks often restrict the opening where one enters. This opening is, in general, on the side opposite the wind" /translated from French/ (Hyades [1]:316).

The more solid construction has a larger interior than the one which consists of loose sticks. In the latter, the surface of the ground inside is not scraped to form a depression, but instead a low ring-shaped wall, consisting of refuse from meals, is gradually formed on the outside, which makes it difficult for cold currents of air to enter. The peak of the conical framework is not covered, and the rising smoke escapes through it. The natives know how to place and distribute the pieces of skin on the outside so advantageously that a slight draft lets the smoke escape in a straight line. Rain and snow can very easily enter, but this apparently does not annoy the inmates.

347 A trodden path leads from the entrance of the hut to the place where

/377 cont./

487 water is obtained and to the canoe which has been drawn up on the beach where it remains until the journey is resumed.

/378/ β. The Dome-shaped Hut

342 In the western and southwestern part of Tamana territory, including the Wollaston group, only the dome-shaped hut, milrana, milranbir, was known. In contrast to the cone-shaped hut, it shows adaptation to the nature of the region.

A somewhat flattened hemispherical form predominates. For a larger number of occupants it is stretched lengthwise, so that the groundplan is a drawn-out oval. The poles used for the framework determine this form of the hut. The slender and flexible, thin, [157] long trunks of young beeches are chosen. It is well known that these trees do not grow well in the shade of the forest and shoot up quickly, developing a short root system that lies entirely on the surface. They can be pulled up without effort, and with only the slightest exertion the sparse tangled roots and the scanty crown of leaves can be broken off. The result is an almost smooth pole that is as flexible as a twig and that hardly varies in thickness along its entire length.

The framework made from such poles, if it is to have the desired stability, necessarily is a kind of basketwork. First a few larger poles are driven into the ground at wide intervals on the line indicating the groundplan. These include the two poles that are to flank the entrance. The natives try to achieve the dome shape from the beginning by bending and interwining the poles, without regard to the direction or position of the poles relative to each other or to the points where they will later be fastened together. This initial framework is gradually filled out and reinforced with additional, supplementary poles that are inserted between the first ones. Most of them are so long that they reach far beyond the height of the dome down to the opposite side (34). This gives the framework as a

34. According to an often repeated, but incorrect account, the individual poles are said to meet at the top. Hyades (Q) :342 also speaks inaccurately of "branches stuck in the ground and coming

/378 cont./

382 together at the top" /translated from French/.

while an advantageous elastic tension. In the places where the individual poles cross, they are held together by a single loop made with the stems of Mantjipapermum rubus and young shoots of Nuilaelagus or Mayremus. These are sufficiently tough, and they are as flexible as thick packing cord. This framework might be compared with a coarsely and untidily plaited basket.

[37] On the outside, about halfway up the framework, lumps of earth, balls of moss, and pieces of turf are built up all around, like masonry, and this keeps out the wind. Rather large, leafy twigs are placed on the upper half and adequately fastened by being pushed under and lapped over. Thick bunches of grass are also spread out all the way around, and lumps of earth are placed over these intervals to make a firm layer. Not /378/ uncommonly large pieces of leather are stretched over all of this and tied securely at the edges. Their weight strengthens the loose cohesion of the structure (35).

> 35. The leather covering stretched over the framework is not a single piece. It would be, as Lenhoop (by :118 admits, "a heavy and cumbersome object to handle" /cited in English/. Large, individual skins prove to be more manageable. They are placed side by side in such a way that their edges overlap. One cannot compare these with the large hut covering used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 180), which is a single piece made of many individual guanaco skins, thoroughly scraped on both sides. They are, to begin with, considerably lighter and incomparably more flexible than the thick, heavy sami skins.

Neither headwood nor pieces of leather are placed on the peak, hence, the smoke of the hut fire has a free outlet. At the same time, there is no danger of the hut itself catching fire.

With this type of design, the groundplan can be extended to any length if two to four families build a communal dwelling or

392 /FIN cont./
of many persons over the Igloo lot. Likewise, the covering and layers of earth, brushwood, or pieces of leather can be increased to obtain greater protection against strong winds, increasing cold, and heavy rain. Whenever the height of such a hut, the peak of the dome is never higher than 1.80 meters. In general the height of a single-family hut is around 1.72 meters, the width fluctuates between 2.60 meters and 3.10 meters. This low entrance permits only one person at a time to slide through sideways. When the hut is unusually elongated, an entrance is made on each of the two narrow sides; for a one-family hut, of course, the single entrance suffices (36).

36. The form and characteristics of Eskimo dwellings have been more or less extensively described by Boas (c) .227 and (d) .027, Deichmann (b) .170, Despard (b) .600, Hawkes (g) .363, I Vilhjalmsson-43, Ludwig (b) .127, Spegazzini (a) .178, and others. Cooper-330 has thought together the more important accounts.

8. The Hut as a Dwelling

393 394 Within the context on the dome-shaped hut affords the Fenglen aeroplanes complete comfort and convenience. It is for more a protection against the worst buildings of the weather and against the rancor of the night. A European living on aeroplanes observes can best find what discussion and annoyances are connected with living in these aeroplanes, your dwellings (37). In the opinion

37. We must agree fully with the opinion of Levinson (b) .230: "How very little protection this province of a dwelling affords the people, who in general are completely naked, resistance to all kinds of privation, and engaged in a continuous struggle to procure the necessities for their daily sustenance" /translated from Italian/.

(778 cont.)

of the natives, however, this building does not by any means compare with the unbearable misery that would result from a sojourn under the open sky. Thus, whenever external circumstances demand it, the natives build dark huts, even during the summer (III) years, making a willow mare recess and doubles as a dome-shaped dwelling or crudely permitting a light covering with the central shape.

A family does not always have a choice of location. A sudden change in the weather or an emotion will force them to make for there without delay. In this case they must adjust themselves to the conditions provided by nature, perhaps even make do with a hasty shelter in a cliff. If they are not under pressure, they make a free selection according to the local weather conditions and the characteristics of the landscape (16). In general, however, everyone

> 16. When the Indian has a choice, he selects a sheltered spot for his hut. This is so generally true that Iowa (Mott 1910), Lisa, 1814) believed he could go by it. "Generally the presence of wigwams indicates a locality sheltered from the coldest and the most inclement winds" (cited in English).

says on the dry ground as close as possible to the higher water level. Their own comfort makes this strongly advisable, for all the warmth that a family carries along with them are dragged from the center to the hut. Packing and unpacking would be considerably more burdensome if the dwelling were far from the landing place. If they can-not build a hut for themselves, they seek caves and protection behind mounds of earth and low projecting rocks, on the foot of high rock walls, and on the edge of a forest. A hut is never placed deep in the forest because it is too damp there, but they like to stay under the branches when, which went off rain and mandible. If they are planning to remain only one night at a given location, they take a look at the weather to see if it will permit them to camp in a less protected spot. If not, or if they do not expect to travel on for a few days, a certain amount of comfort is forfeited. This explains why one finds yet so many old campsites along the river, constructed more as to withstand place-to-further back. As obvious preference is

/GHS cont./

gives to quiet days and a condition made safe by friends lying in front of it. Here, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (28) because the huts themselves are only half

> 28. In this connection Steve (d) .107 writes: "Their miserable huts are usually placed on the lower side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

covered. These statements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Yamana region one finds traces of former occupation at every turn.

A family is no more independent in choosing the length of time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite. Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /101/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the storm-stirring disturbances of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their hut may be only boggy clods of earth or waterlogged ground (29) which they can escape only when the weather is

> 29. Hyades (f) .107 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely covers a little granite on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

quiet again. Thus, the seriousness of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The noble dwelling, however, erected for a sojourn of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/381 cont./

352 The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of meat, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are shoved between the poles of the framework. There is no floor 342 built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is the dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, if too much water comes 354 in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a broad, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely distressing. In such cases the entrance is blocked with tree trunks or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /382/ from entering (31).

31. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or hail follows the same path, and the Fuegians are little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [1] :557).

/382 cont./

354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [137] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bed-cover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :589 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

573 /382 cont./
of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

513 /383 cont./
147 commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

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147 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of fainitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/384 cont./

huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire. Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hayades's (f) :557 statement of his experience

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/385 cont./
in this respect: "Thanks to the constant ventilation of the hut, the air in it remains pure in spite of the number of its occupants" /translated from French/.

cover and drag a few leather pieces out into the open -- proof that these people feel the need of an airing -- but this does not help much either (40).

40. Hyades (q) :344 says: "Some filth accumulates in the huts; the urine of the little children penetrates the ground, which is also impregnated with the refuse from eating, although the natives are in the habit of throwing outside the remains of what they have eaten, such as shells, the bones of fish and birds, etc." /translated from French/.

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A family finally remedies the situation by building a new hut a short distance away, if it is advisable to remain at the same place for a longer period of time because of an abundant supply of meat, for example, a stranded whale. Even though the site for the new hut is less advantageous -- because the ground is very wet or because storms can more easily beat down on it -- nevertheless, the occupants find it intolerable to remain longer at the previous site. /386/ "The sole reason is that the first hut is no longer as healthy as it was when they first lived in it" /translated from French/, so they say (Hyades [q] :344).

A change of dwelling is often necessary after about two weeks. Usually the Indians build an entirely new structure, but sometimes they use the frame poles of the previous one if these are hard to secure in any other way (41). The abandoned hut

41. Hyades (f) :558 observed, for example, that the Indians "tore down their dwelling in order to use the same material to build others not very far away" /translated from French/.

/386 cont./
meanwhile airs out thoroughly, is completely cleansed by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as áyusuēkēr, was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this was either the prophetic warning of a few yēkamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/387 cont./

342 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

> 42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [373] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

> 43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

573 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long [Daly] stems of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

372 342 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass [513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 362 221 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter. Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living [517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hāmus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 593 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

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342 593 855 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children may by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 857 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called <u>ákeli</u>. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (Q):342 and Bridges (A) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 511 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge, no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/389 cont./

342 611 devastating storm, they are content and uncomplaining, provided they are squatting beside their fire, to which they give all their attention. That is why they put something in front of the first entrance and open another one if the wind changes direction. To prevent the wind from coming through the walls, they pull larger pieces of leather over them, now here, now there, stuff up open places, and secure loose parts. If a big blast of wind tears down the whole hut, the people patiently await the end of the storm without any kind of cover, protected only a little by their meager clothing, provided their fire goes on after a fashion. The European has the impression, especially after having seen the living arrangements of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198) that the Yamana regards his hut more as a protection for his fire than for his own body.

The dwelling itself is neither cozy nor comfortable. As regards the desire of the members of the family to be peacefully together, they are, in any case, with each other on the trips in the open canoe. That is why they do not miss the hut during the day if the weather is reasonably quiet, and for the night they are content with the meagerness of their simple little hut (45). Their

45. The discomfort of the meager living arrangements was clearly described by Spegazzini (a) :171 from his own experience.

restless, wandering life forces them to renounce the amenities of more stable, secure housing (46).

46. Bove (c) :127 expresses himself in a similar fashion: "The poverty of their huts must be attributed to the nomadic life they are forced to lead" /translated from Spanish/.

342 Today throughout Yamana territory we find only one form of hut, namely, the loose cone-shaped type. It is only for the secret initiation ceremonies that the elongated dome-shaped hut is built. Their contemporary hut does not even afford the protection

/389 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /390/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laxness and dilatory

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47. Lothrop (b) :128 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Mejillones (48).

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48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 357 /untranslated/). According to Lothrop (b) :129, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/390 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many [571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the ceremony and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
517 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

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572 517 bury making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the hut becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intercedes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (48). The way they eat and their

48. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /365/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work camps of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

/Vol. cont./

344 he does not quickly get away. The vicinity of a stranded whale is like a large, boggy slough of blubber, and all around the dwellings pieces of meat and fat are decomposing; an abundant superfluity leads to carelessness in utilization. In order to be able to endure such conditions for any length of time, one has to be a Yamana. These conditions seldom occur, however, and when they do, they are welcomed by our Indians because of their obvious important advantages and the considerable relief they bring. Meanwhile the Indians gladly do without any kind of comfort and cleanliness.

5. The Fire

342 It is utterly superfluous to demonstrate in detail the vital importance of fire in the household, in economic activity, and in the very existence of the southernmost Fuegians. Without fire they could not exist in their damp, cold homeland, and what I observed among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 196) holds true for them also, namely, that fire is more indispensable than any kind of protective dwelling. Hyades (4) .365 writes about this necessity as follows: "Because of the rigors of the climate and the absence of clothing, the Fuegians have a passion for fire" /translated from French/. Hence it is nowhere absent. Fitz-Roy (1):187 has observed: "Fire is always kept alive by these savages wherever they go, either in their canoes, in their wigwams, or even in their hand, by a piece of burning wood, but they are at no loss to rekindle it, should any accident happen" /cited in English/.

They guard the fire, _passim_, with special zeal, in the hut and in the canoe, to make sure that it never goes out. Even so, a family loses it when the swift onslaught of a heavy downpour with a sudden wind damages the dwelling (5). Their method of

> 5. Hyades (4) .359 is entirely correct in his judgment. "The fire is never extinguished, except by accident" /translated from French/.

fighting the fire resembles that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), namely, by striking the fire, _[illegible]_, against iron pyrites or, more recently, against a big nail. Hyades (4) .361 has already observed:

/302 cont./

"They rub iron pyrites with flint and catch the sparks in a dry, moss-like substance." Usually the grain of pyrite is somewhat larger than the flint, and the two together are regarded as a loving couple, mbidan; hence, the former is the male, we, while the latter is the female, kipa (52). The spark is caught in a loose

52. Speaking of the flint, Hyades (c) :304 and (d) :309 erroneously maintain that "the Fuegians usually obtain fire by striking two of these stones, unequal in size, against each other" /translated from French/. We read the same thing in Bridges (i):10 and in Spegazzini (x):165. Dabbene (h):194 writes: "Fire is obtained by striking two pieces of stone, which contain iron pyrites, against one another" /translated from Spanish/. This procedure would not bring results, as everyone knows. Compare Cojazi: 238.

bundle of down, tindan. They /302/ prefer to use a puffball as tinder, kitan, the dry spores of which very easily begin to smolder (53). They also use fitik, fine shavings of barberry stems.

53. "The tinder used is the inner down of birds, well dried: very fine dry moss, or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," according to Fitz-Roy (x) :187 /cited in English/.

By gently blowing, they get the smoldering parts to flare up, immediately add feathers or fine lichen, and finally twigs and branches. Before that they place the puffball on a small piece of leather or on gravel so that it does not become damp. The man bends over very low and holds the stones very close. Usually he must work for some time, because the objects are damp, because of the humidity in the air, or because the sparks simply will not catch.

In former times the adults, usually man and wife, carried a small leather pouch, asiku, in which the tinder and the raw

/360 cont./

JD objects for striking fire were carried to keep them dry, that they could manage anywhere. They protected the down and puff balls even more carefully by keeping them in the dry web of a large sea bird, although puffballs are protected against damp air as long as their outer skin does not burn. Everybody always has a number of dry puffballs on hand, which are gathered in the fall and carefully stored throughout the year. Pyrite is found in several places in the extensive Tamana territory, but lumps of flint are rare and are a popular object of trade. The flint most in demand, [D4] [illegible] (SD: [illegible]), was obtained in the Arimaroa Valley which lies between Uldunia and Lapatania (34). Only small amounts were

34. Compare Letlong (5) 130. Thomas Bridges also once looked for it, in April, 1884, accompanied by several Tamana. He reports: "We ascended the large valley called Arieria, celebrated for its flint, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Tagha land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (Mid.XVII, 185: 1884) /cited in English/. Earlier, in June, 1883, this missionary wrote, (Mid. XVII, 138: 1883) that flint was to be found only on Clarence Island (cf. Dyndon [4] 38 and Vol. I, 187). It has been proved, however, that the Tamana found and used it also in the[illegible]pain of their territory. Finlay (x) 127 writes: "Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tehuenche country" /cited in English/. Certainly, these things were found there only sporadically.

[D5] found there, however. Hence the Tamana usually depend on barter for their flint which was found in Caribbean Channel on the north shore of the Brecknock Peninsula, outside Beagle Channel. This flint was very hard and brownish-black. To guard against

/000 wet./

XIa being G, a man would sometimes cut a groove in it, one which was fastened one end of a string of leather, the other end being tied to a small basket or some larger object.

Everyone is anxious to avoid the trouble of kindling a fresh fire. Before he does so himself, he looks around to see /000/ if he can obtain a glowing stick of wood from a near neighbor. This he fetches and uses to light his own fire.

XIb, XIc, XIe The comforting and indispensible element finds its next important use on the hot fire. It occupies the center of the stand as axial groundplan, but in certain combinations it extends lengthwise through the entire hut (pages IX and XI). When there is no ground in broken state on the ground of the hut, the fire is built on a fire fan woven or on a pile of several cones the size of a fan and many round shells (XI). After some time a broad bed of ashes

> XII. As Levisons (X) 000 paints out, in the middle of the hut there is "the hearth, made with a few pieces of stone, but especially with many round, small pebbles upon a bed of cowhide and longer sticks" /translated from Italian/.

prevents the fire from any dangers of the earth. The fire place itself is called ngăn. Only beech wood is used. Logs of the poppy tree (Papaver somni) cause a thick, stinging smoke and do not burn easily; hence, they are not used.

XIf Throughout the day the Indians like to keep bright flames alive. They place the middle part of rather thick logs and long sticks into the fire. When that is burned through, they move the two ends from the hearth gradually further into the blaze. Since these pieces are arranged one above the other, there is enough draft. If it fails, someone helps it along by lying flat on the ground and, with puffed cheeks, blowing into the embers, or he fans it vigorously for a few minutes with a piece of leather or a bird's wing. Thick logs burn poorly if they are not laid on this crossed circle and if one does not commonly push glowing pieces against them.

For the night the fire is arranged always reposing toward the center. This provides a longer heat of embers and gives the

/[illegible]/

323 occupants of the hut make room for their beds. At this time they do not wear hanging flames, but a ready glow that gives out an even heat and does not endanger either the hut or the sleepers. Elsewhere other manners is from going out before morning. The occupants lie down around the fire in no particular order, eager to enjoy its comfort. That is why there is restless movement in the night of sleeping human beings all night long, for each one turns and twists this way and that.

327 Despite their being accustomed to the unavoidable smoke, these Indians are not insensitive to it. Indeed they regard it as an annoyance and feel for the eyes (32). When they can find only

> 32. Hyades (1) 205, 206, admits that despite all coercion "Gold Kid does not have without giving off smoke, which is often quite thick and is very annoying to them, in spite of their being accustomed to it" /translated from French/. Fleu-Bury is absolutely right when speaking of their "smoke eyes, suffering from smoke," he says, "Gold eyelids are scarlet red and watery by the wood smoke in their wigwams" (King (11)) /Travel in English/.

damp wood to burn which unavoidably causes a great deal of stinging smoke. Hence /[illegible]/ the women carefully screen those parts of the dwelling that be to the wind to which the smoke would billow. Although the people much prefer to have the hut entrance open toward the beach to be able to watch their canoe and the flow of the water, they also ship plan so soon as the wind directs their spare fire. In the long, dome-shaped huts they have two entrances to begin with (p. 35), closing the one on the other alternately, on the protection of the fire dictates. In spite of the best possible screening of the framework, a great deal of cold air flows in on ground level, which annoys the occupants. Hence the entire front section of the interior is designed so much as to [illegible] (p. 35). This prevents the occupants from the penetrating air, while the spreading warmth of the fire, which can

/The rest/

[illegible] have quietly, in our law. Similar advantages are afforded by a wall of unused dwelling, which grows in rings to these places eleven year after year for the dwelling. Once it is superfluous to lower the ground level to the interior by excavating, because the outer wall rises above it in any case.

At times when a storm becomes particularly strong and the fire cannot be protected, the people are wrapped in a thick cloud of ashes and smoke within their hut. While this is going on, they lie flat on the ground and cover themselves with pieces of leather. Sometimes it is hours before they get up and shake off the layer of ashes from their bodies and belongings. Sometimes they must endure heavy showers of rain which make them tremble with cold. As soon as possible they again start a gaily blazing fire and move very close to it in order to get warm through and through after all their discomfort.

The Indians could not do without their fire in the canoe any more than in their hut, either by day or night, because on the water they are even more helplessly exposed to the hardships of the weather in their unfriendly homeland. They carry it with them everywhere and without exception. If heavy rain should extinguish it, they make straight for shore. The fire, narrowly confined, is laid in the middle section on a wide, partly wet layer of clumps of turf, gravel, and clods of earth (17), which prevent

17. On this subject Cieza (2) :32 says only: "The fire, especially in the canoes, is maintained on stones and earth" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (4) :364 gives more detailed statements.

a burn burning through. It is kept going with dust, thin pieces of wood, and they do not let high flames develop. They are constantly aware of the danger threatening the bark vessel from this fire. If the boat should rock badly, they extinguish the embers for safety's sake by pouring water from the sea over them. Even when the journey is smooth, they permit only a weak glow, and when someone wishes to warm himself, he moves closer to it. The boys and girls in any case crouch in the middle of the boat.

/395 cont./
372 505 They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently [857] at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children [857] carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

[412]

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

372 Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

372 To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy.
412 They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as lákа (Fig. 14), also lókka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lákes of the Selk'nam

/396 cont./

(Vol. I, 205). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreciate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/397 cont./

3B which they bring to the campsite. The women also take part if more wood is needed. Even the men help, but limit themselves to uprooting heavy trunks or breaking off thick branches and dragging them to the hut. Sometimes they climb a tree, which the women never do. The branches they toss down are carried to the hut by the other members of the family. Everyone works in one way or another for this vital fuel.

3B2 Now and then they even store wood, chiefly in order to have some dry quickly available. In the simple family hut they pile up as much of it as space permits near the fire or on either side of the entrance. Larger quantities are stored in the so-called winter hut (p. 33), as well as in the enlarged hut for the celebration of the *Kina* and the *Kina*. It helps a great deal if the wet wood is kept under cover for some time and touched by the heat of the fire. In the canoe they carry only a small amount, which is all the more carefully handled (p. 43). Whatever has been gathered together by the industry of the family is loosely leaned upright against the outside of the hut. The air outside and the slight flow of warm air from within combine to cause the moisture to drip off and gradually disappear. They never leave the gathered wood behind in the forest because it would not dry there. They would rather arrange it in a bundle and place it in an open spot where the sun and wind can get at it, if they cannot stack it beside the dwelling. Such piles of wood are easily identified as the property of a family, and other people do not touch them.

In the west it is incomparably more difficult to light the fire and keep it going, for the air is saturated with moisture and the ground is a lake. Laboriously they dry a few sticks beside the canoe fire during the trip, and upon landing, these make it possible to start the /398/ fire on the beach. They immediately place other logs near it, which are preheated before the hut for covering the new fire is completed. The latter is now sure to continue burning, and at the same time a bad smoke condition has been prevented. The Yamana know very well that the wood for the hut fire is better after it has remained exposed to the hot fire for an hour or so, or after the wind has swept through it on an open, exposed spot. Hence their uninterrupted efforts to have dry fire-wood.

/398 cont./

372 The vital importance of fire as such is increased still more
374 by its many uses. It is an unsurpassed protection chiefly against cold and dampness. What it means to these people who, day after day, almost stark naked, are exposed to rain and snow, fog and wind, salt water, and wet earth can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has personally experienced the comfort of the fire under those conditions. The fire, always available in the hut and in the canoe, thoroughly warms the parts of the body that are uncomfortable. In a few minutes the feeling of cold vanishes and the stiffness of the limbs disappears, delicate wisps of steam rise from the surface of the body which has been drenched with rain, and anyone lingering for a while at the fire is restored to life. A person who wishes to have its effect for a longer time makes a small fire beside his pallet or the place where he sits. He brings his arms or legs quite close to it or bends his head and the upper part of his body over it. Everyone who must stay too far away from the fire in the middle part of the hut provides for himself in this manner.

752 His inseparable association with fire also explains why there is scarcely a Yamana to be met who does not have scars from burns (61). Small children often injure themselves badly.

61. After direct observations Hyades (f):559 even stated: "There is not a Fuegian who does not show mottling on his body, especially on his legs, due to the effect on the skin of prolonged stays in the immediate vicinity of the fire" /translated from French/.
Bove writes (Mit.XVII, 235; 1883): "Professor Spegazzini examined more than fifty Fuegians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns" /cited in English/.

I saw coarse scar tissue, indicating a serious injury, on the entire right leg of a grown girl, the daughter of Felipe (62).

62. In more recent times, on July 19, 1902, J. Williams (Mit.XXXVI, 277; 1902) reported the death "of a woman from burns.

/366 cont./

352 The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

585 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/369/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumina-
373 tion. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth
[373] until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also
372 melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials *and implements before or during their utilization*; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (83).

83. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

4 The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (84).

84. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 481 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[177] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/401 cont./

291 For further documentation we give here a few more opinions of former travelers. Decker (p. 52) says briefly and emphatically: "The men go about quite naked; only the women cover their natural parts with a piece of leather" (66). George Forster (b):243

66. See Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/ for the first picture of the Yamana, dated 1624.

wrote in December, 1774, about the natives of Christmas Sound: "They had no clothing other than a piece of sealskin which hung down over only about half of their loins and the upper part of which scarcely covered their shoulders. Thus, their hands, feet, and whole bodies were exposed to a cold which affected even us, although we were well protected against it." A few lines below he adds: "They seemed very sensitive to the cold, for their whole bodies were trembling..." Near Angostura Murray, Snow (a):II, 16 was surrounded by many natives. "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /cited in English/. Snow (b):262 gave them articles of European clothing, which they found cumbersome. "The men directly they came on deck were clothed by us, but evidently they did not like such confinement of their limbs" /cited in English/. Soon after his arrival Despard reported his impression of the miserable Yamana: "Their destitution is great, and they have but the pretence of clothing in a strip of seal or other skin over their shoulders" (VSA: XIII, 81: 1866) /cited in English/. Bove (d) :290 expressed himself in somewhat more detail: "A short, little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, thrown on the back and held by a tape that passes around the neck, is the only clothing of a Fuegian. Some of them do not even have this meager cape" /translated from Italian/. This means, as indeed he briefly states (g) :234: "They go nearly nude in that rigorous and stormy climate" /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b) :261 agrees with him that "everyone is completely nude, men and women. Sometimes one sees a woman, or even a man, whose back is covered with the skin of an otter or sea lion, used as a cape" /translated from Italian/. At the sight of these naked savages in the rough Cape Horn region every European marveled at their vitality, their degree of resistance, and their genuine good health.

/401 cont./

291

1. Man's Clothing

The Yamana do not use special clothing for each sex. The sexes can be more than clearly recognized by their almost uncovered bodies. The essential article of clothing owned by the Indian is his tuwáki, a cape that hangs over his back, which can properly be called his only article of clothing. It is almost never larger than the area of his back, the uneven edges forming a more or less rectangular shape. Through a few holes on the narrower edge the man draws a /402/ strap barely one centimeter wide which he puts around his neck and ties in a knot under his chin. The piece of leather hangs free, and he pushes it either to the right or left, according to whether he wishes to protect this or that side of his body. If it hinders him or becomes burdensome, he unties the knot of the strap under his chin and throws it off.

Weddel:157 describes this garment of the men as "a skin over their shoulders, reaching little more than half way down the back; some have not even this sorry garment" /cited in English/ (67).

67. A few years later Fitz-Roy (a):138 observed among the inhabitants of Tekenika Bay: "Sometimes these satires upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or seal skin upon their backs; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist" /cited in English/.

The same piece serves the undemanding Yamana summer and winter; even for the cold season he asks for no better protection. Bove (c) :127 also confirms this: In that dreadful climate, where there is much snow and rain, wild storms, and bitter, damp cold, everyone owns only "a little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, held at the neck by a strip of leather" /translated from Spanish/.

The piece of leather is never large enough or wide enough to wrap around the entire torso. Upon leaving his hut, the wearer pushes it across his shoulders to whichever side of his body is turned

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin
291 for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together. The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [111] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather loop, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man lags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aginall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
287 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
294 the women. They prefer a smoot piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skin were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

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[177]

/403 cont./
influence by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 213) cannot be dismissed, while in the west it may have come from the Halakwulup, for the latter wear sandals of sealskin, as do their northern neighbors, the now extinct Chono and the Araucanian natives of the Chiloé Archipelago (71).

71. On May 25, 1867, Bridges reported on a journey to the east: "The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear mocassins" (MM:I, 164; 1867) /cited in English/. He does not describe these sandals; they may have been adopted from the Halakwulup.

/404/ The Yamana sandals, kíli, have almost the same cut as those of the Selk'nam (Fig. 15). A piece of hide from the guanaco or the sea lion, about 65 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, is cut to form approximately a rectangle. A few holes are punched close together across the wider of the two narrow ends and in the upper half near the edges. The foot is placed upon it in such a way that the front flap of leather is turned back over the toes and the dorsal part of the foot. The side edges are then folded up, and the perpendicular seam over the heel is laced with a short strap of leather. Beginning directly over the toes /Fig. 15 appears here/ the free ends of a single strap are drawn through the holes lying one above the other parallel to the edges, and the strap is fastened over the instep. Straw or moss is used to stuff the sandal, in which the foot stands warm and dry. Since the fur is on the outside, the foot has sufficient grip on the ground. Moreover, the hairs on the sole of the sandal always point forward, which prevents slipping. The leather is quickly softened by the damp earth, and the foot itself adjusts its grip to every kind of footing. In view of this, the sandals prove superior to European footgear, especially on treks over the uneven, wet forest floor. The packing rots quickly and becomes musty, but it is renewed without any trouble.

It is true that the sandals of sealskin have an even more

291 /404 cont./

unpleasant odor (72) when they are soaked by wet earth than those of guanaco skin, which are called Imeyakili (73). The latter

73. The western Yamana did not know this word; they almost always went barefoot.

are worn much less commonly by the Yamana, since seakkin is handier and more convenient for him. He wears his sandals for the most part only on longer treks through the forest, hardly ever in the hut or in the canoe. In spite of the many advantages they

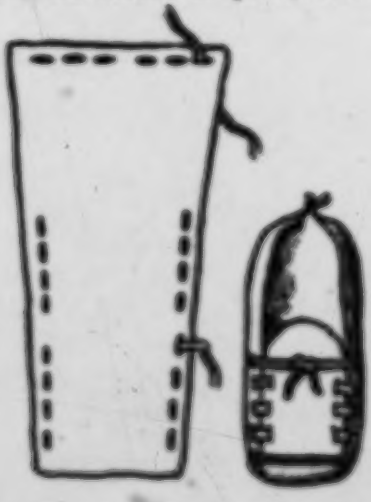

Fig. 18. Sandal.

afford, most men never wear them, even though going barefoot in some places is very disagreeable (see Bridges in VSA: 82, 280; 1864).

[77] In the east where the guanaco is easy to hunt, the men, presumably under the influence of the Selk'nam, learned to wear a type of leggings /405/ that form a tube-like protection for the lower calves. The piece of leather, cut like a trapezoid, is put on with the woolly side against the lower calf and is laced across the back lengthwise with a narrow leather band, so that it clings tightly to the leg. They protect themselves on tramps through the snow with these legs, according to SD:184, "leggings used only when hunting guanaco in snowy weather" /cited in English/

/405 cont./

291 (Lothrop [b] :126 writes pówa) (74). Everything points to the fact

74. BD:164 also maintains that this type of legging was used to a limited extent, which is obvious from his words quoted above.

that this protection of the lower leg was neither originally nor generally used by the Yamana. See Kéliyelíhi in BD:139.

2. Woman's Clothing

The woman wears the same back-cape as the man, the tuwíaki, for body protection, scant though it is. There is no difference between the two sexes in the proportions, shape, or method of wearing it. In exceptional cases we find some woman with a leather piece somewhat longer or wider so that it looks like a shoulder cape (75). In general the women prefer other skins and

75. With the same thing in mind Fitz-Roy (a) :158 wrote: "Women wear rather more clothing [than men], that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron" /cited in English/.

sew two to four of them together, occasionally even eight to ten. The heavier, longer hairs are removed from these skins, so that only the velvety smooth fur remains. The skins of several cormorants and penguins are chosen for this back-cape on the southern islands. Farther north the skins of two or three foxes is sometimes used. It is partly convenience, utilizing what is at hand, and partly fondness for down, which is by no means wanting in Indian women, that determines the choice of fur and skin for the back-cape. A cape of otter skin is the most valuable; cormorant skins are supposed to be prettier. Each of these pieces affords as little protection and cover as the other, but no one expects or strives for more (76).

76. Bridges (MS:III, 118, 1933) [illegible]

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/486 cont./

judges the usefulness of this back-cape: "The Indians of the outer coasts are well supplied with skins of seals and otters, and are, or might be, well protected from the weather. But those of the inner shores are badly off for skins, and even use the skins of dogs and penguins for cloaks, and generally have only two fox or otter skins, or a single fur seal skin, only sufficient to cover their shoulders" /stated in English/.

It is almost never the case that an Indian woman does not have this modest back-cape. Sometimes a woman carrying an infant enlarges it, thus making a sort of shawl that covers the entire upper part of her body and under which the child can snuggle. If she wishes to protect the child especially well, she reverses the cloak so that the fur side is against her back. Furthermore, the woman who /486/ in bad weather wishes to save her cloak temporarily turns the leather side out. Afterwards she turns it over again.

In every respect the opinions of two earlier travelers are noteworthy. Snow (a) 51, 58 writes about a small group that he met in the Beagle Channel: "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /stated in English/. Snow (a) 157 expresses himself in a more general way: "Ornaments and a small cloak of guanaco or seal skin comprise the outfit of a Fuegian; some do not even own a cloak, but defy all inclemencies of the weather with naked chest, naked arms and legs." Women, too, wishing to protect themselves to a certain extent against wind and weather, follow the habit of the men and sometimes hang this short, narrow cloak over the more exposed side of the body. Dyrdee (g) 207 says in this connection: "Most of the time each individual has a skin of seal or otter, which he places over his shoulders to protect himself also a fashion from the wind" /translated from French/. Long before this Aspinall 270 wrote: "The inhabitants of Beagle Channel "ordinarily go completely naked, except for a small skin around their shoulders."

/[illegible] cuvi /

The label "modesty apron" (77) worn by every woman and

> 77. This article is mentioned, for example, by Decker (p. 10), George Pannes (p. 19), Waddell (p. 66), Snow (fn.)83 and others. "It is used by all the girls and women of the country, from the youngest to the oldest. It is extremely rare for a Fuegian woman to be without this article of clothing, and if she loses it for some reason, her first concern is to procure another one" (La Nacion, 1923) /translated from French/.

grass by most of the men is indispensable. It is known as mašáldna, mášaglna, and they are never without it. We particularly want to refer to it here, because some European travelers take it so very much for granted that they either do not mention it specifically or do not describe it enough. It is so necessary to a woman's outfit that Hyades (p.) 248 wrote: "There is no difference between the two sexes, except that the women wear a little 'vine leaf' made of guanaco hide" /translated from French/ (78). There is no such

> 78. In another connection Hyades (p.)48 again speaks of this "article of dress which, by its location and dimensions, precisely reminds one of the vine leaf that is put on statue nudes" /translated from French/.

thing as going naked among the women and girls.

Whereas Deblenne (p.) 178 avows as fact that men sometimes do not have any kind of covering, he nevertheless explains without qualification: "The women always wear a belt with a little piece of hide that covers only the genital part" /translated from Spanish/. This positively every woman clings to its modesty-apron and avoids complete nudity in front of men is apparent from an observation which Hyades (p.) 459 has inserted in a description of the pictures in his monograph. There (1) there a male girl named "Kamenáiss Ciyus. Figure 2 shows her as a woman when she was not wearing her little apron, a very rare occurrence. Her /[illegible]/

/407 cont./
lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Peyer, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (78).

78. Hyades (f):161 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply rolled up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):346.

It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skin without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

80. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is inserted a narrow leather band or a braided vendas. This is drawn over the hips and tightened on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, the welt, in front, passed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

81. Ludwig (b) (111 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

291

/48? cans./
women" /cited in English/. More explicitly Dyalen (q) .SSS again writes: "The women above wear a little triangular scrap of gazelle skin in the pubic region. It is from twelve to fifteen centimeters long and from seven to eight centimeters wide at the bottom" /translated from French/.

is removed only after long wear. It is not customary to wash it.

Women never wear sandals; they walk much more comfortably barefoot. Moreover, they must often step into water and walk around on the wet earth. They also do not have any kind of head covering (H), nor do the men and children. Their thick,

[30]

H. Fita-Ray (q) .SK had observed. "A small fillet is all that is ever worn on the head. Usually this is a meat string, made of the sinews of birds or animals" /cited in English/. This piece is a simple head ornament.

strong, and abundant hair is an adequate covering against wind and rain for the Pangwere of all ages.

5. Children's Clothing

The body covering of children corresponds to that of adults, not only in its essentials, but even in small details. The little ones, too, have no other body protection than the short back-cape which is adapted somewhat to their undeveloped bodies and made of soft leather of younger animals. The fathers do not seem to know how to prepare it carefully, hence it hangs on the dirty body of the child like an old rag. /[illegible]/ It does not occur to anyone to take care of it. Dyalen says briefly (q) .SSK: "Children three or four years old from time to time wear a small skin on the shoulder" /translated from French/. In such scanty covering these small, shy creatures give every foreigner the impression of great neglect and painful destruction.

/Kiti cont./

As long as they are still dependent on the special care of their mothers, they cannot dress naked. When they begin to walk by themselves, they get the back-wrap which they wear or can put according to their count or fancy. /Fig. 18 appears here./ It serves them also as "apron" when they sleep at night. Somewhat later, at the age of two, the girl gets her [illegible] the triangular mulberry-apron, which she wears the most we observe. All the women see to it that the child in its innocence does not expose itself. The size of the child's body

Fig. 18. Mulberry-Apron for Girls
Two-thirds normal size.

determines the proportions of this pubic covering (Fig. 18). Boys do not wear this covering until they are ten years old or older. It is left to the discretion of parents or relatives. They feel that it is not necessary for boys to wear a mulberry-apron, since all see the unashamed male it, but when they begin to assume physically, boys no longer appear without it in the company of adults.

It is the habit of the native to make the simple, routine activity of clothing the body children. This does not require particular effort, and yet many a woman fifty centos her child can show to a stubby, wee little clash for a long time before she replaces the native, veiled glare with a better one. Children

[illegible]

take care of their clothing just as little as white do. They dry it through mud and when wet use it to sit on and as a cover for sleeping. They wear none and decide to it and make use of it when ever and however it may serve them. For to part the climate has a great deteriorating effect on all leather. Even though it is more or less smeared with blubber and is commonly, consciously or unconsciously, rubbed with fat, the layer of fat on the outside soon cracks and through much use, [illegible] and then dampness can get at it on both sides. Until it commonly forming and in a short time causes large, irregular soft patches that easily tear and cause holes. Then, at last, the native provides a long needed replacement. Dear dear are more precious than real skins, but every native prefers to use the former because they are softer and more beautiful, and he does not mind that they are not so durable.

These children of nature do not worry and are not anxious by concerned about their clothing. If a boy has to wait for days for a new cloak because he has lost his old one, he makes up for it in the daytime with the warmth of the hot fire, and at night he snuggles close to his brothers and sisters who give him some of their body warmth or a little space under their own deer back-cages which serve them all as a cover. They are satisfied with the laws of everything.

4. Purpose of Clothing

The raw pieces of leather with which the Tutsans cover only small some of their bodies cannot possibly be regarded as clothing. Without giving it much thought, one recognizes the brief triangular apron as something required on principle by a feeling of modesty. This is proved by the shape of this [illegible] as well, and the fact that all female persons must never be seen without it. As a matter of fact, all the young and middle-aged men, practically without exception, appear in front of women with this covering. It is only the old men who no longer give offense by complete nudity (p. 58), no matter how much the ladies in their vicinity dislike seeing them in this way (59). Furthermore,

59. Leibnitz's (?) [illegible] was planned exercise

241
[illegible]

/add com./
"[illegible] of both sexes and all ages often were entirely naked" /stood in English/ must thus be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (34). Girls learn to conduct them-

[illegible]

34. See page 10 as to the conduct of young Kamamakuripa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a loose string around the hips, but, as Hyades (p) .30 has observed, "they never appear without this [illegible], which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a [illegible] position that the hand protects the pubic covering against the /skin/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

Hyades (p) .308 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "It is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I carefully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

241 The little cloth can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad nature. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

291 /410 conn./

way but by pulling the brief cape around him as a cover. Actually it gives perceptible protection and saves these people from severe injury to their health. It cannot be longer or wider, or it would keep off the warmth of the nearby fire and get in the way of the arms while rowing or working. These are mainly the decisive considerations when the Yamana make the back-cape in its customary shape and size. A large and woolly fur cloak, somewhat like that used by the Selk'nam, may temporarily cover the body well and uniformly warm it, but it does not permit the free movement of the arms that everyone absolutely demands, especially in the canoe.

If a European would look at that pitiful body covering from the standpoint of the Indians, he would be convinced of its surprisingly functional nature and would, at the same time, have an opportunity to appreciate the ingenuity and adaptability of these people. Clothing to the native is just not useful if it swathes the entire body (85). Serviceable and durable furs and animal

85. Krickeberg:321 says briefly: "Protective clothing is almost entirely lacking. A small cloak of seal or otter skin hangs down from the man's shoulder. A triangular apron of guanaco leather is the only clothing of the woman." This outfit could not be reduced to less, even in tropical Africa.

skins are available to our Yamana, and they could easily be made into a closed garment for the entire body. It is not absolutely necessary, however, because everyone everywhere has easy access to the open fire. Besides the fresh air that constantly bathes the body, everyone benefits much more from this than they would from a closed garment which, in that rainy climate, would hardly ever be completely dry and could never be kept clean. It is true that the Indians' teeth sometimes chatter with cold or they bend over stiff with cold in a downpour and in a snow storm, but one need endure such discomfort /411/ only until he reaches a fire or lights a new one. In the shortest time the whole body is then thoroughly and evenly warmed and the skin completely dry, for

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their discerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, ûfka, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

291 177

302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

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/411 cont./
bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):284 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:52 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [117] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

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/412 cont./
in the Wulaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 280; 1864) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox [224] are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned cus- [86] tom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing preming tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

28 When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort 224 to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell [413] serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wanted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of shreds as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and pushed in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often rained on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/413 cont./

hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 31). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by streching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 66; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ásan, ainuf, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/414 cont./

281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/415 cont./

the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scaled sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (98). If they wish

[71]

98. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is economically and environmentally transformed to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

/416/ Whatever it is necessary, as in the case of a large cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, sewing, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/416 cont./

durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, ukwémi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and low hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known as ukwémi or tesána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Yamana (X). It is disgusting to see these human

X. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (p. 5, 341 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /tr.ed in English/.

351 56 /416 cont./

beings, glistening with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the putrid disorder of their efforts inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their smelly canoes crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural necessity of a clean dwelling? Centuries proverbs dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and inefficiency of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other people could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the carelessness of a life of ceaseless wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (H) that in no slight measure deceives

> H. George Farrow (b) /416 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornament and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ochre."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its inadequacy. Even helpful Mother Nature advantageously compensates them for much that they themselves leave undone.

/617 cont./ 1. Body Care

55 The Indian knows nothing about taking care of himself merely from a sense of cleanliness. His cares about the daily necessities of life take greater precedence. He is used to thick crusts of dirt and a loathsome smell of blubber on his skin and is not aware of them at all. He does not wash with any kind of regularity. Everyone gets up from his pitiful bed early in the morning and simply wipes his sleepy, sticky eyes dry with his index finger. Some like to smoke their cheeks gently with the palms of both hands. It is seldom that anyone goes down to the nearby brook and dashes cold water into his face. At times, however, if a person finds himself covered with the dust of ashes or with dirt from the ground picked up while hunting and working, he will feel the necessity of stepping into the nearest pool and rinsing off his whole body. He rubs himself with the palms of his hands and with a tuft of beard moss or scraped wood shavings, /618/ or even with a wet ball of moss. Afterwards he dries himself near the radiant heat of the hot fire (cf. Hyades [q] :348).

Men do not like to dive into the water and bathe. Women go into the water more often to gather the lower marine fauna or to swim to the canoe. On very rare hot summer days a few men sometimes splash on the beach, without venturing more than two or three steps into the water. This is done primarily, however, /619/ to subject oneself to an effort to withstand the unusual heat (93).

93. According to Hyades (q):348: "during the summer when the weather is fine, they sometimes bathe in the sea, but simply as recreation" /translated from French/. Furthermore he also reports (q):38: "Only on rare occasions, when the temperature was relatively warm, did the French [of the mission Saint-Paul] have an opportunity to observe the Fuegian women jump into the water for fun and play about in it gaily without any particular purpose. They never seemed to dive, however, as has often been said."

/418 cont./

515 The water of the sea and of brooks is always cold. Only rarely does it warm up somewhat in shallow bays.

These people often have to work in the water and are frequently drenched in heavy showers. That is probably why they have no inclination to make further use of the wet element. Hyades confirms this (q) :368: "Primarily it is rain or accidental immersions in the water of the sea that makes the Fuegians clean" /translated from French/. It is always dangerous to venture far out into the ocean. The many little torrents and streams are not deep enough to invite bathing. According to European opinion, it takes the insensibility of an Indian to go about for days with all that dirt and dust and smoke (94). However, the fresh air which

94. What Snow (b):163 says is not in the least exaggerated: "The Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder" /cited in English/.

constantly brushes the naked body stimulates the skin beneficially and covers up other discomfort.

Everyone much prefers a dry rub. This involves the entire body. If a person's dirty skin itches, he takes the gray, greasy clay that is found in some places, or the pale yellow kind that is more scarce, or even a rusty-brown clay, and mixes it with water and saliva in the cup of his hand to make a thick paste which he smears on his whole body. This gradually dries near the hut fire and, with the hand flat, is rubbed off in the form of a fine powder. This procedure cleanses like soap. Above all, it removes from the skin the greasy sheen from all the blubber, as well as the surface tan caused by the suffocating smoke. If the natives cannot find the gray clay nearby, they use a calcareous, almost powder-like sand, which, however, does not cleanse as thoroughly.

These people lack suitable material for drying themselves. If they are wet, they move close to the fire, and the radiating heat soon removes all the dampness from their bodies, or they hold their faces and hands over the fire. Sometimes they reach for a dry ball of moss if it is available. They prefer, chiefly, a ball of fine, loose, yellow shavings from the large-leafed barberry

515 E-5

515 /513 cont./
514 (berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), humo, cells, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /513/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the knee ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother to
[854] wash and dry her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet cleansage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (@.340 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
515 from the fingers after a delicious meal is preferably rubbed on the
516 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 87). This is, of course, not practiced naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker
[847] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/418 cont./

In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they cover on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect the smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /418/ /fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his fur (90), and

> 90. Spegazzini (p) 163 says realistically: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like musk, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (91). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 91. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (p)II, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whenever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /friend to English/.

wars, thrives through the total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against the pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a similar, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[End of footnote on page 81.--Analyst]

/Will vary./

[3] [4] [5] Europeans in Iori have replaced by a larger, grey one. Despite their considerably lower degree of exercise, the Indians find this wrestle a venture. A mother will sympathetically pick the bees her child, cradling them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Wynden pg 348 kindly mentions "the bees the grandes (Pollinid) regions to which they devote themselves in their crossover of kinners" /translated from French/.

He was mixed having his neighbor endlessly wrench his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut there wasn't, positioned by first one and then another of their parents, are a frequent /???/ accompaniment. The individual gets up called, however, in spite of all his wrenching, and they kindly pass bee pollinate throughout this venture.

[6] [7] In the last decades the clothes have (Pollinid) [illegible] also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not wrench this gain, the greatest resistance for its development were gone in any case. When a person receives his clothing — nowadays everyone wears only European clothing — the with bares nerve of lice are wrenched all over his body. These people are constantly wrenching their bodies. I wrench my shoulder Pollinid gallo a groom, for this quarter also is probably not entirely shared.

[8] [9] [10] The hand lice of the Yanesse is smoothly black, soft, and thick. Although it is liberally groomed with blubber, dirt and lice grease it does ever being soft and wrenchingly shiny. It grows moderately long, and wrong wrench a mother close to their shoulders, which is why it does not lead itself to a particular type of ruffian. [illegible] wears his hair open and loose. It lies on their head in front wrench. Some women run the hair up their forehead or their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Wynden pg 356 speaks of "hair run in front "beg Indians" /translated from French/. [illegible] (p.356) expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

[illegible] her want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a ribbon, or a few skeins of cotton around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never think of putting it aside. Rowe (a):137 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a flat spaced shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling, and the whole job is very irregular.

Modern grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however. Despard /[illegible]/ learned from an Indian that "only women use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with purpose-[illegible]" (VIII:V, 53, 1888) /tr.by me to English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless about this. In most cases since the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99).

99. In this connection Rowe (c):138 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Levinson (b):139 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):170 had mentioned, "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shells" /tr.by me to English/. According to Despard (VII:IV, 186, 1887)

/Kill comb./

"they were beautiful. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were constantly engaged in twitching out" /Literal in English/. And Dove (Mid.XVIII, 180, 1864) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to root out or cut off with shells" /Literal in English/.

In general, they have only very little and have hair on their

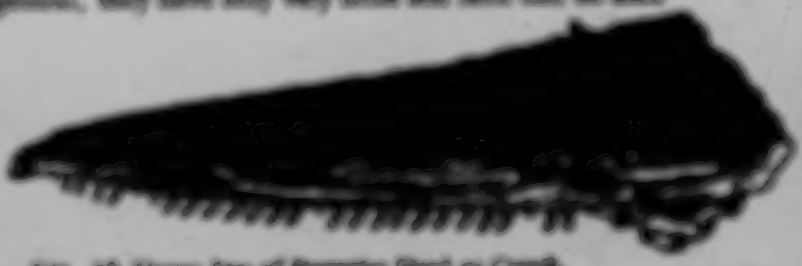

Fig. 10. Upper jaw of Paguma (Dog or Comb. Natural size.

bodies, so this respect they resemble the bald-hair. /Fig. 10 appears here./

Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Tatwans have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to work their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. This change dates with unparalled rapidity.

To loosen the hair covered with dirt and lice, and so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the paguma which is about 11 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 10). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by small lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. As then this here is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. The comb is called /Kilum/. Even an orca skull, cleaned of all meat /Kilu/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the lice and

[illegible]

/illegible/

343. 403. very irregular teeth are still here in the dues, [illegible] (346).

[illegible]

[illegible] The other comb seen by specially made and that is why not everyone has it. It is a flat piece of whale bone, the size

Fig. 13. Comb blade of whale bone. Two-thirds natural size.

of a child's hand, into which five to eight teeth are cut. The teeth project across the entire piece, with not very large spaces between them (Fig. 13). This is in contrast to the comb of the bale bone (Vol. I, 552). In the central Yukonan region where porpoise are used, the [illegible] is generally used (340). [Fig. 13 appears here.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] /

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a substitute when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of vanilla. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (10). Girls like to

(10). According to Fita-Rey's later work (n) -138, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following. "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and correctly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but native girls-not use that, and some is cut away, excepting bats over their eyes" /Aided to English/.

make this Native [illegible] as playful dwelling, and conveniently insects dwell here with it.

Little though the Tarasca lend a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children, often appear disparagingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a correct feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of cleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it both air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former spiritual body covering is clearly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are famous by nature of it.

/KGA/ 2. Cleanliness in the Hut

With few and rare exceptions, the hut serves chiefly as watery protection for a night or for a few days against inclemencies of the weather. Often it is erected by people who have barely escaped a storm, who in all haste were obliged to collect their few possessions from the canoe and, wet and shivering with cold, seek shelter under an inadequate cover. The first concern of everyone is to light the fire and keep it going in order to warm himself thoroughly. Later, in his weariness, he begins to think of satisfying his hunger and seeking rest.

Everything that the Indian family has taken along in their canoe is tossed under the hut covering in disorder. There it remains, wet, crumpled, and topsy-turvy. If anyone needs some item, the whole jumble is pulled out, which only increases the confusion. They do not know how to take care of their belongings. No one dreams of putting them in order, folding them, drying or cleaning them, hanging them up, or putting them in a neat pile. If they are looking for some particular thing, they rummage carelessly through the hodgepodge of trifles in the little lockers. Larger objects that are piled in a heap in the hut are dragged hither and yon with no regard for the damage that might be done to them. The European observer has the impression that these Indians place no value whatever on their utensils and that they have completely forgotten the effort it took to make them. Actually, no one clings to his few goods and chattels which, as it is, are often and easily lost, but just as easily replaced. The chief and practically the sole concern of everyone everywhere is to preserve his own life, to have a little protection against exposure to the elements, and to appease his hunger. In the face of this, protective care of material possessions is pushed far into the background. The Indian does not even exercise care when he could very conveniently do so.

A European is likely to shake his head at the boundless indifference of these people who drag brand-new objects, precious clothing, fresh provisions, and valuable items through thick mud, or abandon them to their swift destruction by children and dogs. One will never succeed in lifting these Indians out of their state

/424 cont./

356 of indifference toward even their meager possessions and to teach them at least a modicum of care in regard to the things they need. At present some families have built themselves simple little houses in Puerto Mejillones and partly furnished them with European furniture (p. 357 /untranslated/), but they do not worry about leaving all this for months and are hardly aware of heavy losses. Expensive things that are given them are treasured for a few hours, out of curiosity; after that they thoughtlessly let everything deteriorate in the mud and wet. The less they own, the more /425/ comfortably they can travel, and what is ruined they occasionally replace. Hence they are completely indifferent to any material possessions.

Nevertheless they do not neglect themselves to the extent of perishing in dirt and disorder. They are consciously concerned with necessary cleanliness. They never build their huts in places that are malodorous and swampy, or where a large animal carcass is decaying. They do not tolerate the smell of decaying animals. Hence they immediately throw into the fire all waste from their meals and the remnants of skins or leather pieces that they are working on. Small animals and pieces of meat [251] obtained by hunting are hung on branches outside the hut where they are protected from the dogs and from the uneven heat of the fire. They promptly remove meat that is decaying or that smells musty; they are extremely annoyed by its stench. On the other hand, the heavy, nauseous fumes of blubber and sea animals that fill their hut and deter every European do not seem to affect them, nor are they sensitive to the putrid odors issuing from the long piles of algae and seaweed, sea animals, and shells that the agitated ocean tosses ashore in tangled disorder and that are subsequently exposed to the hot rays of the sun. If a man has been successful on the hunt, he sometimes brings the slain animal to the hut intact, but he removes the entrails some distance away. The women, for their part, go down to the edge of the water when they pluck birds and eviscerate them, so that the waves can carry off the refuse. The litter for the bed is renewed after a few days, for the dampness of the earth promotes mold and rot. On sunny days they even pull down the large leather pieces from the hut framework, so that the interior will dry out and air. If they stay in one place for any length of time, they

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 29).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their
863 earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q):343 confirms this conduct of the Yamana from his own observations: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

/428 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It [854] is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim: even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/428 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their head
516 through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

322 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 68) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (106). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 106. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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/427 cont./

Like their neighbors to the northeast and northwest, the Selk'nam and the Halakwulup, the Yamana use only three pigments for their decorative painting, namely, black, white, and red (106), which they apply as a powder mixed with water or

106. The majority of European visitors noted these three colors and mentioned them. See Fitz-Roy (a):138, Darwin (a) :250, Hyades (q) :369, Weddell:172, and others.

fish oil. They can get black pigment, yapuike (according to RC:614 also yapuike), most easily, which is nothing more than ground charcoal. This dust is usually rubbed dry over the whole body, but for the face it is mixed with fish oil before it is applied. This mixture is also used to draw lines and dashes.

The white pigment, tamaiyu, is chalk. They value chiefly the pure, fine calcareous earth found in Puerto Ribala and Puerto Eugenia, both in the central part of the north shore of Hoverring Island. They take it out, soften it and knead it with water, form it into a lump, and keep it, ready for use, in a pouch made of gut. They obtain smaller amounts for sport /428/ use by heating a few Mytilus shells in the hut fire and afterwards crushing them to a powder between stones. This chalk powder is never prepared with fish oil or blubber because it would lose its shiny white color. Instead of water they use their own saliva, which makes the mixture more adhesive when dashes or dots are drawn on the face or the body. With the incisors a little powder is scraped off the hard lump and mixed with saliva (107).

107. According to Hyades (q):306, there is even a special verb for this, namely, "Jaruhe (or Jampe) tamaiyapun: to chew clay in order to dilute it with saliva" /translated from French/.

obtained by a vigorous chewing motion, to form a thick paste. A finger is then moistened with it in the mouth if one wishes to draw coarse lines. When more delicate drawings are made with a

/428 cont./

382 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick
386 dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as tini and more often ɵɵɵɵ, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one
[417] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, round wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col-
[418] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/428 cont./

382 386 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 413 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talayikamána in the dialect of the west, pucitkutalána in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, [illegible]. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

> 109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in HD.

415 237 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yél or yálvi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álalmá yálvi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

> 110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

65 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tungrigu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuliku, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

382 522 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /439/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (g):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 332 also relies.

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302 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
P32 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general intentions will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

[415]

Fig. 38. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

302 Without doubt Aspinall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (q):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (q):369 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a parure" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):187 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

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usually they drew parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body.[5] Like Ainu, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Tamura.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pain than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with exquisite ease, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The nose and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

[517]

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the host-priest with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has vainly striven to attain.

/438 cont./

If someone expects a visitor, he too decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor visits unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit to the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor pertinently bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /439/ painting, for example, just because of the mutual understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for [illegible] candidates to visit their spouses in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut answers or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any person of colors on the face is permissible and sufficient, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, [illegible] candidates who visit their spouses, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, [illegible] candidates regularly appear in

/422 cont./

362 574 611 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Kuksa. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

362 574 609 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (h):147.

362 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/430 cont./

342 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy dashing themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. We are regards this responsibility as vanity, much less accuse them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this criticality shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

34/ The lady-ravening of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in their region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (116).

> 116. There are a few testimonies. "Among the Fuegians, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the man than in the woman" Dove (d):288 says /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b):158 explains: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Fuegians, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hyades (c):142 adds: "The women, coquettes like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 21). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

[38] /433 cont./ population. They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The use of veal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off. If not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled tight to the ankle. They have a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [4] 268). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an oval band, /434/ and tie them together with a right knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful. Some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 31 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (111). One just as often uses the

111. Ludewig (4).133 inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

[435] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide /Fig. 32/. The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called mun (in the dialect of the east and west) and yamuneke (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades [4].256 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[436] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as aóne. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.-Analyst]

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Fig. 11. Band of Guayaco Lucho, Worn on Wrist or Ankle. Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 12. Umbilical Cord of the Ocoa, Worn as a Band on Wrist or Ankle. Natural size.

/Fifth page./

around around two or three times, to allow much, several centers long. Thicker beaches of beads are held together by a short thread wound around them perpendicular to certain intervals. This such ornament is called [illegible]. "These beads are a kind of necklace for only the women. They are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or an several points /[illegible]/ by means of a little strand of bark" /translated from French/ (Speiser [n] 1969 [110]). Although each of these pieces is di

110. The other ways (pg 108 above from: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of bead wire at the neck. A glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on the necklace" /translated from French/.

bead grease, they break it with fish oil alone or with a mixture of fish oil and red pigment, so that the dust fibres do not stick out unattractively.

The strings of gaudy women squeezed into fine fibers are generally called [illegible], those of whale bone, used alike for sewing and beading, are called [illegible]. (On these simple beaded women the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. Many rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beads of the oyster conchae (Spondylus sp.) at suitable intervals, and for some time now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles ((117).

117. Wrighard:33 writes: "The necklace were in two or three twists around the neck in at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird (Spondylus sp.), animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

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301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by covering them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter variation are all known as kéte (118).

118. Hyades (4):369 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
324 beautiful is ~~ú~~pélka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Fissurella violacea, known as sen ~~ú~~pélka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, ~~á~~ána, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[289] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /438/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ~~ú~~pélka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of small shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[339] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,
[Text continues on p. 105-Analyst]

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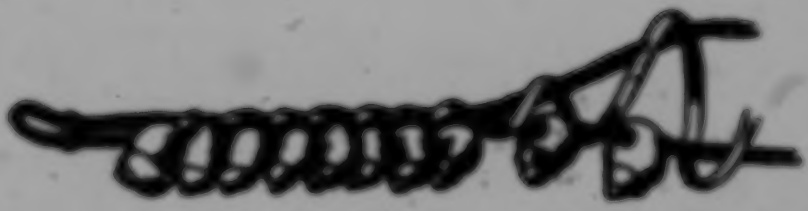

Fig. 23. Small Necklace. Natural size.

Fig. 24. String of Little Snail Shells.

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[439] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

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283 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouis ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Acina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is [462] work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re- [171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have [304] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 178 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men- [135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

442 182 /438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

178 411 231 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/438 cont./ 1. The Bark Canoe

484 505 On land our Yamana do not undertake long marches, but content themselves with the walking necessary to gather wood or shells and to get game. Their territory is not suitable for land journeys. Without exception, they travel from one island to another, from one shore to another, in their bark canoe. Even though they /439/ could go a long distance along the beach, they prefer to travel by water which is easier and more comfortable. The canoe is absolutely indispensable for them. In case an individual family or small group have lost this vessel, they find themselves in a state of emergency which they must remedy, the sooner the better and absolutely imperatively. As water nomads they could not, under any circumstances, forego this method of transportation for any length of time (120).

120. The indispensable importance of the canoe for our natives has been variously stressed. Spegazzini (a): 161 calls it "the object of greatest importance" /translated from Spanish/ and Dabbene (b):180 "an object of prime necessity for the Yahgan" /translated from Spanish/. Other opinions are of a similar nature.

501 The method of canoe construction is somewhat peculiar and differs at first glance from the boats of other peoples. The products of the country, which in themselves are meager, are chosen with intelligent circumspection and used, each in its way, to turn out a resistant and durable vessel. As a whole it looks graceful, its form is pleasing. In its details it shows taste, and its lines are agreeable.

Regardless of many minor details, it strikes everyone who judges it as a masterpiece of efficiency and a supreme achievement of the technical ability of these Indians (121). Everyone is not

121. Luschan:8 came to the following conviction: "In comparison with [the skiff-like

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vessels of central Brazil], the boats of bark with which we are familiar in the extreme south of South America are veritable luxury barks, though they are still far behind those of the North American sea region with regard to beauty and careful workmanship." But the Indians of North America have incomparably more suitable raw material. In this description by Luschan, Figures 12 and 13 show one of the well-known small models which are erroneously captioned or described as "Model of a Bark Boat of the Ona."

Other observers also are unstinting in their praise of the bark canoe. Spears: 56 says: "It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):134 concludes his brief but detailed description thus: "These canoes, poor as they are, are certainly the most ingenious work of the inhabitants of Fuegia, but from Drake's time to ours, about 300 years, it has remained the same" /translated from Italian/: No improvement to speak of has been found necessary in any part and has, therefore, not been made.

equally skilled at canoe-making, but one who is able to achieve a faultless one is universally highly esteemed. What Despard (b): 679 has summed up in a few words is pertinent here: "The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time" /cited in English/. This object, vitally important for our Indians, deserves to be described in detail. In doing so, we unintentionally grant them high praise for their skill (122). /440/

[554]

122. It is strange that earlier travelers have repeatedly emphasized the graceful construction

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/440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúšu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

396 313 The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Antarctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth, even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúšu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, šérci, which

/440 cont./

396 313 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ůkęša, [48] wusůkęša, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 313 412 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113. -Analyst]

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/441/

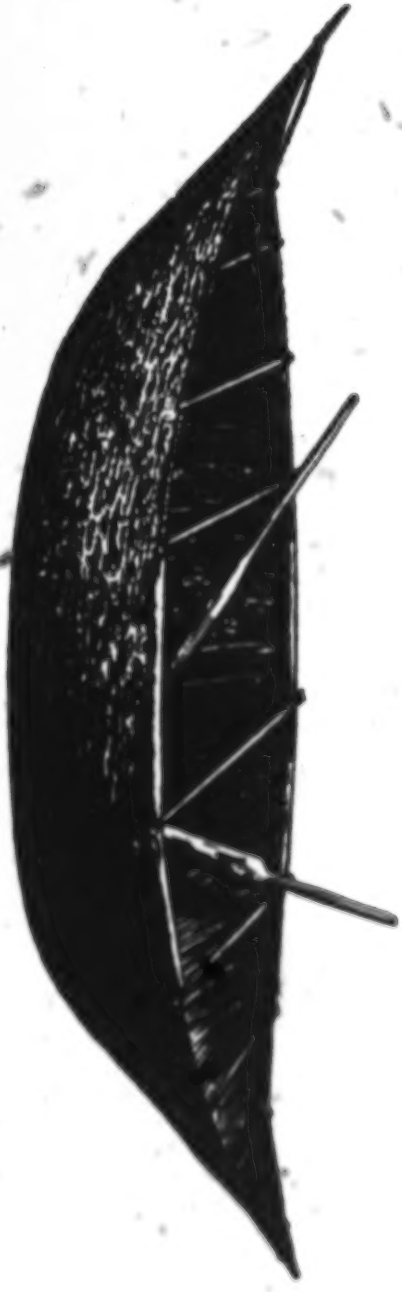

Fig. 25. Bark Canoe

/441 cont./

396 313 412 is about 35 centimeters long. There is no actual handle. The piece of bone is filed on a rough stone until the wedge shape appears, with a slightly rounded blade (Fig. 26). The Indians grasp the upper half of this wedge, lia, with the left hand, place it against the bark with light pressure, and, with a stone in the right hand, hammer it in until they hit the fibers of the wood. They handle it like a chisel. If they do not have a wedge of bone, they make the incisions in the bark with a filed mussel shell or with the true shell knife (125), but this takes longer and is far

125. Hyades (a):350 is speaking only of this when he maintains that the Fuegians "cut the bark on the tree by means of their mussel shells, sharpened and provided with a handle" /translated from French/.

more tiring.

396 313 After the piece of bark in the shape of a long rectangle has been outlined with the bone wedge, the man again ascends to the upper /442/ horizontal cut. Here he loosens the upper edge with the same or with a finer bone wedge, being careful not to split the bark. The more rounded the bark is, the more it tends to do this.

396 313 412 Some men use a peeler of bone known as /Figs. 26 and 27 appear here/ sĭña, according to HD:383 "a bone bark stripper" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):143 writes sánaka. It is about 60 centimeters long, quite flat, seven millimeters thick, and has the shape of a curved paper knife. It is made from a whale rib. It is pushed under the bark, little by little, about 15 centimeters deep, and with light leverage the bark is loosened all the way around, all the more safely since the peeler is slightly springy (Fig. 27) (126).

126. Spencer:131 says in this connection: "The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool" /cited in English/. Despard (b):679 probably also refers to this piece which he describes as "a whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife" /cited in English/.

[Text continues on page 115.-Analyst]

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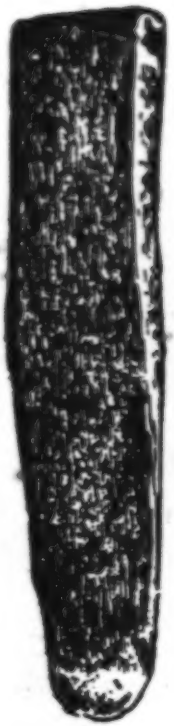

Fig. 26. Bone Wedge.
One-quarter natural size.

Fig. 27. Bark Peeler

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the
313 top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, *teškasins*, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

396 Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
313 /442/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
824 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156: 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

313
396

/443 cont./
sometimes makes two of them, but he always puts aside some pieces of bark with which to repair frequent damage" (La Nature: 278) /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):144 adds: "The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible" /cited in English/.

help him, however, if he loses his vessel at some distant point and if there is no one nearby who will convey him to those pieces of bark. At the least everyone makes a mental note of the trees from which suitable sheets of bark can be removed; then when there is an emergency, he need not waste time looking. Sometimes there is nothing to be done but to wait until the next spring and only then start building anew.

Every piece of bark of the required size is protected from drying up and becoming distorted by being kept under water. It is laid in a pool with a marshy bottom, the buoyancy of which prevents warping. Moderately large stones are placed upon it to keep it from protruding above the surface of the water and expanding unevenly.

β. Its Construction

396 Every Indian knows that the dried sections of the sheet of bark can no longer be made flexible. That is why he generally removes the bark just before he needs it, or he scrupulously keeps it under water until he begins the work. Even when he is working on it and an interruption of several days is forced upon him because of very bad weather or a shortage of food, he at times must place the sheet of bark under water. The sooner he completes his work, the firmer the bark remains.

Three large pieces of bark are necessary (129) for the

129. There are two additional small triangular pieces for the tips on bow and stern. Altogether there are five pieces, never seven as Krickeberg:319 maintains.

/643 cont./

39% construction of the canoe, two wide pieces for the sides and a long, narrower, thick piece as the center section. /644/ The men drag them out of the woods and lays them on an open and even, grassy surface where he wants to do his work. The inner bark fibers on the inside are scraped off with a scraper or knife, or even with nothing but a sharpened mussel shell. Then the piece is turned around, and the outside smoothed by planing off the surface. When that has been done, the bark pieces, one after the other, are made flexible by being heated.

The sheet of bark is laid on a long fire with even charcoal heat. It is constantly turned and shifted so that all parts on both sides are evenly heated, but also protected from burning. This makes the entire sheet flexible, like thick leather, and in this state it can be bent into the desired shape.

They then make a choice by eye among the three pieces. As we have said, the side parts, *kafa* (*kafa*), must be wide, the center part, *kiki*, which is to become the bottom of the boat, long and thick. Again measuring with his eye, the man begins [39%] by cutting each piece properly. He never uses a rule or any kind of similar tool, such as a string, a little stick, or the span of his own hand. The center piece is made in the shape of a cigar, that is, the right and left third of its total length tapers and the ends are approximately ten centimeters wide, or at least one end, in case the other tapers to a point. The latter is used for the bow, the former for the stern. The other two sheets of bark are cut in such a way that one edge is almost straight, the other curved; both ends of each piece terminate slantwise in narrow points. After the center piece has been cut, the side pieces are made to tally exactly by means of repeated fittings. They must be as flexible as possible, which is why they are again and again drawn through fresh water and afterwards through fire.

Two uniform thin poles are now needed for the upper edge or gunwale. In accordance with the proportions and the contour of the planned construction, about a dozen short sticks are pounded into the ground on either side. These are necessary as a scaffold and support for the parts not yet joined. As soon as the three pieces of bark have been accurately trimmed so that they fit together, they are placed in this framework. Sometimes the men also dig

/444 cont./

out the earth in the shape of the planned canoe. Then each of the two poles, [illegible], one after the other, is sewn to the straight edge of the side sheet of bark, as the board. Their front ends later form the extreme point of the bow which rarely extends two to three centimeters above the bark.

For the sewing, one needs strips about one millimeter thick and three millimeters wide from the most recent layer under the bark of young trunks of Nothofagus antarctica. They are extremely flexible and so tough that they neither peel off in strands nor break, even when they are dried out. If a person can get the more suitable strips of whalebone, he chooses them, but otherwise he must /445/ resort to using the fibers which he carefully prepares (130). Near the upper edge of the sheet of bark he bores

130. Hyades (2):351 describes how they are prepared: "One divides the fibers of whalebone or of the layer under the bark into strips of equal length and thickness, polished on the edges by being scraped with broken shells" /translated from French/. They are kept under water so as not to dry out or warp prematurely.

a small hole with a pointed bone awl and sticks the strip of wool fiber, [illegible], through it, draws it over the little pole, pulls it tight and continues in spirals about 13 centimeters apart until its entire length is fastened to the edge of the bark. The latter is safely protected by each of the two poles.

Before the long center piece of bark is fastened to the lower edges of the two side sections, approximately eight crossbars are fastened to the top. For these widths, one chooses branches as thick as a thumb from the [illegible] (Maytenus magellanica), whose wood is very tough and hard. He scrapes off the bark and at either end carves a stub-like button. Around the somewhat thinner neck just in front of this button he winds the [illegible] thread, and with this he ties each end of the crossbar to the upper edge of the sheet of bark. The deep tapering of the crossbars just short of their ends serves as a collar for the [illegible] strip, preventing it from slipping in either direction. The center crossbar is, of course, the

/445 cont./

39 widest, and the others gradually become shorter toward the bow and stern. They hold the two walls of the canoe apart and in place. The shape of the two upper edges of the canoe is now fixed.

Up to this point the two side sections are held by the sticks hammered into the ground. They remain there when next the bottom, the narrower third sheet of bark, is put into place. At times the body of the boat is turned upside down or on its side for greater convenience in working. In order to make the center piece fit very snugly against the side sections, a step-shaped notching is carved along the entire length of its two side edges and fitted into a small protruding border on the curved edge of each side section. This very exact carving is done with sharp splinters of mussel shells and is easy to do on the thick bottom section. This section is then sewed to the two side pieces with the whalebone or the [illegible] strip. Before these side pieces are pulled taut, the seams are stuffed, section by section, with moss, bundles of hay, and fine red algae to make them as watertight as possible (131) and also to prevent the woody thread from break-

131. Moreover, as Hyades (q):351 writes: "they are calked with stalks of wild celery or other plants" /translated from French/. Bridges amplifies this, saying: "The seams are caulked with soaked and bleached stalks of wild celery, to which clay is sometimes added" (MM:III, 38; 1869) /cited in English/.

ing (132). The wife helps with the calking or she does it alone;

132. Despard (b):679 calls attention to this: "A rope of hay placed on the seam inside prevents the thread from cutting through" /cited in English/.

she is more skillful at it than the man.

/446/ The body of the canoe is now finished. After that the two triangular end pieces, known as Hoclinix, also tumagai apaj

/448 cont./

3% are put into place on bow and stern. Sometimes only the one on the bow is deemed sufficient, if the excellence of the large bark pieces permits the one on the stern to be omitted. I was told that the construction of the canoe is sounder if the three large pieces of bark do not all taper to fine points at either end, but are cut off straight. The short triangular end pieces that are sewed to the cut surface prevent any tearing or splitting of the keel strip because they fit loosely. These two ikaf'inis are also sewed on with fine threads. Moreover, a thread made of braided mdyi (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) is wound tight around the extreme tip, its free end knotted on the last or the next-to-the-last small cranber. This prevents the fine tip from twisting outward which it tends to do because it frequently gets damp and then dries again.

[283 284]

The middle third of the edges on both sides of the canoe is most subject to damage, for this is where one climbs in and out and also where most of the things are loaded. Hence, for greater safety, they make a separate gunwale of pieces of bark from a trunk of Maytenus magellanica as thick as an arm. They peel off the bark and split it into equal halves; these are immediately placed on the edges of the canoe, each between two cranbers. Each half bends to form a half cylinder and is automatically clamped into place; it needs no other fastening. This bark facing, ofuska, has another advantage. It extends along the section in which the woman sits to row and thus protects her arms from injury. In rowing and steering she often rests them on the gunwale.

[324]

The outer construction of the canoe is now finished. It needs only a few additions to give it support and firmness. For this purpose, slender wooden ribs as thick as a finger are used, namely, branches of Drimys winteri or of a Nothofagus, split down the middle. Both ends are cut to a short point, and the individual rib bent into a half circle. They are arranged according to their length and pressed into the belly of the canoe so that they lie tight against the entire inner wall and are clamped under the gunwale on either side. These wooden ribs, tenkila, are close to each other; about 50 are used altogether. Before they are finally clamped into place, the small spaces and holes between them and the lower half of the canoe wall are stuffed with moss, algae, and grasses, for the thin-walled construction requires a great deal of caulking. The vegetable matter used for this purpose is known

[324]

/bill cont./

3% by the collective name, [illegible]. Short bench twigs are pushed under the bent-up ends of the ribs, which, as coal packing, give them more support and a firm seat. One wants to make the most of the remnant, for it, too, strengthens and protects the entire bark wall.

/bill/ The central section of the canoe bottom gets the greatest load. Since there is danger of its breaking through, it is strengthened with a few flattened strips of bark placed loosely over the ribs without any fastening. They are arranged in two rows and are easily shoved apart sideways so that in the deepest section, in the center of the canoe, the water that has filtered in can be scooped out from time to time. These pieces of bark, [illegible], are placed with the bark side against the canoe bottom; they fit against it very well. The weight of the passengers is thus distributed over a broad, springy base.

The canoe, however, is not yet satisfactory, because the strips of bark that have just been put into place are neither sufficiently comfortable for a person to sit upon, nor do they offer a secure footing. Hence a special lining, so to speak, is added in the middle of the canoe by placing several longer strips of bark a hand's breadth wide on top of the [illegible]. The bark side, which has been smoothed, is placed upward; this helps to keep the entire strip flat. The two narrow edges are first cut straight across, and then these [illegible], bent into a semicircle, are pushed under the gunwale on each side. They were carefully measured beforehand, hence they rest tightly on the rib for their entire length. They cover the shorter [illegible] on the floor of the canoe. One [illegible] strip is placed very carefully beside the other; between the two middle pieces a small slit is left free for bailing out the water that leaks. These [illegible] and the rib described above were given the required semicircular shape by repeated classic bending after they were saturated with water and heated in the fire. Their free edges must be cut very exactly, so that one strip of bark is joined very closely to the next, for only in this way do they serve their purpose (138), namely, to provide the occupant with a place to

138. The length of these bark pieces is determined by the size of the canoe. Hyades (q) Bill overlooked this fact.

316 /last name./
of flint is as dry as possible (134).

134. The word given above, according to BD: 888, means "three pieces of bark placed in canoes where the people sit to strengthen the canoe and to guard it from injury, as well as to give comfort to the occupant" /Attend to English/.

The canoe is now finished. It takes an industrious man two to three weeks, if he can continue his work undisturbed and if he finds the necessary parts nearby. He always works in the shade, for the rays of the sun would heat the pieces of bark and distort them. The proportions of this vessel depend on the number of members in the family, but the length never exceeds five meters in a straight line between the two extremities. The widest part from one gunwale to the other is under one meter, the depth in the center fluctuates around 70 centimeters (130). /Field/ If we

534

136. Bows (p).107 and Collot. 102] write: "The length varies between four meters and six meters, the width between 70 centimeters and 80 centimeters."

compare the canoe of the Tsimsca, Bows, with that of the Haidaweilag, we easily cannot overlook the differences in dimensions, the latter is noticeably shorter and narrower, even somewhat fairer than the latter (136).

136. More or less detailed descriptions of the bark canoe can be found in Bridges (1):33, Bows (4):880 and (p).107, Collot Pinnacles: 888, Cojeanti: 180, Dobbsons (p).180, Dongaid (p). 670, Pine-Bay (p):140, Hyndon (p):880, Lashday (p):143, Marcial:130, Spagnanini (p):141, Sterling in VSA:82, 107, 1886; Wallace: I, 198, Waddel (p):94, Wingfoot:88, and others. The individual parts used in it are listed in 80, and the kinds of handwork performed are named.

534

/1445 cases /
Hyndes pg 303 collected and wrote down many tables.

7. In Amsterdam

534 This Engelse family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they often relatively have one camping place to another, they always take all their /Pg. 18 opgaven home/ belongings, little though

Fig. 18. Lontoe Hand Pomerow.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the men his weapons are indispensable, and the women must always have a few little things handy. We shall not speak of all those things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an Eboe (1.17).

1.17. Ludwig /Pg 140 says: "When fully equipped, the Tolgyes canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fire-rings, four spears (fish, reed, crab, and trident), dipnet, cloth, glass mending rope or thong, back basket, fish-line" /Literal in English/.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and 396 also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap 293 of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick hide of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task. 396 Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the 501 shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually leads over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [o]: 547). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering:19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the North-western tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 29 appears here./ Lothrop (b):147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ápi; they are also called tstatéga and tuwéna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

505 The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, af, partly in
372 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space. The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/450 cont./

501 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a túku does not have to be
415 made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /451/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 30) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of these scoops lie about in every canoe. /Fig. 30 appears here./

140. Hyades (q):307 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "shovels made of tree-bark," as Bove (e):157 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (b):147.

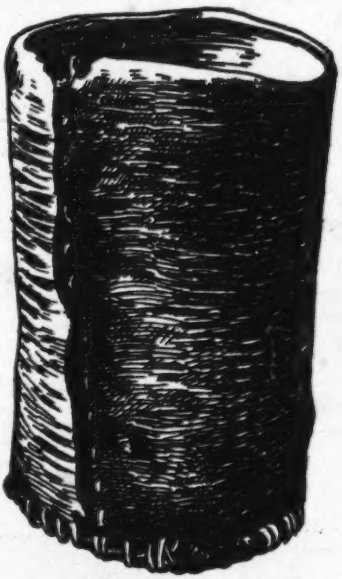

Fig. 30. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

501 The last item of the accessories
283 that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush stalks that Hyades (q):414 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three strands and is at least 160 centimeters long (Fig. 31). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

Fig. 31. Rope Made of Marsippospermum. One-half natural size.

/451 cont./

501 283 ~~is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound~~ into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, witéga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

141. In his time, Snow (a):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted" /cited in English/.

501 462 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/452/ δ. Its Efficiency

505 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section; except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/452 cont./

505 will venture to cross a quiet bay with an overload that they would never take out into an open channel. The question as to how many persons can be accommodated in a canoe cannot be answered in a single word; at any rate, there is enough room for the parents and the unmarried children of a family, a total of about six or seven (142); Dabbene (b):180 speaks of "up to eight

142 According to Hyades (q):304 it includes "as an ordinary load, seven persons, three of whom are children, one of these being carried on the back or held at the breast of its mother" /translated from French/.

or ten persons" /translated from Spanish/. They step into the divisions formed by the crosspieces. Here, without exception, they squat in the bottom of the canoe and remain quiet in their crouched position, all but the woman who must paddle. Anyone who stands up risks upsetting the unsteady balance. The children sit deep down in the center section and sometimes their eyes do not reach even to the level of the gunwale. Thus, they add a great deal to the stability of the vessel. The man's place is at the bow, the rear third belongs to the woman. The weight of at least two adults is necessary when the sea is turbulent; actual ballast is unknown.

502 We have repeatedly mentioned that the bark canoe of our Yamana, because of its light construction and unsubstantial load, maintains an unstable equilibrium on the water. For this very reason each of the occupants avoids gross body movements, and actual rowing is out of place here. The Indians possess a large measure of self-control, even the children can remain for hours almost motionless in one spot, to prevent the vessel from rocking. L'Hermite was reminded of "Venetian gondolas" (p. 53 /untranslated/) when he saw the bark canoes in Nassau Gulf, and the beautiful comparison Goicueta used for the vessel of the Halakwulup also applies to /453/ that of our Fuegians. On the surface of the water it really does look "like a four-day moon, with the elevated points" /translated from Spanish/, gliding by motionlessly.

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A strange feeling comes over a European when he rides in it. At my request, Fred Lawrence had a bark canoe built by old Pedro for the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile (143). It has a maximum length of 410 centimeters and a

143. See the more detailed accounts in Gusinde (b):153.

maximum width of 103 centimeters. He handed it over to me at the beginning of 1920. Until it was loaded, this valuable piece was kept in a sheltered bay near Punta Remolino, so that it would not dry out and crack. I, therefore, seized the opportunity and took several trips in it, accompanied by Indians. This canoe is actually the last of its kind that the practiced hands of a Fuegian have built (144). At first sight it surprises one not a little that

144. I attach importance to this fact. This canoe is kept in the Museo Histórico de Chile at Santiago, with which the previously independent collection of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología has been combined since 1929. Since it was not used by a Fuegian family, Lothrop (b):143, Figure 72 was correct, with this qualification, when he wrote under the reproduction of an earlier photograph, presumably from the year 1893: "The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b): 181 refers to the same vessel: "At the Tekenika mission I saw what I believe to be the last Fagus-bark canoe still in existence. It is not being used there and is preserved by the missionaries solely as a specimen of this ancient industry" /translated from Spanish/.

only a short section of the keel is in the water. If one is the first to step in, he must put his foot on the center line, otherwise the vessel lists almost completely to one side. Inside, no matter how short a step one takes in front of the other foot, the center of gravity shifts, which causes considerable rocking lengthwise.

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501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant, he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utterly reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

502, 731 Out of this some of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (145). Many a casualty is remembered

145. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fuegians wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

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/454 cont./
only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies.
[273] In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, tēpē̊a (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are
[823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[197] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/455 cont./

501 It takes boundless audacity to risk journeys to distant regions in an extremely fragile, completely unprotected vessel on treacherous waves. The vessel's construction shows its limited, brief durability. No matter how anxiously the wife tries to protect it, sooner or later and unavoidably the bark splits and cracks, if only because of the unequal heating of individual parts by the sun, and even more by many unavoidable blows, by the rough handling on the beach when it is brought to safety, and finally by the shifting load when the natives board and leave the canoe. True, the bark is flexible and it bends, but in doing so the firm cohesion of the finest fibers is loosened, which leads to visible breaks.

If a canoe is spared an actual accident and unusual damage, it serves a family who takes good care of it a whole year or somewhat longer. My Indian friends and my European informants assured me of this. Earlier reports mention lower figures. Hyades (g):38 and (q):304 writes: "In general one assumes that a good canoe will remain serviceable for not more than half a year (146), despite all the care that man and woman together

> 146. Bridges, too, says: The canoes "are very fragile, and it is necessary to make a new one every six months" (MM:III, 115; 1869) /cited in English/.

employ to preserve it." Despard (b):680 even says that "these canoes last only about three months" /cited in English/(147).

> 147. If this is true, his next sentence is most certainly correct: "So a man has to make a good many [canoes] in a few years, and must become pretty expert by the time he is 40" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):180, however, agrees with me that its "duration can be reckoned approximately at one year" /translated from Spanish/.

396 The uncertainty in this matter among European judges may have arisen from the fact that in the fall, as well as in the spring,

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396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 462 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She 462 502 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

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462 502 with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the [147] gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word ate'gaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

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396 462 [423] Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wʌalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. [476] The men help each other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

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E. Dugout Canoe and Skiff

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177 With the tools that our Yamana had until they became more familiar with European iron implements, it was impossible for them to build any vessel other than the bark canoe which we have just described. It is only in the last fifty years that some men have built actual dugout canoes. Later they adopted the flat skiff.

1. The dugout. Without doubt our Yamana first saw this vessel in the possession of the neighboring Halakwulup. They had long before adopted it and occasionally appeared in the Yamana region. The Whites brought them the iron ax much earlier, and only with it were they able to hollow out a tree trunk properly. /458/ There is no difficulty in providing historical proof for this innovation among our southernmost Fuegians. In early July, 1876, Bridges (i):15 was on Isla Smoke in the Seno Ladrones, straight north of Stewart Island. Here he entered the following in his diary: "A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan, wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern" /cited in English/. The central and eastern Yamana groups actually do regard the extreme Westerners as murderers and cannibals, which is a subject we shall treat in detail below. On July 25, 1876, Bridges found such a specimen lying unused in the woods, "a hallowed /sic/ tree, 29 feet long, two feet through in widest part and three feet high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use" /cited in English/. It was not until two years later, on February 2, 1878, that Bridges (i):16 saw the first fully occupied dugout in Yendegaia: "The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work" /cited in English/. Following this model (151), a few Yamana of the central areas also replaced

151. Lothrop (b):145, differing from my account, asserts: "The first dugout canoe used

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by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as John Furness" /cited in English/. That "this innovation apparently was an independent invention" /cited in English/, I cannot accept; the above historical data are proof of this.

their ancient bark canoe (152). This is emphatically confirmed

152. The Yamana never adopted the actual raft, such as Bridges (i):16 saw for the first time on February 16, 1883, in the possession of the Halakwulup, which consisted of five long planks sewed together. They probably never adopted it because they soon learned how to build the skiff.

by a report in La Nature:275: "The Yahgan...more rarely hollow out the trunk of a tree and give it the shape of a canoe (during the entire year 'La Romanche' saw only one single vessel of this type)" /translated from French/.

In the following years this new form almost completely superseded the bark vessel in all sections of the Fuegian area (153).

153. On January 2, 1902, Mr. Pringle wrote: "The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM:XXXVI, 49; 1902) /cited in English/. Exactly two decades earlier Martial: 191 announced: "We have found in Beagle Channel one of these canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):181 was impelled to confess: "Today this kind of vessel [of bark] is no longer made, and the one used at present by the Yahgan is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree" /translated from Spanish/. Furlong (b):128 also mentions without qualification that "the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cted in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully caulked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transferred to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/459 cont./

396 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The natives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

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501 Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served the Yamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation,
504 the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, tuwēteka, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 31) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

> 154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

/460 cont./

50[abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b] :148) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Río Douglas. As Lothrop (b):148 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into the among the Yamana and disappeared again (156).

156. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

39% [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/401 cont./

or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (137).

137. Wieghardt:31 writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the crosspieces" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Merrill:130. Formerly the Tapuias did not know of this expedient, for, as Wallace:2,194 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

This fact shall no longer remain anything of secret to us. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Tarumas people have been able to put together the skill described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, what, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Tarumas until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (138). Its advantages and its

138. Cooper:187 likewise comes to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and ribs and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (p):139 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious utility that poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every candid observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

[fall over.]

5. Bow and Arrow

[fall] No one seriously doubts the fact that the Selk'nam are primit, so to speak, in their bow and arrow (Hyd. 1, 190). The significance of this weapon for the Tehuelche, however, is usually underestimated or completely misunderstood. I suspect that in former times these things played an important role, and historical accounts substantiate this. Anyone looking over the older tribal accounts finds that the bow and arrow are mentioned at least as often as other weapons and implements, with the exception of the bark canoe.

[fall] In the first drawing of the Tehuelche for which we are indebted to L'Hermite [Fig. 11 /Ed./, one foreign man, unaccompanied portion], bow and arrow appear in the foreground, whereas spears are in the background. Dalton mentions the former first and only later the "long javelins" (p. 98 /unnecessary/). Among the material possessions of the inhabitants of Orange Bay, J. d'Urquizade saw, only "some bows and arrows and some instruments of great antiquity" /translated from Zeitschr/ (p. 98 /unnecessary/). Lieut George Fenner (p.197) even mentioned of the Fuegians near his Wasserman, "Bows and arrows were their only weapons." Fifty years later, in December, 1921, Wiedmi (p.114 borrowed, among other "relics," bows and arrows with the Indians in Santa Cruz. "The bows were mostly three feet, eight inches long and made out of a smooth, firm, flexible wood. The bowstring is wool cord or plaited gut. The arrows are made of hard wood and are well polished, 35 inches long, and have a triangular pointed stone fastened to at the tip. When the arrow penetrates something, the wood can be pulled out, but the stone sticks fast." In April, 1908, some seven years later, Hatcher reported to the English fleet commander, King-Hill, that the natives of Beagle Channel had as weapons "bib spears, bows, arrows, and slings" /tried to English/. Shortly thereafter Fitz-Roy (p.126 submitted the following description. "These arrows are of hard wood, well polished, and quite straight. They are about two feet in length, and to a notch at the point have a sharp triangular piece of agate, chalcedon, or broken glass. The bow is from three to four feet long, quite plain, with a string made of twisted sinews" /tried to English/. Almost at the same time Wollaston [, 186 lay at

/462 cont./

441 anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fuegians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fuegians and to this day there is a bow stave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (159).

159. Cooper:208 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

441 178 [197] When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fuegians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Stirling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237; 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

160. When he (k):239 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique ran across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (q):360 and (h):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 192

/463 cont./

411 maintains that "the Yahgans who live in the region east of the
178 Beagle Channel also use the bow and arrow to hunt guanaco" /translated from French/, whereas, according to Hyades (q):300, they were used in the central region to hunt birds (161). The

> 161. "These arrows are used very little at Orange Bay; the Fuegians say that they are sometimes useful to them in killing birds" (ibid.) /translated from French/.

Italian expedition under Bove that traveled through those regions in the following year saw neither bow nor arrow. Spegazzini's private complaint (a):162 prevailed also among his companions, namely, that among the Fuegians "the bow and arrows are well known to them, but I saw no one carrying such instruments" /translated from Spanish/. Luck was so little with Lovisato (a): 198 and (c):721 that he cried in despair: "The Yahgan... have neither bows nor arrows; on the contrary, I found no one among these people who knew how to make an arrow point for me" /translated from Italian/ (162). On my four trips I made a point

> 162. He (b):137 describes these weapons in detail as unique among the Selk'nam; he also mentions that they are used by the Halakwulup, but not by the Yamana. Compare Krickeberg: 318.

of asking about bows and arrows, but not a single specimen was in existence. Similarly, Lothrop (b):155 was unable to find out anything about them.

411 From these communications and reports, which could be amplified with unessential details, we may deduce the undeniable fact that this Indian tribe actually used bow and arrow. The conditions of our natives have been investigated much too little in the past centuries, and for a long time European ships anchored only a few days in individual places in the south and east. From the existing travel accounts one might conclude that these weapons were used more often in the east and less in the central regions,

/463 cont./

411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island.
[178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

a. The Bow

411 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should
171 like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are alight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

/464 cont./

411 The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wę́ana, wą́iana, [824] wą́iyana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus betuloides (165). As a whole

165. Erroneously Hyades (q):298 maintains that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 160 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:193.

411 The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen
114 is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Navidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fuegians (p. 57 /untranslated/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Bahía de

/465 cont./

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Buen Suceso, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390. adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 36). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Yamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 243).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

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The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Yamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

/465 cont./

411 171 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great stress (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):361 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (h):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

411 283 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the [177] pinniped; the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

168. Hyades (q):298 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that [171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems [824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ǎiyaku²,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/466 cont./

441 322 elastically bending the parts that stand out. Painstakingly and carefully he must now cut a notch at either end; the one for the arrowhead is deep and sharp-edged, the other shallow and rounded. This is accomplished by means of protracted rubbing and filing with a small splinter of sandstone or with the rough edge of a mussel shell.

441 324 Slate, as well as quartz, is found in various places on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and both kinds of stone are used for the arrowheads, known as ĕkĕna, inix, yĕlkus. Slate is the easiest to work. The Indians choose a suitable small slab of stone, and, scraping it on a fine-grained piece of sandstone, they try first to obtain the desired triangular shape with the sharp edges on both sides which converge in a flat point. Afterwards they carefully fashion the perfectly rectangular tang. /467/ These points always turn out to be small. Their total length is about 30 millimeters, seven millimeters of which apply to the tang; the largest distance between the lateral corners is around 15 millimeters (Fig. 32).

Sometimes the arrowheads of quartz (170) are a little

170. Fitz-Roy (a):139 speaks in general of "arrows headed with obsidian, agate, or jasper" /cited in English/, which is more or less correct.

longer, and the base of the triangle is a slightly curved arch. In order to achieve this and to fashion the necessary tang, the Yamana (171) proceeds exactly as does the Selk'nam. He hangs

171. Wieghardt: 26 erroneously believes that "the Ona make these points, because the Yahgan do not know how to work either glass or obsidians" /translated from Spanish/.

a soft /Fig. 32 appears here/ scrap of leather over his left palm and with this he grasps the suitable stone splinter with thumb and index finger. While he works he rests his left fist against his thigh. His right fist grasps a small blunt stick of bone which he

/467 cont./

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324 places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he presses off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off; it is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and even more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Alfredo a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 55 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Yamana needs a whole /468/ day." Nowadays, [177] instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172), [illegible]

Fig. 32. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (h):34 and (q):360 mentions that "the Fuegian Jakaif simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

411 /468 cont./

[177] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

> 173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b):156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 237 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

> 174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

411 uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

411 177 Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam; it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yàmana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

28/ 411 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions, and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 [171] This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use.
[439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and
441 arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

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8. The ~~Small Harpoon~~

225 411 For nourishment the Yamana are almost as dependent on pinnipeds as they are on mussels. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /untranslated/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 33). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

> 175. Lothrop (b):152 describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 313 [824] The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long strap, wusúkesa, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /471/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bast zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tukalapéna (Fig. 26) and with a suitable stone as hammer; he has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/471 cont./

411 part that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These
313 layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

Through endless scraping with quartz splinters,
411 sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the
322 long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 milli-
[342] meters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. To the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Weddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplements: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/471 cont./

411 313 In July, 1923, I asked old Walter to tell me exactly how the shafts for harpoons and spears were made in former times. He invited me to take a walk through the nearby forest at Punta Remolino. My faithful friend and dependable guide, the Selk'nam Indian Toin (Vol. I, 116) also joined us. Walter examined many beech trees with a sharp eye, and it took some time until he finally decided to cut down a suitable one. He used an iron ax, but showed both of us the former procedure which was incomparably more arduous. On our way home he emphasized several times that only the piece he had cut out had the required characteristics, and that the shaft must vibrate well when grasped in the middle. If one chooses other layers of wood, he has to worry about the shaft's bending or warping after repeatedly becoming wet.

411 321 /472/ The other part of this harpoon is the bone point with a single large tooth. For this one selects that portion of a whale rib that has the least curvature. The superfluous ends are taken off with sandstone by a long filing process (177). The piece of bone

177. Nowadays they use iron tools. Despard observed that with regard to the whalebone the Yamana "chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with muscle /sic/ shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP:VI, 52; 1859) /cited in English/.

is shaped by pushing it back and forth with light pressure over a flat sandstone. When the curved edge of the back and the upper point are finished, a notch about ten centimeters long is cut into the lower third. This notch must then be finished off with a barb pointing downward. The whole process is nothing more than /Fig. 34 appears here/ endless grinding and filing with narrow pieces of sandstone and pumice. It requires a long time and much patience, for the bone tissue is extremely hard. The lower end, a rectangle about six centimeters long and three centimeters wide, is wedge-shaped. The sides of this tang are purposely left somewhat uneven so that it will fit more securely into the notch. A length of about 22 to 40 centimeters and a width of about 36 millimeters are the measurements most frequently observed for

/472 cont./

these large bone points of the small harpoon. Sometimes one of them will turn out somewhat unsymmetrical or bent to one side when the natural curvature of the whale rib could not be completely obliterated by grinding. The lower /473/ jawbone, ináka, of the whale is most highly prized. It can be made into a very hard and quite symmetrical point which also has a more accurate aim (178).

178. Bridges (k):14 mentions: "Points for lances are made from the jaw of the whale" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject

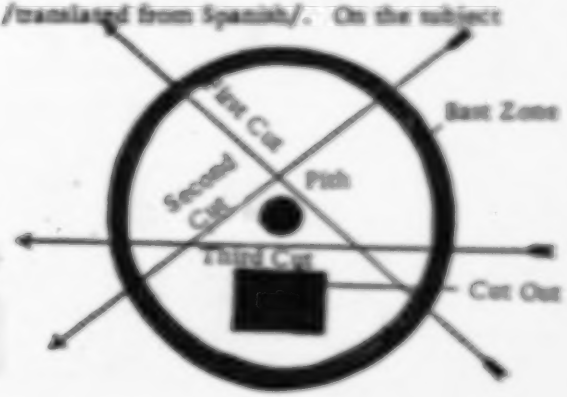

Fig. 34. Diagram Showing How a Shaft is Cut Out.

of making harpoon points, Hyades (q):365 makes the more general statement that "the Fuegians use a bone of the whale or sometimes a seal bone, but the bones of whale are preferred" /translated from French/. Earlier Snow (a):II, 361 reported: "Their principal spear-heads are entirely constructed of hard bone, and are about seven inches long, finely pointed, with a barb on one side four inches from the point" /cited in English/.

/473 cont./

411 284 This large bone point requires a two-fold fastening. If we may express it thus. Its tang is pressed into the open notch of the wooden shaft. Since it is wedge-shaped and the notch is narrow, it is jammed in tightly. In spite of that, a narrow strip of leather, tuwarárum, is wrapped around it about nine times. This strip has previously been well soaked and is tightly lashed, whereupon the free end is knotted. When it dries, this lashing is even more constricted and becomes all the more secure. There is by no means a special attempt to secure the spearhead in the notch; in fact, they expect it to slide out at the proper moment. Hence a second fastening is intended to keep the spearhead joined to the shaft and freely movable. Over the tang of the bone spearhead, that is, around the lower part of the notch, they place a leather strap of sealskin about 12 millimeters wide and knot it. The other end is knotted securely on the wooden shaft itself, not more than 70 centimeters from the notch. The strap is not taut, and they purposely let it hang loosely. Before the spearhead is pressed into the notch, the strap is twisted around its longitudinal axis until it is rolled up lengthwise and has a strong tendency to unwind. It is kept from doing so as soon as it is secured at the top. Sometimes this short piece of strap hangs flat and loose.

411 225 Only now is the weapon ready for the hunter to use. It is surprisingly functional. Since it is hurled, the heavy wooden shaft gives it ample force. When the bone point has penetrated the body of a seal or related animal, the latter immediately tries to shake off the burdensome foreign body. In one way or another the spearhead will detach itself from the shaft. Immediately the latter will twist somewhat slantwise and will keep on turning in the water until the rolled-up strap has uncoiled itself. The strap was purposely fastened, not in the middle part of the shaft, but on the upper third. After the shaft has detached itself from the spearhead, it does not stand exactly at right angles, but at a more or less acute angle from the direction in which the animal strains forward. This averts the danger of its snapping and yet acts as a considerable brake. Sometimes floating algae get tangled up in the shaft and the thong, which notably increases the resistance in the water. The wounded animal is seriously hindered in quick flight or deep diving, and the successful hunter can

§ [For the harpoon.— Analyst]

/473 cont./

411 225 easily overtake it. If it flees into a floating /474/ clumps of algae, the dragging shaft will inevitably get tangled up, and the exhausted animal will certainly fall into the hands of its pursuer.

Extraordinary ingenuity has invented this weapon and perfected it. It works with surprising certainty.

4. The Large Harpoon

What we have just discovered about the working principle of the small harpoon also commits the missile that I call the large harpoon (Fig. 38): the wounded animal must not escape the hunter who has just delivered a piercing blow. The two weapons differ only in a minor factor, which, however, furnishes brilliant testimony of the keen power of invention of the Indians. Earlier observers speak about the harpoons, but the way in which they safely and easily deliver the booty into the hands of the Indian is nowhere described. It is this which reveals the great efficiency of these weapons.

In most of its details the large harpoon is like the small one, and the latter can be transformed into the former with a few manipulations. Above all, the shaft, for which the hard wood of the evergreen beech is chosen, must be altogether even and about three meters long. If it were bent only the slightest bit or otherwise defective, there would not be sufficient certainty of hitting the target. In general our natives do not handle their implements very cautiously or carefully, but every man tends his missile weapons with care and a certain amount of attention. He places them as upright as possible beside his hut, and in the canoe he lays them safely in the bow section so that they do not warp. The wood for the shaft is taken out of the concentric layer [134] of a younger Nothofagus betuloides in the manner shown in Figure 34.

411 224 Earlier accounts of this are inaccurate and incomplete. Anyone who knows the various species of Fuegian wood will never agree with Hyades (h):24 and (q):202 that the trunk of Drimys winteri (p. 28 /unresolved/) is also suitable for the harpoon shaft. The situation is different with the young trunks of the Fuegian cypress (Libocedrus tetragona), Spegz., which always

/474 repr./

grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (178), and for most of the Yaruana they are

178. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g) 18 reports that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a dull spade from the evergreen beech, N. b. f., which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe on the average cone-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 28 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 35 appear here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

The narrow slit at the upper end of the large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is fastened into it; a narrow leather strip is

Fig. 35. The Large Harpoon.

/475 cont./

wood around a sighty to check the close bettings. If one of the principals is to be harpooned, even if it is the mighty male of the sea elephant, [illegible] (descriptive terminal) (Fig. 1 /Tot., sea foreign text, unmentioned person/), the hunter chooses a bone point of medium length with a single large tooth on the mid-barrow and with two large barbs (Fig. 3b) (10b). The bone

10b. Hyades (p) 000 mistakenly maintains: "It is very rare to see harpoon points in bone, movable, with a notch on either side in the form of a spearhead" /translated from French/. This form is no less frequently made and used than the medium-sized and very large bone point with a single tooth.

measures about 12 centimeters. Under their thick leather skin the above-mentioned animals carry a thinner layer of fat than whales do under their epidermis, but the bone point is supposed to penetrate as deep as possible into the muscular layer where the two lateral teeth function more precisely as barbed hooks. This is also the reason why a bone spearhead more than 40 centimeters long with a sharp tooth is preferred for harpooning whales. A shorter bone point would, for the most part, stick too in the layer of fat and therefore be almost ineffectual.

The thing that conspicuously distinguishes this weapon from the so-called small sea harpoon is a long leather rope of 30 or more meters. It is evenly run from the freshly stained hole of a principal and is always left coiled up. One end is securely fastened to the notch /[illegible]/ of the spearhead. From here it is drawn down along the shaft and held there with two or three bows over-hoops. In aiming and throwing, the man holds the shaft approximately in the center, and the smooth of coiled rope hangs on his left forearm (10c). /Fig. 3b appears here./ When he has hit the animal,

10c. Snow (p) 81, 301 says: "In the bone a standard a string hole of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it exactly by the middle, and with the right eye can along it, they due to with great precision" /cited in

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/470 cont./

English/. Bowe's (c)1.88 description is more accurate.

the bone point and the shaft remain attached for a time, but it is much more disadvantageous for the wounded animal if it must drag along the loosened shaft which moves irregularly. With bearing movements of the rope -- that is why it is attached to the shaft with cross-loops -- the man succeeds in detaching the shaft from the bone point that is stuck in the animal. Then he gives the animal as much rope as possible; after it has grown tired or lost a great deal of blood, he draws it toward him slowly and gently, at the same time easily coiling in the rope.

Fig. 38. Twin-barbed Harpoon Point. Two-thirds natural size.

It hardly seems possible that the seas can so much as cause influence the direction taken by the escaping seal with the loose shaft which is directly beside the harpoon point sticking in the flesh. Even if one or the other of the cross-loops on the shaft should be loosened or shift, the shaft never stands at right angles, but at an acute angle to the direction of movement. This prevents it from breaking when the wounded animal violently strains forward.

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The hunter usually throws off this weapon as soon as he is on firm ground. If he uses it while he is in the canoe the greatest caution is required, especially when a whale has been wounded with it. After the animal has been hit with a lucky throw, some men succeed in keeping on shore or on a rock while holding onto the end of the long leather rope or wrapping it around their body. Now they have a firm foothold and the canoe is out of danger. Sometimes the canoe can get close to the wounded animal and another person given it the final stab. With the long leather rope of this harpoon several men may even pull a floating dead whale to shore.

/476 cont./

225
411 Despite the fact that they are very similar, the large harpoon and the small harpoon are somewhat different. The virtue of both lies in their /477/ movable bone point (182). The longest that is

182. That is why Hyades (q):353 and (h):24 describes them as "movable harpoons" /translated from French/, and Dabbene (b):184, concurring, calls them "harpoons with a movable point" /translated from Spanish/.

ever made is placed on the small harpoon and then again on the large harpoon when a whale is attacked. With this the men strive to inflict a deep wound.

5. Javelin and Spear

Besides the missile weapons with movable points, the Yamana also uses those with a fixed point. The former I call harpoons; among the latter I distinguish the javelin from the spears. The javelin also consists of the octagonal shaft described above, sáia, about three meters long, which is usually surmounted by the long bone point with one tooth, ɛowaja. Both are securely fastened. When the point is embedded in the animal's body, the shaft must not slide out, but must, by its weight, enlarge the wound and prevent the animal from escaping. The hunter uses this javelin primarily when attacking a seal that he has surprised on land or when he wishes to inflict severe wounds on an exhausted whale. This weapon is particularly suitable for that, since the shaft is heavy and the sharpened, long bone point penetrates deeply. Against smaller animals that carry a thinner layer of fat on their bodies, the two-barbed shorter bone point, wáixil, is also reliable, or even the long-toothed bone point, šušuwaja. Although neither of them pierces deeply into the body because they are blunter than the ɛowaja, they cling sufficiently so that the dragging shaft tears open the wound and there is greater loss of blood. In other words, the javelin is most effective when the hunter is on firm ground and can put the entire strength of his arm into the thrust.

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as ligher thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the šušuwaja, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used ex-
321 clusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183),

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'auaia,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-rowed, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
223 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/478 cont./

411 237 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used; a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is [824] that of Berberis ilicifolia which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, húma ámpa, has the great advantage of durability; it is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Yamana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spears:58 maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveler. I saw such fish spears among the Halakwulup, however.

[824] forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Nothofagus betuloides. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /479/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed hook and the shaft as ballast, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guanaco-spear" of the eastern Yamana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, 245.

/479 cont./

411 The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe whever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing
463 these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in
437 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the
554 beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yānúku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are
411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):132, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (h):23 and (q):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

/479 cont./
411 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

[171] 187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters [824] long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yékus, has a triangular

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps [225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of [177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

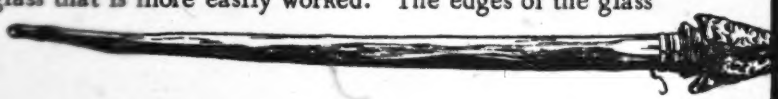

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my [126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must [172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.—Analyst]

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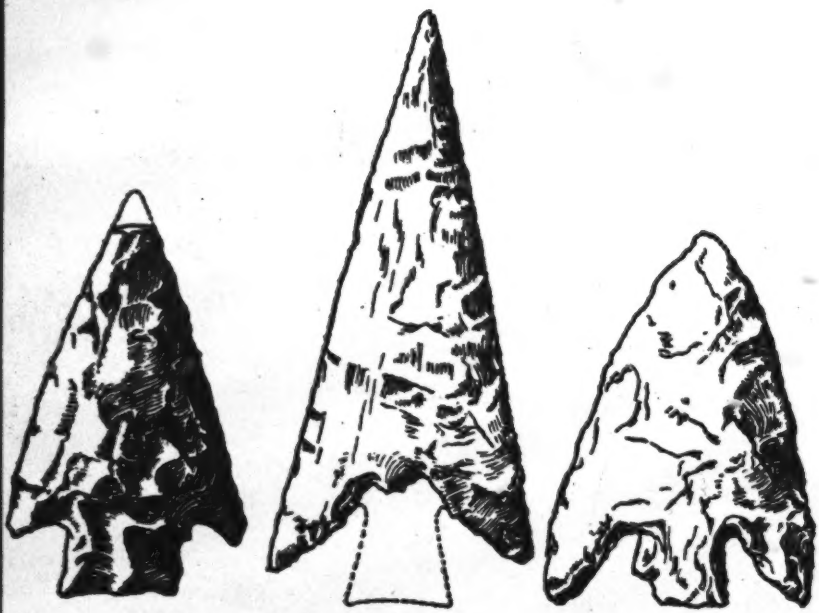

Fig. 39. Dagger Points or Lance Points.
Natural size.

/481 cont./

411 purpose as the javelin. The latter is distinguished by its bone point from the differently shaped stone point of the former, which, practically without exception, is fixed to a round, long shaft, yéyakĕr (189).

189. Krickeberg: 318 designates the javelin and the harpoon as "original weapons." The Yahgan and Alikuluf /Alacaluf/ probably first took over bows and arrows, slings and bolas from the Ona. Hence bows and arrows are rather rare among the Yahgan, poorly constructed among the Alikuluf, and only the Alikuluf have bolas and understand how to use the sling well. This cannot by any means be said of the Yahgan." My observations confirm the accuracy of these sundry details.

7. The Sling

Our Fuegians use the sling somewhat less than the harpoon and lance, but nevertheless very frequently. It has the special name of šafina, and the stone hurled with it is called watáuwa, wĕtáwa. The last two names are sometimes given to the sling itself. /482/ /Fig. 40 appears here./ Historical evidence confirms without doubt that since our natives have been known they have used and still use the sling. In the first report written by A. Decker, officer of the land forces in Nassau Gulf, in February, 1624, he lists "slings" (p. 53 /untranslated/) among the weapons of the indigenous Indians. Subsequently slings were constantly referred to in the reports. Weddell (a):94 described them in detail, and Snow (a):II, 361 even more specifically: "The Sling is made of the skin of the seal or otter. It is generally about three feet long, and of the common forms: the strings are sometimes made of small gut, handsomely plaited, and terminated by knots of ingenious workmanship /cited in English/. In 1839 Pickering:19 was among these Fuegians and maintained that their weapons "consist only of slings and spears" /cited in English/. Later the

[Text continued on page 174.-Analyst]

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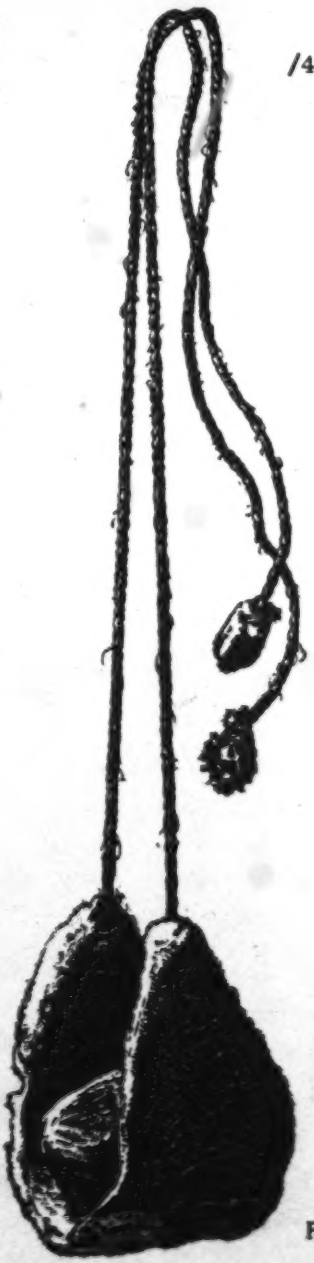

Fig. 40. The Sling.

/482 cont./

411 missionaries and travelers of the last few decades still found this weapon (190). I saw the natives playing with it a great deal and

190. The following have furnished good descriptions: Bove (b):156, Cojazzi:109, Colini:161, Dabbene (b):185, Hyades (h):29 and (q):301, 357, Lothrop (b):156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a):162, Spencer:131, Wieghardt: 25, and others.

hunting smaller animals.

171 411 If one compares the sling of our natives (Fig. 40) with that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 243), he will scarcely find any marked difference; actually, the construction of both is, so to speak, completely identical. For the center section the Yamana choose a scrap of leather from the otter or the seal. Whereas the Selk'nam scrape off the fur, our Indians always leave it on, often using it on the inside, less frequently on the outside (191).

191. This is shown in the drawing found in Hyades (h):30 and (q):Plate XXX, 14. Figure 40 inserted here shows the less common usage, namely, the fur-side of the center piece turned outward.

In this respect the two specimens are different. This may seem like a minor detail, but it has real significance, which old Alfredo pointed out to me. The Yamana prefer a small piece of leather that is thickly furred, since all the stones that they pick up to throw have a smooth surface, /483/ either because they are actual shingle or because they are wet with sea water. They lie considerably more securely in a furred center section than in one from which the hair has been removed. The latter can be used successfully by the Selk'nam, for they use slingstones that have a rough surface and are at least covered with a fine layer of dust. Nevertheless, some men reverse their leather lappet to put the fur on the outside.

411 The center section is a longish oval in shape, about 22 centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. It becomes extraordinarily soft from frequent use. On the pointed ends the strings are

/483 cont./

411 both attached on the same side, namely, the side without hair. Each string ends in a small knot, having first been sewed on with sinews. The strings are tightly braided with three strands of sinew. On a specimen in my collection one string is 66 centimeters, the other, 62 centimeters. Each string terminates in a small knot which is sewn into a ball the size of a hazelnut, made of otter leather. The sling brought back by J. Cook and now in the ethnographic collection at Göttingen has a total length of 167 centimeters. This is the measurement of the so-called long sling. There is also a shorter one which is used by a man in a canoe. Here he would not have firm footing and the space is too small to swing the long sling with force and without injuring the occupants.

411 223 Earlier observers left no doubt as to the use of the sling. Actually, it is used a great deal, especially in hunting birds. Colini:161 does not exaggerate when he says that "the weapon most used by the Fuegians is the sling" /translated from Italian/. Martial:191 confirms: "They more commonly use the sling for birds" /translated from French/. They hurl stones which are somewhat smaller than a hen's egg and that lie around in masses. They lay in a supply for the canoe each time before they leave.

Some men prefer to use two or three stones at once, especially if they venture a throw at a thick flock of birds standing close together. Other men are in the habit of using only one larger stone. The man places the terminal knot of the longer string into the palm of his hand between the fourth and fifth fingers, so that the string runs tight across the back of his little finger up to the leather piece; he grasps the terminal knot of the shorter string with the first /484/ joint of thumb and index finger. Then the fingers of his left hand grasp the center section with the stone, and his right hand, with a slight push, begins to turn the taut sling horizontally above his head two or three times. At the right moment the shorter string is released, the sling opens, and the stones fly out straight in front of the slinger. The more forceful the previous turning motion was, the stronger will be the impact of the stones. Some men are content with a single half-turn of the taut sling.

If the stones are to have the desired effect, they are not hurled beyond a 12-meter limit, and everyone aims at the heads

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (e):158 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (a):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (h):32 and (q):357 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Yamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA:XII, 53;1865) /cited in English/.

411 482 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling

194. Fitz-Roy (a):138 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

/484 cont./
411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/485 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
226 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as mussels and crabs.

a. The Snare-line

223 This is a construction that is used for inconspicuous mass capture. The Yamana call it ufka; I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (q):359 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
283 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /486/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a firm braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

223 On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
284 are tied as many knotted loops, known as ker,"ef, as the length of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not fray since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 20 centimeters.

223 Actually, therefore, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (q):304, a "game of snares" /translated from French/ (Fig. 59). Martial:195 calls it "a noose" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/486 cont./

223 running loops of whalebone are placed at intervals" /translated from French/ (196).

196. There is a good illustration in Hyades (q):Plate XXX. Lothrop (b):157 calls attention to the large snare-line of the Selk'nam; he overlooks the fact that this differs in the arrangement of the whalebone running-loops of our Yamana.

It is best suited to catch wild geese, which prefer a certain locality. Here this snare-line is spread out on the level ground, pulled taut, and finally tied at either end to a post driven into the ground. It is of little or no use for catching other birds. Hyades (q):304 expresses himself too vaguely when he says, "this snare is used to catch large birds" /translated from French/. That is also the reason why only a few Yamana families actually own and use this article, since it is laborious to make and must be very carefully stored. Thus it represents a considerable value.

β. The Snare-rod

Whereas the long snare-line serves to catch masses of birds, another implement which I call the snare-rod catches them singly. With this the Indian stalks chiefly geese and ducks, but also cormorants and penguins. Hence one sees this akĕmuĭ, as the implement is called, in almost every family.

It consists of two parts. A light, long rod as a shaft, known as yĕyakĕrĭ, with a rounded, smooth surface is nothing more than [224] a young trunk of Nothofagus betuloides or Maytenus magellanica, which has been treated by a long process of scraping. It must be very light, hence Drimys is not suitable. The average diameter is evenly scaled down /487/ to 15 millimeters. This shaft tapers a very little at either end and very gradually. The longer it is, the more suitable.

223 284 At the top a large noose of whalebone is attached, and thus the whole thing appears, as Hyades (q):359 expresses it, like "a

/487 cont./

223 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone" /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip 284 of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, [illegible], is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping [171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A [illegible] consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

Y. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the [563] diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely [illegible] uf (Mytilus chilensis) and [illegible] (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/487 cont./

227 The Indian woman uses the so-called mussel fork, which she calls kalĕna, in order to loosen the cluster-like accumulations on the deep coastline and to break off the individual shells on the stalks of Macrocystis algae. The husband must make this implement for her, for he alone has the necessary tools. He chooses for the shaft /488/ a young tree as tall as possible. He prefers [824] Maytenus magellanica, the wood of which is heavier than that of the beech. He takes the bark off the little trunk and smooths it well, cutting off the upper end somewhat obliquely. He allows a length of two and a half meters and more.

The actual fork, which is only about one-fifth as long as the shaft, yĕyakĕr[ĕ], is lashed onto the latter with a narrow leather strap. The only suitable wood for this is húma, the large Berberis [824] ilicifolia which is extraordinarily tough and hence very flexible. A rather thick small stem is split lengthwise, the more suitable half is cut off at the bottom like a spatula, and a long incision is made to produce a two-pronged fork. A small, short wooden plug is inserted into this slit and lashed with a braided thread of rush or with whalebone (197); this keeps it always open. Through

197. Lothrop (b):154 reproduces what he calls a "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, in which the short plug is lashed with a narrow strip of whalebone. Figure 61 of the present work shows a lashing with braided rush stalks.

its own expansion the layers of wood fibers warp so advantageously that the entire piece seems curved outward. This slight bending facilitates penetration into the clustered accumulations of mussel shells. The upper part of the fork is whittled all around and tied to the shaft (Fig. 61).

226 The Indian woman lets this long implement glide from her canoe perpendicularly into the depths. She uses it, however, only on days when the sea is calm and the water transparent (198).

198. Hyades (q):369 writes: "This fishing is common practice and each canoe is always furnished with tools for this purpose" /translated from French/.

/488 cont./

226 She loosens each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The mussel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is safest here.

227 226 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the warm, breaks off the mussel shells, she perceptibly lessens the strain on her hands if she uses a pointed stick which I call the mussel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or [204] thick branch of Berberis ilicifolia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the mussels. At the bottom the mussel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of mussels. The woman is very adept at handling it effortlessly.

/489/ If the dogs not happen to have it, the reacher for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which the cuts to a short, dull point. With this weapon she pokes into the cluster of mussels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 [263] The very tasty oxymuses are also appreciated by the Yamana as a delicacy. We refer to the large apex (Lithodes antarctica) and the small crabbit (Paralomis granulosa). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they may in the depths and seek to

227 escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which a sperm suitable to call a crab fork and which the Yamana call tina (Fig. 43) Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

Fig. 42.
Mussel Breaker.

1. Gratiolo—GEI 8-6 (1619-1654) 1607 GNE Tulgius 998

/489 cont./

227 animal fat. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[Pg] The back of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen bench is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick piece of the large hackberry, [illegible], the peculiar [illegible] of which has been re-peatedly described. They split a crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the two prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is locked tight to the dish with a snug or with a small cord of twisted nahoa. Catlin 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.35 meters, most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

234 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and connection which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[Pg] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make the crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the dish, he pro-vides his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 19).

/490/ ♂. The Fishing

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Tarasco in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a large fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a rare target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely digs into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still has by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/500 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one another only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than a small, pencil-thick core of the large brown alga Macrocystis pyrifera from which, with the fingernail, the branches are removed as close to the main that is seems quite smooth (Fig. 60). After each use it is rolled up. Lines in dire need slowly and does not readily become brittle. What is needed, 20 minutes in the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it flexible once more.

The other fishline is twisted out of three thin filaments of sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters long (Fig. 60). To make it ten longer, it, too, is rolled up, but has a right twist, after each use (180). The latter is incon-

> 180. Bridges (Hist.Ill, 116, 1909) briefly describes both types. Hyades (p) Ill reported. "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal sinews, and are covered with a sinew cord to them." See Krickeberg 500 and Lumholtz (p) 145.

gently more flexible and proves to be much more trustworthy when it is twisted in.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out 228 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centimeters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. A long to smooth surface the running loop moves without any friction. As hook a bobbin a small piece of seal sinew or a small shell.

227 Since the fish must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths, a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop. In the coastal Tarascan region the native sometimes select the round black stone [illegible], but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skilled in fishing. Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

/FEM com./

234 tion. When the fish has been brought near the surface, the
woman dives and grasps it with a rare hand, pushing her second
and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it
out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

237 /Obj/ The means and fishing implements used by our Yamana
show extreme simplicity. Each one of these things proves
that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get
the wild animals he wants or is making.

9. Tools

402 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
304 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse
occurrence of quartzite and slate in these regions is not sufficient
[87] explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited
manner, without, however, changing the original form of their
implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the
stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and
dagger points (p. 168). It cannot be definitely shown whether
these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove,
known as [illegible]. Hence the grooved part of their tools consists of
round sticks, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascer-
tained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to these items as they were
made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our
Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact
that they succeeded in making a number of implements of diffe-
rent construction and form, each with a very definite use.

402 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
96] havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (p.139 has also referred to.
When they need anything for their implements, they do not take
the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an
opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the
first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need
and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended.
A heavy shaped mussel shell is to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the
177 fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufkér, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of géluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

/492 cont./

42 mussels thrive at particularly suitable places where small, restless eddies of water supply them with abundant nourishment. The shell selected is at least ten centimeters long. They carefully break off the convex side edges to retain the almost flat center section, and they finally taper the end where the hinge is. This produces a wedge-shaped basic form, albeit with curved edges, and the pointed end is placed on the handle.

The handle is a stone about 12 centimeters long, either rounded or with edges, found on the beach. It would not occur to anyone to shape it a bit or to smooth it. The firm hand of the Fuegian knows how to grasp it securely in one way or another. The only thing to which they pay attention is to fit the shell exactly against the flat part of the stone handle. If there were any hollow space, it would inevitably break with the slightest pressure. In order to avoid this and also to make possible a slight springiness, the Indian shoves a thin, intervening layer of chips, whittled shavings of barberry, or of moss, under the upper part of the shaft which rests on the shell. This forms a springy bed, as it were, on which the shaft rests. A narrow leather strip or a braided cord of sinew wound around both pieces several times holds them together adequately (Fig. 44) (201).

201. Good descriptions are given by Colini: 161, Hyades (q):299, Lovisato (a):196 and (b):136, Lothrop (b):139, and Spegazzini (a): 163. Certain similarities with the scraper of the Selk'nam are immediately apparent (Vol. I, 248).

[171]

Everyone grasps the scraper in such a way that the handle fills the entire right /493/ hand while the mussel shell, with its concave surface turned toward the body, is visible above the little finger. The Yamana moves it toward himself in a stroking motion. The scraper has many uses. It is employed above all in removing and cleaning skins, in cutting up animals and cutting the meat into pieces, in fashioning shafts and rods for lances, harpoons, spears, and trapping and fishing implements, in removing bark, and in the preparation of individual timbers required for the canoe, /Figs. 43 and 44 appear here/ for scoring branches

/493 cont./

412 and small trunks that they wish to cut off, for cutting an animal skin and various leather parts, and finally for many other types of work. Lothrop (b):140 confirms: "The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes" /cited in English/. This tool has one extremely favorable advantage

Fig. 43. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 44. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

in the fact that its cutting edge, although it gets dull very quickly, can just as quickly be sharpened again. It is sufficient to give it a brief scraping on the rough stones that form the shore of the channels or a quick rubbing with a longish, flat stone splinter as a whetstone.

This scraper was probably the prototype of a chipper or a kind of chisel which the Yamana have made since iron has been introduced. They call it tuxalapéna. Hyades (q):299 describes it as "a modern chisel, made with a piece of iron" /translated from French/. Besides ufkér, BD:573 also mentions tufkŏr, "a chisel-like piece of iron bound to a handle of wood and also to a suitable stone to add weight to it used as a kind of chipper" /cited in English/. Anyone who

/493 cont./

412 has obtained a little flat piece of iron from a barrel hoop or from somewhere else gives it a rectangular shape and places one narrow side against a flattened stone handle or squeezes it into a split, short piece of wood, lashing it with a narrow cord. The cutting edge is likewise sharpened on a rough, flat stone (202).

202. Lothrop (b):140, as well as Hyades (q): Plate XXXII, illustrated this chipper or chisel in different versions.

177 412 It is clear that this chipper, as well as the one that the Selk'nam use (Vol. I, 248), has come into existence only since the Fuegians have received a few flat pieces of iron from the Europeans. How /494/ very much they pestered many ships' crews for these we shall merely touch on here. Soon they made this tool for themselves (203).

203. In King:417, Fitz-Roy several times mentions having observed among these Indians during his journeys after 1829 "cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" /cited in English/.

β. The Knife

412 The Fuegian can cut all kinds of things with his scraper; for certain types of work a kind of knife, wiila, wiilaki, is more advantageous for him. It would be a mistake to think of this as an object like our knife; their tool is nothing more than the symmetrical shell of the razor clam (Solen). /Figure 45 appears here./ The meat of this animal which is common in the sand of flat shores in that region is not eaten. It is dug out only in order to obtain the shell which is about 12 centimeters long and three centimeters wide and consists of identical halves.

It is used chiefly for fine work in bark, leather, and bone, less for actual cutting, or as Hyades (q) :300 expresses himself, "to carve the pieces of bark for the canoe or, more exactly, to

/~~494 cont.~~/

4/2 impress on them, as with a stamp, the curve according to which one ought to carve them" /translated from French/. The Indians reach for the shell of the razor clam if they wish to make very exact incisions. If regularity is not required, they take any Mytilus shell or a suitable lamina of slate and whet it on a rough stone. They can make deeper incisions this way than with the shell of the razor clam (204).

204. Despard (b):679 speaks of a "curved knife of whalebone for cutting bark" /cited in English/. This is not a knife but the above-mentioned bark-peeler (Fig. 27).

Fig. 45. Stone Blade. Natural size.

Whereas these things are still used a great deal nowadays, genuine stone blades have been preserved from earlier times in the shell mounds (Fig. 45). These were probably now and then also used as knives. Lothrop (b):141, 190, in fact, calls them "knives" /cited in English/. They are usually longish-oval and have sharpened edges. In all probability they were primarily meant for lance- or spearheads. Even Lothrop (b):190 cannot but admit that the pieces he has reproduced "may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow" /cited in English/. A people that has only few implements will naturally use one and the same tool in many ways (205).

205. Moreover, the term "knife" is also used for various other items, and Cooper:217,

/494 cont./

412 for example, even mentions three kinds of knives.

/495/ Whatever it is they use in the way that we use our knife, it is never put together like the latter, but is nothing more than a bare mussel shell. Hyades (q):300 emphasizes: "The Fuegians do not have an indigenous tool similar to our knife; in its place they use a chisel of shell, or iron if they can get it" /translated from French/. In order to be able to grasp the mussel shell securely for cutting, they first place a thin scrap of leather in the palm of the hand, and by this means they can grasp the shell securely enough. /Fig. 46 appears here./

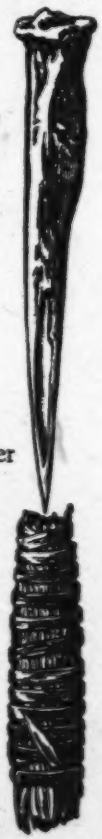

Fig. 46. Punch. Two thirds natural size.

γ. The Punch

The punch or bone awl, ámi, or whatever one wishes to call this tool, is used a great deal. The natives prefer the humerus of a cormorant from which all the meat is removed. The thinner end is broken off and filed to a sharp point. It is now about 13 centimeters long and is easy to handle. Occasionally, however, the bone of another bird is used.

[237]

In order to protect the point, the Indians take a bunch of rush stalks about as thick as one's thumb and lash it with another stalk of the same to hold it together. The point of the punch is stuck into this bundle, wína, for which they allow a length of about eight centimeters. Because of the packing, the point does not slide out, but is protected as by a sheath (Fig. 46). Sometimes this punch is nothing more than a small whittled stick of the hard wood of a

/495 cont./
412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172]

206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, wáikul, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fuegians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ δ. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (q):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/496 cont./

412 wedge, ila, performs even more important services in splitting thin and thick stems for the lower portion of a crab fork or a mussel fork. It is also used to split sound as well as rotten tree trunks which are desired for firewood and thicker trunks which are afterwards broken off by body weight.

412 237 Only the large bones of the whale are suitable for wedges. I did not learn whether or not the Indians ever tried to use bones of large seals. Such wedges have been used by the Fuegians since ancient times. Spencer:132 writes: "Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetacean ribs, a very suitable material for making wedges..." /cited in English/.

412 The bone wedge is hammered with a stone into a small groove which must first be incised with a knife or scraper. This stone can justifiably be referred to as a hammer only insofar as it is hit against the bone wedge. It is not prepared in any way. For heavier work one looks for a larger and rounded stone with flat sides, which can be comfortably grasped with the fingers without having them meet over it. This keeps the middle surface of the stone free, and this hits the wedge. Inevitably, the portion hit shows definite traces. One often finds the hammer-stones lying around on the shell mounds. Just as the Indians pick up the first stone handy wherever they need it, they heedlessly throw it away at the place where they have finished working with it. Small hammer-stones, so-called hand-pieces, are used every day to open shellfish and to crush animal bones (209). It is

209. Lothrop (b):141 also speaks of the "Hammerstones. These stones never were hafted" /cited in English/. He illustrates one and mentions "five inches" as its length.

obvious that for these simple purposes the stone does not need hafting.

/496 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hiól" /cited in English/. BD:262 spells it hiūal. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but [171] it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. 1, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/497 cont./

4/2 barrel hoops. They did not make entirely new forms of tools and
177 implements with it. The awl made from an iron nail (p. 191) is only a modification of their original awl made of a bird's bone (Fig. 46), and, in the case of the knife, a small iron plate has since then been used as a blade in place of the mussel shell. It seems that after only brief experimentation our Fuegians made the above improvements, insignificant to the eye, with the iron they obtained, and after that they never made any more changes.

As is well known, their efforts to obtain pieces of metal go back to the time of the first visits by European ships, and they did not abate even in later times. Weddell (a):93 had already written what Colvocoresses:41 repeated several years later in similar words: "Of all the things small pieces of iron were the most welcome to them, for the only instruments they had for cutting were mussel shells." At the beginning of mission activity Reverend Jacob Rau on August 1, 1864, reported on the few Yamana who were brought to Isla Keppel: "The Fuegians have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 290; 1864).

Naturally, some of them also became very quickly accustomed to /498/ finished iron implements which could, on occasion, be obtained from a European. Fitz-Roy in his time left Jemmy Button an iron ax, as well as many other things. On June 11, 1858, Despard made the following amusing comment about a few Indians whom he had visited in Wulaia: "It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, Jemmy said, was given him by Captain Fitz-Roy; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but is worn down almost to nothing" /cited in English/. At the mission station the boys and men were not only given the common iron implements, but were carefully taught how to use them properly. In later decades most of them acquired some tool as their property. Today one sees the iron knife and the shoemaker's awl in the hands of every adult; the men work with hammer and pliers, with plane and iron nails, while at the same time every woman owns a pair of scissors and several large steel needles.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

241 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 4/5 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

These leather bags, ĭăša, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

281 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used,
415 sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, fikeša, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tēpēša, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

281 The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
482 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the excessive dampness.

213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

[276]

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minuk. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

281
415

/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáá (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kála, yála, and a smaller, tíku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kála, "a bark bucket," and níkil, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ayúku yála in the western dialect, and áta, yála in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tool. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [124] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /[124] smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [124] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 bottom. /Fig. 48 appears here./
322

In order to prevent irregular curling and deep splits in the damp bark of the newly finished kóla, they stuff wet moss mixed with fresh grass into it, exerting considerable pressure, and filling the entire bucket with it. Moreover, they avoid having it heated unevenly by the hot fire or by the sun. Along with the wet filler, the bark dries very gradually, preserves its shape, and keeps perfectly for a long time. In the case of the large bark receptacles, they sometimes press a few extra small moss plants between the individual seams as filler (215).

Fig. 48. Bark Pail.

215. Lothrop (5):132 mentions: "In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf" /cited in English/. I cannot confirm this statement from my own experience; there does not seem to be a difference.

415 The small bark receptacles are used as cups and water dippers; they have no other use. All kinds of implements are sometimes temporarily stuffed into the large buckets that hold at least five liters, but their real purpose is to serve as containers for water. This not so much for people who have settled down in a hut on the shore as for those who are setting out for a trip in their canoe. Although it may sound unbelievable, right here bailers actually hold a small amount of water for several hours. The older girls primarily take care of scooping out the water that comes into the canoe with their little bark receptacles; they also finish drinking

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (c):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /502/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čagwéjuy, čagwéjmuč, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[424]

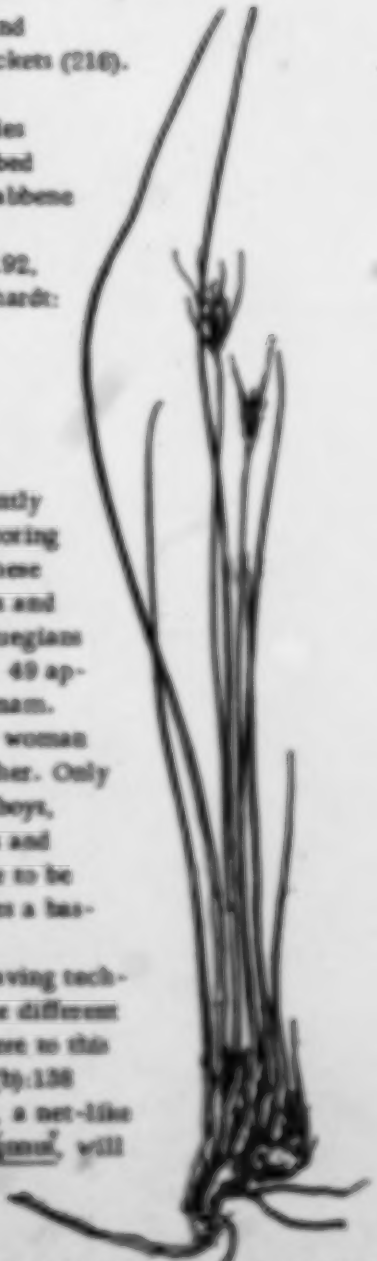

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/303 cont./

285 In my opinion, however, this view is not justified, since the individual rush stalks are not braided in this case, but stretched in parallel rows. It is used like a sieve-shaped scoop on spring handle. The three actual baskets (III) show a coil construction

> 221. To be sure Bridges writes: "The women has three kinds of baskets, called respectively tuuwalla, cijim and juuwumuuk" /cited in English/ (Abt III, 111; 1868); obviously he did not at that time know how to distinguish accurately between the designations. The observation of Hyades (I):8 was inadequate. He avers that "the baskets are of two kinds, the one with fine meshes is called tacuala, the other, loosely meshed, is called hallijime" /translated from French/. Lovisato (I):140 speaks of three kinds, and Cooper: 204 agrees.

in their weave. Seen in profile, they show a very definite dome-oval outline.

[304] The native rushes, Marsippospermum grandiflorum, known as mdyi, are used exclusively. This species flourishes abundantly in swamp and moor, has a sturdy, round stem, reaches a height of 50 centimeters, and is dark green (Fig. 48). The Indian woman, with a single jerk, pulls out three to five stalks and places them together in a bunch. She gathers at one time only so much as she can conveniently grasp with one hand, for dried stalks break easily and are no longer suitable for braiding. In her hut she arranges smaller bunches of about 20 stalks, grasps each of them with both hands, and holds the lower part in the fire where it burns down to within /304/ five centimeters of the root. At the same time she quickly draws the length of it through the fingers. The heat makes the hard but damp stalk extraordinarily flexible. Without delay, while this little bunch is still hot, she bends it downward in the middle, takes this middle section between her teeth and twists the free ends spirally lengthwise. Then she immediately loosens this braid of rushes and stretches the little

/SIH cont./

28 bundle straight, pulling the two ends and stripping the whole thing with her hands almost closed. The individual nails are still hot, for the Indian woman does all these manipulations very quickly. One marvels at the flexibility of the nail nails which yet a moment before were quite stiff and hard. They remain flexible for several days during which time they must be worn. Before it is worked into the basket, the Indian woman pulls each individual nail between her teeth lightly, in order to flatten it. She does not, however, bite hard enough to press out the juice. This treatment finally makes the nail quite pliable. Such nails that were pulled up and allowed to lie around for more than a week without being used are worthless. Moreover, those that were unevenly warmed lying in the sun or beside the fire are thrown aside.

The Indian woman does not need any special implements for basketry. The only thing she commonly picks up is a small pointed stick the length of a finger, or a short bone awl. With this she makes a small hole in the weave, through which she draws the running nail and pulls it right. The basketry is carried out according to a unified method which, however, allows three variations for which there are separate designations.

1. Yagoshe. This is the most common and the best known basketwork of Tierra del Fuego (318). The Indian woman begins

> 318. Cooper (84), agreeing, says. "The commonest form of basketry found among the three Fuegian tribes is of the half-hitch coiled variety made of rush with or without foundation" /Cited in English/.

by placing together two or five rush nails and rolling the end of the little bundle around her left index finger. She immediately draws off the ring and winds a rush around it by means of half-hitches. This ring will form the center and the lowest portion of the basket (Fig. 31). As soon as the ring is closed, the weave begins according to the knotting method known as yagoshe. For the small thin basket or roll of two or five nails which the Indian woman commonly uses, she purposely selects nails of different

/this row/

[illegible] lengths. Before one rib is covered with basketry, the pusher is a new one. In this way the ends having the entire rib /[illegible]/ start at a single point. The bags which are now made over this rib with a running weft, frequently reversed, are more or less perpendicular to the rib. The simple half-hitch weave continues in spiral progressive and, of course, runs clockwise. The last section of the free end of the running weft is bent back several times and thrust under a base which is pulled right. As fast the woman increases the number of loops on each woven ring and thus the weaving expands from below upward, more than halfway

Fig. 56. The Tight Basket Weave. Several rows.

up a slight narrowing can be seen (316).

[illegible]

316. The basket made according to this weaving technique is the only form which the Seiß have also been known to make (Vol. I, 356).

Soon after the /Fig. 56 appears here/ five rods are finished, the woman needs both her hands free for the work. With a stone, a small bamboo knife, or a rush mat, she bangs her basketwork up somewhere, either on a part of the hut frame or on a short stick which she pounds into the ground. She hangs it in such a way that the opening of the basket is turned toward the ground. She draws the reed by which it hangs through the small hole that she left at the

/two rows/
beginning at the lowest point of the basket. Then hung up, the basketwork is extraordinarily mobile and can be taken up at any point at which the widow to continue the ordinary work.

When the Indian woman feels that it is large enough, she thickens the regular coil of rush mats somewhat for the edge and draws over it a somewhat wider rush as a running thread. On this she afterwards puts two low bars opposite each other which are also bound spirally with a wide rush mats. The two bars are joined by a cord braided out of a few mats, sometimes also by a small narrow mesp, for a handle (III). One finds this basket in all sizes

III. To his description of this weaving technique, Ludwig (fn)136 adds a few comparative comments and remarks: "The hatch-coil is typical in South America only of the Tolgan, Cha, and Alawalid, but is here up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward" /typed in English/.

and corresponding widths, with a height of eight to 30 centimeters.

/Said/ L. Cotchiing. The basket with the loose weave, as I should like to designate this particular type, is by far made less often than ngwelle (III). The reason for this, I was told, is that

III. Ludwig (fn)136 confirms this from his own experience: "This weave is very rarely employed among the Tolgan, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty" /typed in English/.

it is less durable than the other, but that it nevertheless requires almost the same amount of work to make and cannot be used for many requirements. The distinguishing characteristic of the basketry technique shown in ngwelle also predominates in Cotchiing, which Ludwig (fn)136 calls nindawelle. Both are exactly the same at the very beginning. The only difference between them is that in this case the running rush mats which make the knotting

/506 cont./

285 is each time drawn around the smooth bundle of rushes /Fig. 51 appears here/, not with a simple half-hitch but with a horizontal twisted loop (Fig. 51). This prevents the individual coils from fitting very tightly to one another, and the weave itself remains somewhat looser than in the case of tapwēla. This basket, too, has two low ears at opposite sides of the rim, which are joined by a loose handle of braided rush stalks. The čefkāalax that one sees most frequently is about 22 centimeters high, and as a rule it is never as carefully worked nor as even over its entire surface as the tight weave of tapwēla.

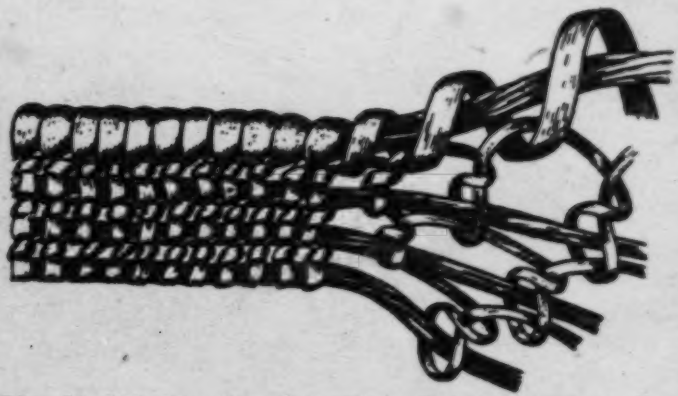

Fig. 51. Rim Section of the Loose Basket Weave. Natural size.

3. Kēlim: We realize at first glance that this type is different from the two other baskets mentioned. This weave can be referred to as open. Lothrop (b):138 calls it "a knotted weave without any foundation" /cited in English/. It is nothing more than a progressive number of knotted loops tied together in regular succession (Fig. 52). Certain coils, however, are not pulled tight, and they thus produce circles which hang in rows one above the other. These hold bunches of about /507/ five loose rush stalks (222). A diagram of this pattern is shown in

222. Neither Hyades (h):4 nor Lothrop (b):138 refer to this in their descriptions or in their drawings.

in Figure 53. In order to reinforce this loose weave somewhat and keep

/507 cont./

285 it wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row
[824] of coils which are looser here. This hoop is preferably cut from a stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 52 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

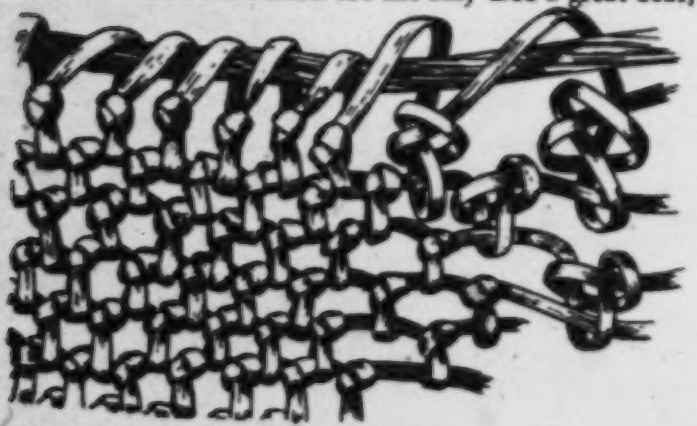

Fig. 52. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave. Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them.
285 In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 53 appears here/
461 with her basketry. Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly;
285 some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

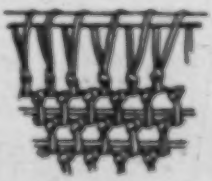

Fig. 53. The Open Basket-work.

/507 cont./

285 is referred to as yetánakipa or yetanálitěskipa (223). (Compare

223. According to BD:650 it is the equivalent of "clever, expert in yetanaing, well yetanaed" /cited in English/.

yetána, "to make a basket," according to BD:650.)

/508/ Naturally, the execution of one basket will sometimes be very different from that of another, depending on the facility which this or that Indian woman has acquired. In order to keep the final shape as symmetrical as possible, as soon as the weaving is finished the little basket is packed with fresh grass or moss that is not too wet. It is supposed to dry slowly, for some distortion would be unavoidable if it dried too rapidly. When this packing is removed after three or four weeks, the little basket is immediately used. In the weeks following it will discolor and become a uniform straw-yellow. It is used so much that it is, of course, repeatedly soaked and bruised, but the Indian woman sees to it that in drying it returns to its original even shape. No one handles the little baskets carefully (224).

224. A detailed description of these three baskets classified according to the weaving technique is found in Lothrop (b):133. Compare Dabbene *(b):181*, *Outes (g):53*, *and* Wieghardt:27. Hyades (q):303 made a list of pertinent designations.

Since the weaving technique is similar among the Selk'nam and Yamana and the names for it coincide somewhat among the two tribes, Cooper:204 concludes that "the Onas have perhaps borrowed this cultural element from the Canoe Indians" /cited in English/. I shall comment on this somewhat critically in Volume III of this monograph.

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12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

182 176 The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offerred the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /509/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

443 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

/509 cont./

463 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

535 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetánakipa for a capable basket-weaver; wéntguš (according to BD:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yémánu has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (225); on the basis of their

225. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yersh-man-os, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handiwork.

437 463 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /510/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

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Fig. 54. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 54), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

/510 cont./

437 463 breadth, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his bent and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

411 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /511/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (g):235 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to restore the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

182 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and steadily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

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/511 cont./

with Spears:57: "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /cited in English/.

them to give up their material culture! If interrogated, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and humanly dignified. The words of Despard (b):680 with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations" /cited in English/. They have taken over infinitesimally little from Europeans -- iron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

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The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food; his thought and concern day and night are on his subsistence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /512/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journey on foot, all depending on whether the prospect of booty beckons here or there (228).

228. According to Despard (b):679, these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

/812 cont./

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is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it...Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and exhaustion, despite strain and extreme exertion which are sometimes recurrent, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

462 Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone *contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex.* The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where she must take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another; both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation assures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (229).

229. Hyades (h):23 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the man, just as we have seen that fishing is

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/512 cont./

exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

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It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Similar claims is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (130). How she goes about it and

130. Bridges (e):301 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):137 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 30 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):134.

22
178

/313 cont./
According to Loviseto (p. 129 he Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources she employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the man, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the woman -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the guanaco (Vol. I, 377) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt [illegible] dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

/314/ 1. Seal Hunting

225 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coasts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giants of this species, the bear seal, chú'pe (Arctocephalus

/514 cont./

225 australis), and the elephant seal, hálaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), were among them. During the last decades only the small sea lions ama (Otaria jubata), and the maned seal, tjáta (Otaria byronia), remained in the vicinity of our Indians. Occasionally the larger bear seal (Arctocephalus australis) emerges again, but the other species stay far away. Along those coasts European seal hunters have long since exterminated these animals which were so valuable as food for the natives (231). Since then the number

231. In his day Hyades (r):295 reported on the elephant seal: "It is a species almost entirely destroyed" /translated from French/.

of natives has also noticeably decreased; hence the remaining specimens of the small Otaria jubata suffice to fill the food requirements and to provide the necessary variety in the diet. Seal hunting is the daily task, so to speak, of the man, but this is not to say that he actually engages in it every day. We properly give it first place here.

During the day individual animals like to lie on low flat stones and abandon themselves to sleep. The color of their bodies is an excellent protection for them, but the sharp eye of the Indian catches sight of them nevertheless. If possible, and if it seems advisable, he attacks the animal usually with a club or a heavy cudgel (232). He has plenty of practice in rowing up to the animal

232. Bridges (l)23 makes too fine a distinction and speaks of "three kinds of clubs, the largest of which called Yoj, pointed at one end. The second is called Wosin, and the third Kneea. This is the smallest and is also used as a missile" /cited in English/.

and creeping close to it. With a heavy blow he stuns the sleeping animal so that it can no longer escape. A few more blows of the club, carried out cautiously because of the animal's rage, kill it.

/514 cont./

225 If a man coming across a seal unexpectedly should not have a club, he ventures near with a medium-sized stone. He repeats these blows in quick succession until the animal falls over stunned (233).

233. Fitz-Roy (a):184 observed this manner of approaching smaller seals.

If there are several men together, they will even venture to approach a large herd lying on the beach. They take their places according to a definite plan and proceed in such a way that individual animals will separate themselves from the closed ranks of the herd. It is only these that they can approach closely enough to beat them with their clubs. On land the seals are awkward in their movements. If they are attacked, they raise themselves up in self-defense. They topple forward easily, whereas /515/ /Fig. 55 appears here/ sideways they can stretch far forward without losing their balance, thanks to the strength of their two pairs of flippers. The Indians know this, which is why they always attack a sea lion only from the front.

Seals are far more often pursued on the water. The hunter takes advantage of their confident and inquisitive nature (p. 28 /untranslated/). If he notices a playful seal frisking about on the water out of sheer pleasure and exuberance, he lures it toward him by whistling softly, by singing in a low voice, or by splashing rhythmically with his paddle. He continues this even if the animal disappears from the surface. At the same time he uses these few seconds to get nearer to it and lay out his harpoon in readiness. The seal will

Fig. 55. Small Harpoon.

/515 cont./

225 perhaps dive down and up again several times. Meanwhile the occupants of the canoe remain motionless so as not to frighten it away. When it is close enough, the hunter, who has meantime stood up unobserved, thrusts the small harpoon vigorously into its body (Fig. 55). He makes sure that the weapon penetrates deep into the body. He has no time to aim at a certain spot, for he never knows in what position the seal will approach him as it emerges from the water.

He reached for the small harpoon because nearby he sees broad tangles of Nitrocystis algae floating on the surface, whither the wounded seal will seek refuge. When the seal has the barbed bone point in its body, it will, in its pain, try to shake it off. It will try first with its teeth which usually do not reach. It hopes, therefore, to relieve its pain in the knotted tangle of algae stalks. In mortal terror it squeezes in there and worms its way through, meanwhile causing the bone point to detach itself from the notch of the shaft. Both /515/ pieces remain fastened together by a short strap. Since the shaft has become entangled in the tough mesh of algae, the seal is hampered in all further movement. The more it exerts itself, the greater pain it feels, since the sharp teeth of the bone point is embedded in its flesh and any tugging enlarges the wound. Loss of blood soon exhausts the seal. It and the harpoon shaft are confusedly intertwined in the knot of algae, and escape is impossible. Meanwhile the canoe has approached, and the hunter kills the seal with his javelin or club. Laboriously he detaches his booty from the tangle of algae and, full of satisfaction, lifts it into his vessel. Usually he also gets his harpoon back.

Sometimes he still has to undergo a serious battle with the seal which is incited by its wound in case the harpoon has not penetrated deeply enough or no vital organ has been hit. At other times it will sink immediately if the wound was fatal. In that case the hunter loses not only his booty, but his weapon as well.

This is the method of hunting most frequently used, but every man must be prepared for the situation when the usual floating tangles of algae are missing at the spot where he has hurled his small harpoon against a seal. Now the functional construction of his weapon is equally helpful, for if the wounded seal should succeed in detaching the bone point from the shaft, it would not experience any relief thereby. While the seal swims away, the

/518 cont./

225 shaft of the harpoon will stand obliquely to the direction in which he moves, not only braking the seal's progress but also increasing the pain of the wound which is opened up more by the constant tugging of the shaft as it is dragged along. These two impediments are even effective, although less so, when point and shaft of the harpoon remain connected. The wounded animal becomes more exhausted the longer it struggles. The dragging harpoon shaft determines the direction in which it is escaping and prevents it from remaining long under water (536). The canoe of the hunter

> 536. Hyades (q):353 is right in saying that the detached shaft "thus becomes the buoy and guides the hunter who is able to pursue his prey and inflict new blows until it is killed" /translated from French/. Compare Dahlmann (b):134.

can follow it quickly enough and will perhaps still overtake it in a tangle of algae where it tries to hide. He kills the wounded animal with a blow of his paddle or with a cudgel.

In open bays and in places where there are no accumulations of flowering blastocystis algae, where the hunter could hardly pursue the wounded seal, he uses the so-called large harpoon with the single-barbed bone point of medium length or the short twin-barbed point (Fig. 36) (537). If the animal has been well hit, the

> 537. Without justification Lothrop (b):181 speaks of "regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft. In the east a single-barbed head was used, in the west a double-barbed form was employed" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, both forms were used in the whole interior of the homeland of the Yaruana.

bone /517/ point is secure in its flesh and the shaft becomes detached as a result of its agitated movements. This is the hunter's intention (p. 185). The farther away the seal gets in its escape,

1. Gwinde--ESS E-6 (1919-1934) 1937 NAN Tokyo DOS

/317 cont./

225 the more rope he gives it until the long lance has run out. He holds fast to the end of the rope. The pulling power of the wounded seal now proves an advantage to the canoe, but on account of its agitated movements the greatest caution is required of the canoe occupants. Meanwhile the wounded animal has spent itself and constant loss of blood has weakened it until it is motionless. The encumbrance alone, which is attached to the harpoon point sticking in the flesh, forces the seal, which at first has thrown itself about wildly, to slow down its rapid escape and yield to the slow intake of the rope which the men immediately begin. The hunter and his booty finally come so close together that a blow with the paddle and a wound inflicted with the small harpoon or the javelin puts an end to the exhausted animal. If possible the hunter then concerns himself with the harpoon dart which is sometimes floating about freely nearby.

The hunter prefers to use his large harpoon when he surprises one lying in caves along the water. He lies in wait for his prey on the beach or from the vantage point of a stone sticking out of the water. From there he throws his dangerous weapon toward a seal that is swimming by and immediately lets the long rope unwind itself. Usually he has already tied the free end of the rope around his body (336). Since he is standing on firm ground, he can all

336. This has common method of hunting was also mentioned by Bridges (John KSE, 1931: 1972).

the more safely pull in the wounded animal and kill it. On rocks when the above-mentioned missiles are used to a seal from (337), they secure the hunter quick results with little effort.

337. Neither Hawkes (p) in and (p) KSE nor Lothrop (p) LSE mentioned the large harpoon which was so less frequently used on the seal hunt than the small harpoon. Bridges (John KSE, LSE:1972), however, referred to it.

/517 cont./

2. Whale Hunting

225

It sounds unbelievable that the short Yamana in their frail bark boats venture to approach the mighty giants of the ocean. Actually they do so, confident of their personal dexterity and the effectiveness of their large harpoon. In former times there were frequent opportunities to pursue a whale (238). For the last

238. A communication by Bridges (Mbl.IX, 14,1878) of May 2, 1874, shows how often they were provided with this lavish present: "The new visitors...brought much whale from Agia, where we hear three whales have lately been supplied to the people by a bountiful God, through the instrumentality of sword fish and whale hunters...Another whale is reported at Canagooik" /cited in English/.

few decades a stray animal is seldom found in the Fuegian /518/ channels (239). Children and middle-aged persons whom I

239. Crawley:XXVII exaggerated when he wrote as late as 1907: "Whales are plentiful in these waters, from those of the largest size known to some of the smallest" /cited in English/.

questioned about it had only occasionally experienced the stranding of a whale on their native shores (240). European whalers can be

240. As late as July 18, 1908, Williams (Mbl.XXXVI, 271,1907) reported from the mission station Tekeenika: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Canoe-sound" /cited in English/.

credited with the fact that these once numerous giants of the ocean have been almost completely exterminated in the Cape Horn region.

/Till com./

225 The most common were Balaenoptera borealis and Balaenoptera
physalus, the former exceeding all others in length and girth (p.
36 /unreadable/). The Yamana always had to expect to be dis-
appointed when a Physeter (Capitan) was stranded, as fat is not whole-
some and has a laxative effect, which is something they well
know from ancient experience.

225 We cannot speak of an actual chase when a dead whale is
69 slowly washed to shore by the waves. If it is floating within
reach, they try to pull it ashore. The dense flock of well-known
sea birds announces this happy event to people far and wide, and
they come rowing up from all sides. Undaunted, they venture forth
far into the open sea and join forces to get the mammoth animal
to the nearest beach. They take advantage of a favorable ocean
current and line up in one direction. Every man plunges his large
harpoon deep into the animal's body and ties the long rope secure
(Fig. 38). As soon as it becomes taut, he must be very cautious in
his canoe. Then every woman paddles her own canoe to the near-
est coast while the men pull the whale after them with their rolled-
up lines. Loud shouts bring uniformity into their efforts. When
about 20 canoes have assembled, and if the ocean current helps
them along, the strange procession slowly approaches the nearest
shore. Herewith success has actually been achieved, for neither
a heavy sea nor storm can snatch this booty away from the lucky
Indians. They keep the animal close to land on the long twelve
rope of their harpoons. They are even safer if they keep to shore
and pull up the whale from there. They try to transfer the animal
which is still floating to the water to a flat slope of the beach.
They keep it parallel to the coast, and the long lines of their
large harpoons remain taut. If the bow point should become de-
tached, it is sure soon down into the dead body of the animal,
and this time deeper. Depending on the force of the current,
many men must make sure that the mighty prize is brought quite
near to the coast, and they must sometimes continue their vigil
during the night, for the restless sea would surely drive it elsewhere
or far out again. They wait for a heavier or high tide to deposit
the whale with a powerful push onto the beach. Days can go by
before this happens. Meanwhile a few people on shore cutting
large scraps of fat out of the carcass, which they /[illegible]/ bring to
shore in their boats. Sooner or later the current will deposit it on
firm ground. Now they can enjoy their rich booty.

/Still cont./

225 They are still more fearsome if a total curse alone rests a whale adown, for then their table is richly laid without effort on their part. No matter where the highly desired gift of bleiben herum falls, it relieves many families for a time from the urgent, day-by-day cares of subsistence.

For a genuine attack people gather around a sick or completely exhausted whale. It is easily recognized, for a fierce almost contention on the surface. The utmost large quantities of gear are kept that circle around it. If she long pauses a curse only a little, several canoes approach and the men hurl their large harpoons against it. They aim to inflict many severe wounds upon the animal in the shortest time, hence they hurl all the weapons they have. The whale looks very strange with javelins, spears, and harpoons, especially since it is still moving somewhat. Those who have the rare harp or it, plunge their weapons into the body of the weary animal with their utmost strength, pull them out again if their supply of harpoons and spears is exhausted, and do not tire of this vicious exercise until they are assured of their booty (36).

> [illegible], many canoes crowded, describes such a chase: "The evening were ten or more canoe races, each having a share of the poor whale, which heavily was killed by darken, having received ten to [illegible] somewhere about a hundred spears, and from then to last was being followed and wounded from Friday, four p.m., till ten p.m. (Tuesday), 25th April, 1919)" /cited in Eggleb/.

The subsequently a whale, unpleasantly wounded by the many wounds and painful attacks, escapes. The men rag hard on the lines after they have plunged the large harpoon in deep, in order to enlarge the wound and cause a bleed more. The excited animal are subsequently captive several canoes by strong movements of its body or by powerful blows with its tail. The endangered occupants sometimes meet their deaths in the waves.

/Old norse./

225 If the many men succeed in actually killing the whale, they have a share. They build their huts beside it and feast on the rich booty. Sometimes, however, the rich whale does not stay in the same place, but swims further away. Most families try to follow it. While the women wear the light vessel, the men draw their large harpoons deep into its body and let out the long lines, the ends of which they grasp securely with both hands. The whale then pulls the canoe after it. Now a very daring ride begins! If the whale dives down to considerable depths or accelerates his flight, every man must release the rope at the dangerous moment. He loses his weapon, but at least saves his own life and that of his family. Perhaps the hunted animal will reappear again within available distance; then the men /???/ attack it with renewed courage. As long as a chance of success beckons, they are alive to, exposing themselves to utmost mortal danger, for to be deprived of the great booty means considerable loss to them, to say nothing of the many weapons they have sacrificed in vain.

Their hunting prospects are somewhat more favorable when they are pursuing a whale being chased by a grampus, Orca gladiator. In this case their helpfulness is far more important. It is well known that the slow-constituted animal makes a habit of attacking younger, smaller whales. With its powerful back fin, he strikes and pile against the whale which can only seek refuge in flight. It makes for narrow channels and shallow bays. Its pursuit harasses after it and even wounds a badly. The whale tries to help himself by frequent leaps out of the water (p. 37 /unnecessary/). The believe are very familiar with this (240).

285. Delfinus (p).94 writes about this in detail.

The Orca is accompanied not only by a few of its own species, but even more by smaller related animals. He is regarded as the "master" whom the others of his "people" honour also. When the whale realizes he is being ruinated, he approaches the coast in his despair. Now the many followers become plainly visible. Before that they had often retired. The badly wounded whale

/fifth cont./

225 sometimes finds a last refuge on the shallow shore of a quiet bay, to which he glides and where his importunate pursuers finally desist.

A conspicuous battle among the large sea animals does not escape the sharp observation of our Yamato, and they determinedly harass after them in their canoes. They know that the pursued whale will prefer to seek refuge in a shallow inlet. Quickly they plunge their large harpoons into its body and tug on the coiled rope of leather so that the wounds grow larger. If many men are together, the whale receives one harpoon blow after another without pause, and the considerable loss of blood makes him mortally weary. Chased by dolphins and Indians, he dies in a sheltered inlet, usually lying on the shallow beach. Immediately they pounce on the booty. Perhaps they must lament the loss of one or more canoes that fell victim to the rage of the mortally weary whale.

Obviously it is very dangerous to approach a whale in a weak bark boat, but courageous men decide to do it when they can tell by various signs that the animal is sick or has been badly wounded by dolphins (245). No one dares approach a healthy adult animal,

245. The too brief account of Hyades (b):23 gives only an incomplete picture of this type of dangerous undertaking in which many men take part.

for they could not kill it with their ineffective harpoons. The fact that the Indians accomplish anything with these weapons is the result of their unintermpted efforts. Again and again they must throw their harpoons and spears deep into the exhausted animal, /fifth/ until it bleeds from many jabs. It is pursued for days, until it finally succumbs to its countless wounds. The daring of these small human beings is amazing. As Scott (e):138 and Lovisato (b):138 acknowledge, they set out with only the harpoon, "with such a simple weapon, to attack the whale, but often enough canoes, harpooner, and paddler are tossed into the air by a blow from the tail of the aroused animal." They think of the abundance of fat and meat as well as the other important things that a single

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/521 cont./

223 cormorants, on wild geese and /522/ ducks, and finally on oyster catchers and divers. He does not mind the predominant blubber taste of their meat; he feels a compulsive need for a good deal of fat in that cold region where he must sustain himself with insufficient body covering and poor living conditions.

We recognize his sharp gift of observation from the way in which he hunts birds. Their habits form the basis of his methods of hunting and snaring them. These methods again point to his mental gifts, since the suitability of his implements can hardly be surpassed (244). Environment educates primitive man far more

244. This does not become evident if one dismisses the various methods of hunting and trapping with a few words, as do Outes (g):53, for example, or Martial: 195. Bridges (k):240, on the other hand, emphasizes the skill of the Yamana in their bird hunting: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/.

Fig. 56. Use of the Sling.

than civilized man, who, to begin with, is much more comfortably situated. /Fig. 56 appears here./ Concern with necessary subsistence makes primitive man a keen judge of his territory and an unsurpassed inventor in the realm of his activities. This is true in

/522 cont./

223 the highest degree of a people who, like our Fuegians, are in the so-called economic gathering stage. They are and remain wholly dependent on what nature voluntarily offers them in their homeland. Hence, if they wish to preserve life -- and this their strongest instinct compels them to do -- they must, with rigorous deliberation and repeated practical attempts, take what serves them and what leads safely to their goal with a minimum of effort.

In spite of the abundance of birds, the Yamana, as we have said, prefer certain kinds, above all penguins and cormorants, wild ducks, and sea geese. Even among these they make a selection and get a little variety into their meal. They also aim for the giant sea birds (Diomedea, Querquedula, Phoebetria, Puffinus, Thalassoea), for gulls (Larus), terns (Sterna), and swans (Cygnus melanocoryphus), and now and then land birds, such as herons (Nycticorax), snipes (Gallinago), spectacled ibis (Theristicus), plovers (Charadrius), sandpipers (Totanus), coots (Fulica), and oyster catchers (Haematopus); finally, the small songbirds, /523/ such as thrushes (Turdus, Curaeus), passerines (Cinclodes), and parrots (Microsittace) (245). They kill some with stones hurled

245. Hyades (f):562 has made an almost complete list of the birds hunted by the Yamana. It clearly shows the great variety.

with their bare hands or with a sling (Fig. 56), others with bow and arrow or with the so-called bird spear (Fig. 57), and still others with snares and traps, all depending on whether the method promises success. The more important species of birds are hunted according to definite methods that bear favorable testimony to the skill, cunning, and energy of the hunter.

a. Penguins

It is not surprising that the Yamana most often hunt penguins. They inhabit the rocks and inlets there in large groups. Fitz-Roy (a):184 noted that "penguins are much prized" /cited in English/.

/823 cont./

223 Most easily accessible because they are most often found in the channels are the spectacled penguin, sória, ʻóna (Spheniscus magellanicus), and the rock penguin, kalíjna (Spheniscus humboldti), which are smaller in number and in body size than the two related species, the golden-haired penguin, kflawina (Catarrhactes chrysocome), and the golden-crowned penguin, kérmy (Catarrhactes chrysolophus). The considerably larger king penguin (Aptenodytes patagonica) prefers the southern waters and very seldom is found in the country inhabited by the Yamana.

During the day most of the birds of the two species first mentioned remain on the outlying islands and rocks. On calm days, which are rare, the family rows there in their canoe. The man disembarks and easily approaches the clumsy animals which he strikes down with a cudgel. He can comfortably kill a good dozen in a few minutes; he tosses them into his vessel and leaves the place.

Ordinarily he can only kill the individual animals that he runs across now and then on his trips. Penguins like to form small groups and are not timid. With some cleverness the hunter can approach them. The woman rows the canoe in the direction of the birds while the man keeps the sling, as well as the bird spear, in readiness; he must decide on one or the other in a moment of time. He does not promise himself much with the sling, for only a very lucky hit with the stone will stun the powerful penguin. Hence he tries to get very close. He prefers to hurl the bird spear. It does not matter whether this has one or two bone points (Fig. 57), the animal is almost always fatally wounded because the heavy, coarse weapon tears open a large wound and it soon bleeds to death. It cannot sink, in part because of the wooden spear shaft. It is easily lifted into the canoe.

Thus an individual family will steer toward those spots where these birds frolic about and will try their luck in the above manner. /824/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ Sometimes two or several vessels will encircle a small flock of penguins, the men hurling their spears from a greater distance or swinging their slings with heavy stones. It is easy to lay hands on a wounded or stunned bird on the water as well as on land. Since the penguin swims a certain distance only slightly below the surface and can be attracted with

/524 cont./

223 a soft whistle, the hunter instructs his wife how to steer the canoe. He observes the movements of the bird and tries to meet it suddenly as it comes up out of the water two meters or less away. The alert hunter must take advantage of the moment when the penguin, reappearing out of the water, lifts its head above the surface, and then he must thrust the spear in its body. The proximity of the boat, which frightens the unsuspecting animal, would cause it to dive again immediately. Penguin hunting shows how dependent man and wife are upon each other and how their cooperation brings success which will benefit them and their family.

[411]

Fig. 87. Bird Spear. Natural size.

β. Cormorants

No less valuable than the penguins for the hungry Yamana are the cormorants which are almost as plentiful there. Three Indians are primarily interested in four kinds, namely, the Yigua cormorant, tuguilwa (Phalacrocorax olivaceus), the Magellanic cormorant, [illegible] (Phalacrocorax magellanicus), the tufted cormorant, wiŋkeim (Phalacrocorax gaimardi), and finally the black cormorant, [illegible] (Phalacrocorax atriceps) (Fig. 88). Other species, such as Phalacrocorax verrucosus, only occasionally visit the inner channels. The meat of this type of bird is tougher and drier than that of the penguins, but the Indian welcomes it nevertheless. He also uses their bones and feathers.

One usually sees the cormorants in small groups on the water and on the beach. The hunter tries to get close enough to them so that he can use his sling successfully if several animals are standing close together. He selects

/324 cont./
two to four medium-sized stones which he hurls forcefully all at once (246). He aims at the heads of the birds, and one hit stuns 223

246. Hyades (g):35 mentions briefly: "To kill birds they use the sling, in the manipulation of which they are very adept."

them so completely that he can easily capture them. Whether he is in his boat or on land, he pursues the ones that were not so severely

Fig. 58. Phalacrocorax atriceps.

wounded and try to escape. He kills them with his bird spear or with a cudgel. In the water they are more awkward than penguins.

/325/ As for animals that spend the night on flat land, he creeps up on them in the dark when the weather is calm. They are not sound sleep. If they are awakened, they have the habit of running away, but not taking flight. He carefully conceals a piece of bark, a small section of which is burning faintly, until he is standing in front of the birds. Suddenly he swings the piece of bark or a glowing stick, the end of which is split into thin sections, rapidly back and forth in the air as a kind of torch, [illegible], blinding the startled animals. Before they know /Fig. 58 appears here/ what is happening to them, the hunter strikes down several with a cudgel and runs after the ones that are escaping. With this method, in a very short time he has a rich booty and is content.

/525 cont./

223 On a stormy, rainy night the cormorants sleep soundly. They stick their head under a wing and bury it deep in their feathers. The hunter creeping on all fours is certain to get at them without having to exert undue caution. With a sure, firm grip of both hands he grasps the bent neck of the animal, immediately plunges his teeth into the section of the neck left free between his fists, and while he is biting into the neck, his two fists crack it through. The animal dies without a sound. The hunter immediately seizes the next one in the same manner. Nevertheless, sometimes a dying animal will utter a soft sound or struggle convulsively. This wakens the birds standing nearby. The hunter calms them by setting /526/ a dead bird upright with his hands and having it bow gently from one side to the other. Thanks to the darkness of the night and the confusion of the storm, the startled bird is soon quieted and, deceived, puts its head back under its wing. The hunter tries his luck further until he is content with his rich booty (247). He leaves the animals he has killed until the next

247. Twice Bridges (MM:III, 116; 1869 and MM:XIII, 157; 1879) describes in great detail a Yamana attack on cormorants.

morning, and as incompicuously as he came, he departs. His chief concern is not to startle this flock of birds because they will probably spend the night here again in the near future, and he would prefer to come again not in vain (248).

[231]

248. Furthermore, Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains: "On moonlight nights, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the men but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beach; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters" /cited in English/.

/526 cont./

223 In this method of catching birds the Yamana show an incredible dexterity in controlling their whole bodies and in deceiving the startled birds. One night I accompanied two men merely to observe them. I crept along behind them. Simply because I had no practice whatsoever, I almost deprived them of success in their hunt.

223 481 The cormorants prefer to nest on the smooth, steep rocks that jut out far into the open sea. From below it is impossible to climb up some of these walls, in which hundreds of the birds make their nests. Sometimes a forced ascent can be made from the other side, and for this the Yamana do not lack daring when their food has become scarce. Several men set out together on a dark, stormy night, after they have oriented themselves somewhat by daylight. They climb up to the top of the rock and get close to the edge of the steep wall within which the many nests have been built. One of the younger men ties a long, firm strap, thqiš, around his loins. He is carefully lowered by the other men who have secured a safe footing up above. Previously they have agreed 223 on certain knocks as signals which the man who is lowered is to communicate to those above by hitting his strap -- this to enable him to move successfully. He seizes the sleeping cormorant, which has hidden its head in its wing, by its bent neck and bites through it. The animal dies at once. Depending on the terrain, he either drops his booty or ties it to the strap around his hips or to a strap that has been lowered. Immediately he seizes another bird. He is favored by the blowing and howling of the dark night, and a good yield is assured him because of the great number of birds, even though some should wake up and escape. If he grows tired or finds himself already heavily laden with booty, he lets himself be hoisted up. Usually another man takes his place in this work, for they want /527/ to take full advantage of this favorable opportunity and be well repaid for their efforts. The people know very well that this undertaking is dangerous (249), but when an emergency

249. This is proved by experiences that Bridges (Mid.XIII, 187; 1879) had: "Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes sharp rocks cut the

223

/1927 cont./
though, sometimes the man slips, los
go his hold, and falls into the surging
sea below" /cited in English/.

ponnes them, they decide to do it (350) and admonish each other

350. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA:XIII, 214; 1868 and in MM:XIII, 186; 1870), Dabbene (b):186, Hyades (b):39 and (q):268, Outes (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat zones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to come over the inlet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the inlet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink dog's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM:XIII, 188;1870), drawn from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [q]:362).

[261 271]

These birds even spend the night on the steeper rocks that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such rocks

/337 cont./

x-3 ones die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a dust time they are here of heaven, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (ibid.XIII, 188, 1878) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves in the difficult art of dog cooking, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men want in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /[illegible]/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as [illegible]. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high cacti with breeding holes. The Indians cast a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sticks, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the enclosed dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death ([illegible]). The trapper can

> [illegible]. Bridges (b):310 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden bows" /awakened from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (a):324, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three sticks of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

[352] [355]

/GSM cont./

[3] hidden in bait of fish meat. The cormorants are caught by this snare, swallowing, along with the bait, the splinters of wood which penetrate deep into the bird's throat and cause it to die" /translated from French/. Some cormorants are even caught with the so-called noose rod (Fig. 68). 60-402 speaks of tūkanīg, "to catch dogs with a noose at the end of a long rod" /cited in English/. The method chosen, of course, depends on local conditions.

F. Wild Geese

The Tekeenika appreciate the meat of wild geese even more than do the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 382). According to 60-391, tāsīl is the "generic term for geese" /cited in English/. The most common are kīnge (Chloephaga magellanica) and ākuy (Chloephaga poliocephala); the strictly monogamous ūkul (Chloephaga hybrida) is very timid and hard to obtain.

Wild geese congregate in the evening on flat places covered with fresh grass. The Indians use this opportunity to spread out the large snare-line, as I should like to call this trap (Fig. 59) for more capture. On a strong rope of whale sinews, urwāmi wēāna, or a most leather thong of seallion, ēma wāra, there are fastened with a simple knot as many running loops of whalebone, [illegible], as the line of about 30 meters will permit. The loops, about 60 centimeters apart, are a single piece and when open have a diameter of no more than 30 centimeters. Since they consist of a single piece, they are not as safe as those made of two pieces of whalebone of different lengths such as the Selk'nam use (Vol. [illegible], Fig. 60), /GSM/ hence I regard the latter as more perfect. Moreover, the loops of the Selk'nam snare are placed on either side of the rope, whereas the Tekeenika put them on one side only (360). They fasten the two ends of the long line /Fig. 59 appears here/ to short posts rammed into the ground. Sometimes a post or two are put in the middle, and the whole line is thus adequately secured. /GSM/ The individual running loops are open and lie flat on the ground (360). A wild goose walking along,

360. I could not find out whether bait is held inside the individual loops. Cutes

[Text continues on page 240--Analyst]

/ 239/

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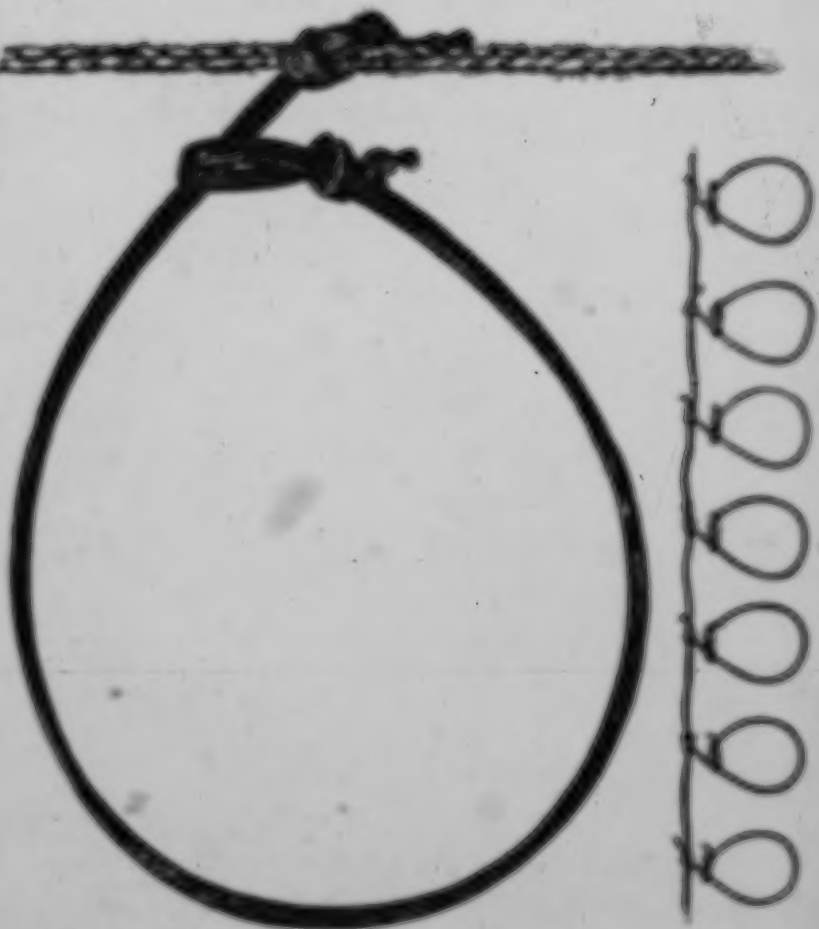

Fig. 88. The Large Snare-line. Two-thirds natural size.

233 /530 cont./

(p)-53 maintains: "Inside they put a bit of fish, cockiche, or meat in order to attract the birds" /translated from Spanish/.

feeding in the glue, gets caught in it and pulls it together more and more the harder it tugs at it. The hunter watches his trap from a distance and counts the birds that already belong to him. He does not come out of hiding until the wild geese that are still walking around freely are frightened away by the anxious unrest of the snared animals. He beats them to death with a cudgel or twists their necks off.

The Tamanas has far less opportunity to lay this long snare-like tube, successfully than does the neighboring Sáliba tribe; local conditions are markedly different in each case. Moreover, if we consider that this article requires considerable trouble to make and is awkward to store, we can understand that a Tamana only rarely owns one. Hyades (b) 22 confirms this, saying "that during our year's stay at Changa Bay we saw only five or six specimens" /translated from French/. Other travelers do not even mention it. Hyades (p) 300 is correct in his judgment: "The scarcity of these snares leads one to believe that they are no longer very much used for the hunt" /translated from French/. It can be [171] seen at a glance that the snare-lines of the Tamanas and Sáliba tribes are very much alike.

Aside from this, almost every man owns a simple but useful article for catching wild geese and other fowl, such as ducks, curassows, and penguins. This article I should like to call "noose-rod" (Fig. 60). At the top of a thin, strong rod or lance two and a half cubits long, there is fastened a single running loop, about, made out of a long, narrow strip of whalebone about 60 centimeters in length. In the dusk of evening or on a bright night a man cautiously creeps up to a bird asleep standing upright and places the open noose over its head. He quickly pulls the noose shut and drags the bird toward him, breaking its neck instantly. The more silent he is, the less the animals standing around will be disturbed and the more plentiful will be the nocturnal hunter's booty. The Tamanas like to try their luck with

[Text continues on page 234. - Analyst]

Fig. 6h. The three-rod,
one-half natural size.

[illegible]

/[illegible] cont./

223 [illegible] were said, and they do so often, [illegible] being many favourite places for it in their country (224).

> [illegible] Dyche (p) 263, Lettsom (b) 57, and Marshall 136 have briefly described this object, without going into [illegible] detail about how it is used.

d - Snares Birds

In the [illegible] there are [illegible] a goodly number of snares [illegible] (Jagdschnur-Arten /English/, [illegible] /German/, [illegible] /French/, [illegible] /Spanish/. The Tamans call [illegible] by the name /[illegible]/. /[illegible] /Fig. 61 appears here./ The large animals have very [illegible]. Since the Indians cannot get at the birds in any other way because of their light clothes, they try [illegible] with the sling, which, however, is not very promising, for even a powerful hit by a stone does not hurt the strong birds. They are most successfully begged with the snare rod, the well-known [illegible]. In daylight at the place where they [illegible], the man builds a small temporary hut, [illegible], out of a few sticks and twigs with thick foliage, just large enough to cover himself. He continues to sit here until the birds fly up. Cautiously he pulls the long snare-rod through the loose wall of the hut, places the snare over the bird's head, and with a sharp tug pulls to the captured animal. He kills it immediately so that the other birds are not disquieted by its fluttering.

In addition to [illegible] a special decoy which Bridges (Allen,1935, I,55,1273) observed: "An Indian builds himself a little house, there with a long, slender rod, having a few [illegible] at the end of it, he sits awaiting to perceive the landing of the birds. When they are sufficiently near, he cleverly imitates their cry, which awakens their curiosity. They approach his hiding-place nearer, till he is able with [illegible] to catch one of them. He pulls this in to him, and if a male he keeps it alive as a decoy. He draws out his snare little by little, and makes his [illegible]

[illegible]

223) [illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

/[illegible cont./

E. Other Species of Ducks

223 Besides the above species there are others whose coast is welcome to the Indian. The most common are wigeon (Anas crecca), mallard (Dendrocygna fulviceps), whistling (Querquedula cyanoptera), shoveller (Querquedula versicolor), and wild goose (Anser anser).

On the open channel the hunter has a hard time getting near them. Hence he surprises them by creeping up on them when they are on the beach. They usually stand close together. From a short distance the man hurls a few stones simultaneously from his sling into the small flock, aiming at their heads. He is satisfied to stun them, /[illegible]/ for the present them from flying or running away. The ones that have not been wounded quickly escape into the water and swim off. From the shore the man hurls a few more stones after them, and without much trouble he or his wife afterward collect the wounded animals from their canoe wherever the birds happen to be flowing on the water.

F. Special Methods of Capture

In looking for food the Yaruro are inescapably dependent on the conditions of their environment. If they want to obtain through a mass catch a moderate number of certain birds, they stick to the tested methods. Beyond that they capture every bird in a special way and with implements which will guarantee the desired result (224). Dexterity and cunning, a sharp gift of

224. The following statement on the Yaruro in Chaves (p) 63 is erroneous. "They seldom succeed in catching birds" /translated from Spanish/. The above descriptions are the best evidence to the contrary.

observation, and a rare command of their own bodies aid them in this.

Wherever there is an opportunity, a man lies in ambush and tries to lure a bird. He is surprisingly good at an exact imitation.

/300 rem./

223 of the voice of whatever bird species he is after. Since he remains concealed in brush or under a pile of loose sticks or in a low hut or a hiding place, the bird keeps coming closer until it can be reached with the noose-rod. The hunter is even more successful when he catches a bird, usually a duck or a goose, and forces it to utter loud calls itself at the desired moment. Nyadon (pp.359 calls this procedure "hunting in ambush" /translated from French/. The hunter uses his hands to catch young animals and birds brooding on their nests.

He is also very clever at using a torch to blind birds spending the night at certain places and standing close together. He suddenly swings a piece of wood or bark heavily glowing at one end, and before the confused animals can decide to fly away he or his companions has already knocked down a goodly number with cudgels. They bite through the head or neck of the stunned birds in order to kill them quickly. This concussion method is often chosen, especially when a flock of birds is spending the night near the hut.

If the case is keen on getting a single bird whose nest he has discovered, he catches it with the [illegible], the single noose. He uses the narrow strip of whalebone with the running loop, such as is fastened to the top of the long noose-rod (Fig. 69). The case fastens it to a short stick which he drives vertically into the ground. If the nest is well hidden by twigs or branches, he places the open noose in the path which the bird itself has opened. If the nest lies open, however, he blocks it on all sides with twigs and leaves free only a single /[illegible]/ approach where he stretches the open noose. In one way or another the bird returning to the nest will unsuspectingly put its head in the noose and pull it shut with its own forward movement. The hunter immediately seizes his booty, the reward for his skill.

It has been occasionally maintained that the Tarumo also shoot birds with bow and arrow (187). I questioned several old

187. Fito-Ary (x):136 wrote: "Birds are also frequently killed with arrows" /tr.ted to English/. Somewhat later Ozoro (p).80 maintained: "Birds are hunted with bow and arrow" /translated from Spanish/. Both opinions are not very reliable.

/136 cont./

233 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved quite effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skilful in all the various manoeuvres and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 292).

A prevailing habit among our Fuegians is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds worms close by, which he scrapes up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird. He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will come his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

[96]

6. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

234 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (Lama huanachus) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harberton on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter stalks the animal on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Often several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /135/ They take advantage of

[135]

/[illegible] cont./

23.9 the habits of the guanaco, with which they are very familiar (p. 36 /[illegible]/). It is well known that the animal lives in small herds. In summer it prefers to remain on the wooded heights, but seeks out the plains and valleys when it goes for water. It always uses the same path which, through much traffic, is easily discernible to the hunter. Several men, somewhat hidden and many meters apart, station themselves along this trodden path and wait until the guanacos pass by. The animals either scent of their own accord or a man with his dogs has previously, in a roundabout way, climbed the height and herded several guanacos onto this descending path. If they are pursued, they always head for the lowlands. When they come walking along, one animal close behind the other, one of the stationed men will throw his *poulte* or his small harpoon against a guanaco. The animal that escapes one hunter will be struck down by another, for the men are all standing along one line. Each man tries to hit the animal directly behind its shoulderblade, since a wound in this vital spot will quickly bring it down (see Brue in Mbb.XVII, 173.1883).

Now and then a few men will also set out with bow and arrow. They take along trained dogs which climb a height and drive the hunted animals toward the hunters. Guanacos escape from the dogs only by fleeing down the mountain. The hunters listen for the barking of the dogs and try to kill the pursued animals. The Yamana hunt thus almost exclusively in the cold season, because the guanacos seldom leave their mountain heights in summer, but in winter their presence near the beach can be seen by their tracks in the snow. The Yamana does not like to venture far from the coastline, in which case he would have to leave behind his hut, his canoe, and his family. According to BD:320, Thotomaiaghes means "to hunt guanaco with dogs" /cited in English/.

Apparently the eastern Yamana, under pressure of necessity, even ate their lark or a guanaco hair (108), but in general they

108. This is to be inferred from a statement by Despard (VF:VI, 82.1868).

did not decide to do this very often. This type of hunting is too

/335 cont./

234 difficult for them, and the slight success does not repay their efforts. They are less accustomed to prolonged marches through high snow in the forest than the Selk'nam, and since they usually do not have trained dogs, they do not even come near guanacos. Certain conditions, which Fitz-Roy (a):196 enumerated in his day, make this hunt easier in the winter. At other times of the year "they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches" /cited in English/.

Nevertheless, some men enjoy this hunt, even exerting extreme efforts to kill the animals and letting no obstacle discourage them. This may be /336/ inferred from a long description which Bridges (MS:XII,13;1878) wrote down on July 7, 1877 (269).

> 336. Hyades (q):306 also mentions the hunting of guanaco by the method which we spoke of first. Lothrop (b):153, without substantiation, speaks of a "Guanaco-spear" /cited in English/. The method of hunting that he describes also seems to me improbable: "To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him" /cited in English/.

Whereas the eastern Yamana enjoy the meat of a slain guanaco, the people of the south and west often hunt otters (Lutra felina), but only for their fur. In exceptional cases when there is a period of severe famine, their meat is also eaten. We can distinguish clearly by size and coloring (280) between the regular small otter,

> 280. Weber reports in detail on the habits and distribution of these two types, also in the methods of capture by Indians and Whites. One can recognize the smaller land-otter by its shrill, almost whistling tone, and the larger sea-otter by its muted, more grunting tone.

/536 cont./

224 aníff, and the sea otter, ájapux. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the nearness of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hurries up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 231 Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and tugs his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/587 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilášia; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23/ Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs;
he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81: 1886) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/539 cont./

462 the few and simple implements that make gathering easier for her. All of them are very functional and testify to a practical good sense. As a result, the procuring of food never becomes a burdensome task to the woman. She takes the great majority of her produce from the animal kingdom, but the vegetable kingdom, too, offers her some things which she finds welcome now and then.

a. Food From the Animal Kingdom

226 1. Mussels. On the rocky shore-line of the many islands are dense colonies of mussels. There are two kinds (Mytilus chilensis) Ko of and kaiŋa (Mytilus edulis) that cover broad areas along a slightly sloping, sandy bottom (p. 44 /unassisted/) (264). They

> 264. Hyades (q):33 was astonished at the unfathomable riches of shellfish, especially mussles, in Orange Bay. George Forster (s):II, 378 writes that in Seno Año Nuevo "the rocks along the shore were covered with large mussels (Mytilus edulis), the meat of which seemed tastier to us than that of the best oysters." One finds the same abundance, more or less, throughout the entire Tamana region.

do not go beyond the highest water level, hence almost every low tide covers them. The deepest layers are not even uncovered at lowest ebb tide and consist of larger specimens. These mussels thrive best and attain unusual size in places where there are constant small eddies and restless waves or currents. The Yamana are acquainted with every little spot of their country and each tiny corner of their coasts. They often come back to the same spot, move about anew over the same course, and find their way again in local conditions without any trouble.

The most dense, chain-like accumulations of large mussels can actually be reached only at low tide with the canoe. Their meat is not only fresh and tasty, but yields a rich meinel. /540/ /Fig. 61 appears here./ Hence the woman is willing to take the

/Text cont./

226 trouble to seek out the preferable spots where there are large shells. Sitting in the canoe, she breaks them off with a long wooden fork (Fig. 61) and lifts them up with it. Even the husband sometimes reaches for this useful tool while the woman tends to the boat, if there is a possibility that a current might push it off. The people call the tool kalána; I designate it as "long mussel fork." It consists of a head and a long stick with a square cross-section (265). A suitable stem of

227

Fig. 61. Mussel Fork.

265. It was well illustrated and described by Hyades (h):13 and (q):300, 368. Lothrop (b):155 gives it as "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, Hyades (h):13 as "a hafted, slit spatula of wood" /translated from French/.

Nothofagus betuloides is chosen, or Maytenus magellanica, which they like even better. The latter is heavier and stronger and makes the work easier for the woman. The upper part is always made out of the tough wood of the large barberry (Berberis ilicifolia). A stem about three centimeters thick is split down the middle, the suitable part freed of bark and flattened on either side until it resembles a chisel. The upper, wider end is split into two prongs which are held apart by the insertion of a short wooden plug about as thick as a pencil. This is put approximately in the center of the entire groove of the split and is tied with a braided rush thread, a whalebone strip, or a bast fiber. The thicker end of the long pole is also flattened on its broad side; the two pieces are fitted against each other and secured with a narrow leather strap or a braided rush cord, just as in the case

/540 cont./

227 of the crab fork (Fig. 62). This long mussel fork is very easy to handle. A gentle push from above loosens the clinging mussel below, and making the fork spring back and forth, always from the same direction, finally releases it. If possible, it is lifted up from the ground by hand. In deep places the woman with her long fork pushes it under water to the open beach. Usually, however, and this is a second reason for the long shaft, she presses the shell between the two distended prongs and carefully draws it up. Often the shell slides out just before she gets it up; then she simply picks it up again. To decrease resistance, the woman lifts the long rod up vertically and grasps the shell with her other hand. Patiently she squats in her vessel, bent over the edge, and spears one mussel after another /541/ until after two or three hours she returns to the hut with the yield of her diligence. For this work the sea must be calm and clear, for the deeply bedded mussels are usually covered over with floating algae of various kinds and are not easily recognized. The mussel fork is a necessary adjunct to the canoe, and no Indian woman is without it.

226 Since there are many days that are not suitable for plucking off the large mussels in deep water according to the method described, the people also content themselves with the somewhat smaller and less tasty animals near the beach. Women and girls step into the water and wade out to the densest accumulations of mussels. They either tear them off with their hands or loosen them with a stick the length of an arm, flattened at one end, which I call the mussel breaker, wasínix, and which BD:379 refers to as sajasínix (Fig. 42). Finally, they also use any stick that is pointed at the bottom. They immediately place the shells in their little baskets, which they have hanging on their arms or which they set on the ground at the edge of the water. Bent low, they walk along slowly and silently, without straightening up; they collect busily until the little basket is filled. Since several persons may be occupied in this way at the same time, the line they form looks somewhat strange to a European observer who happens to meet them (266).

266. Hyades (q):366 agrees: "It is a curious sight which confronts the European who

226

/541 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):583 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasínix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 461 [534 851] Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/342 cont./

224 hands and refresh themselves with a few roasted mussels. After
461 they have filled their baskets, if the harvest is ample, they even spread their back-capes on the ground and empty more mussels on them, with which they afterwards return heavily laden to the hut.

224 In this type of mussel-gathering, they collect some Patella, agwâna, known as pâna when they are smaller and as ilakuš agwâna when they are still smaller. They also collect Fissurella, ôngo (onôngu in the western dialect, ʔaku in the southern dialect), some Pecten, tâgi, and some Chiton, yâkâš or yakâš. Patella and Chiton are often imbedded in deeper spots and preferably under a broad tangle of kelp. The Indian woman ties up her canoe on the kelp and plucks these shellfish one singly with her long mussel fork. Mytilus mussels, of course, constitute the greater part of her gathering. The Yamana speak of edible mollusks under the generic term of ʔiyâla (268), and, as is well known, they

268. Hyades (I):294 maintained that of the many shellfish living in those frigid waters "all the large species are edible" /translated from French/.

are very abundant there.

Summarizing from this account, we may say that the Indian woman gathers mussels in three different ways (269): either she

269. Bridges (MM:X, 58; 1870) had already mentioned the "three ways of gathering mussels" /cited in English/ of the Yamana, but his scant reports do not compare with the detailed description given in these lines.

walks along the flat beach laid bare by ebb tide and with her hand plucks off mussels and incidentally a few other shellfish; or she wades through shallow water to the rocks where somewhat larger mussels cling, which she removes with her short mussel-breaker, wasimix, and which reward her for poking about in the water; and

/541 cont./

226 finally, when the sea is calm and clear, she uses her long mussel-fork, kaĭ́ma, with which, from her canoe, she lifts up from the bottom the largest, deeply embedded mussels individually. As Hyades (4):307 points out, the Indian woman is perfectly adapted for this work, since "it suffices for this fishing by hand to watch the movement of the tides, to know the beaches that are richly provided with shellfish, and to have a little manual practice in pulling up quickly the mussels that cover the shore" /translated from French/. To the Yahgans the mussel is /543/ /Fig. 62 appears here/ simply indispensable. To gather them in the required amounts is a daily duty of the woman who devotes herself to it whenever the weather permits (270).

Fig. 62. Crab Fork.

270. Bridges (MSS.X, 50,1870), Dobbeno (9):183, Hyades (5):2 and (4):306, and others have expressed themselves accurately and in detail about this. Bridges (loc. cit.) used the comparison of earlier navigators, namely, that "mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishmen: the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/. Hyades (4): 339 likewise repeated that mollusks "are a sort of daily bread to them" /translated from French/.

Her daughters of all ages help her.

Along inlets which are bordered with a flat shore and fine sand, the women sometimes look for the tasty tačówin (Mactra) and the large snail, hášin

/261 cont./

224 (Fuegia). The farmer must be dug out of the sand with a short stick. The latter keeps to the sea bottom under water and is pushed forward on the bottom with the crab fork, until it can be picked up by hand. It yields a good, fresh morsel of meat. Although it can be reached only from the canoe, the Indians enjoy it so much that they go to all kinds of trouble to obtain it. They have no use for the shell.

2. Sea Urchins. In the eastern Beagle Channel sea urchins are far less frequent than in the west and south. Here they are often gathered because the so-called tongues (pl. varies, fpar), which are eaten, and the liquid inside the calcareous shell, which is drunk, have a particular flavor. Hyades (q):369 even maintains that "fishing for sea urchins... in certain seasons provides a principal article of food for the Fuegians and the women devote much time to it" /translated from French/. This opinion must be limited to the southernmost islands in locale and to autumn in time, since during the other months sea urchins are not wholesome. It would be a gross exaggeration if, with Hyades, we assumed that sea urchins were eaten as frequently throughout the year (271). Their rich

271. In Argentina and Chile everyone knows that sea urchins are edible only in certain months, during the other months they are very harmful.

iodine content makes them tasty.

These animals, Ikiff (Echinodermata), always keep to the sea floor and are never uncovered even by the lowest tide. In order to catch them the woman rows a short distance from shore, ties up her canoe in a tangle of floating Macrocystis algae, and through the clear, quiet sea water hunts for the sea urchins on the bottom. She squats in her light vessel and bends her head far over the rim. As soon as she discovers a sea urchin, she lets the crab fork (Fig. 62) slide down perpendicularly through both her hands and tries to squeeze the calcareous shell bristling with spikes into the prongs (272).

272. I use the word "crab-fork" rather than "crab-spear," thus agreeing with Hyades (b):10 and (q):369, although

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (h):184 speaks of the "sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 481 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (h):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [147] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian woman to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

/546 cont./

226 however, that the Indian woman "practices (this type of fishing) with extreme dexterity" /translated from French/.

B. Oxystomes. More important than sea urchins for the Indian household are the large oxystomes plentiful in those waters, namely, eighfin (Pseudonis gaudichaudi) and the much larger ayiya (Lithodes antarctica). The latter are sometimes 60 centimeters wide between the fourth pair of feet. These animals move across the sea floor, proceeding slowly toward the shore during high tide and then back to the middle of the channel toward the end of low tide, in other words, in the direction of the water according to the tides. The Indian women take advantage of their habits. They go out to catch crabs about two hours before the tide rises because at that time the animals are nearest to the surface and are just beginning to move back from the shore, following the ebb.

227 Oxystomes can be reached only with the canoe which the woman rows, and by means of the long crab-fork, known as ólwa. Usually /545/ one woman will steer the canoe and another will fish. For the above-mentioned fork (Fig. 61) they choose a perfectly straight, light pole about two and a half meters long from the young trunks of Nothofagus betuloides or Drimys winteri or [124] Maytenus magellanica. The bark is scraped off and a smooth surface obtained. The first of the above trees is preferred, and from this they fashion an even, octagonal shaft. In the case of the other trunks their roundness is retained. The added part consists of [124] a stick about 70 centimeters long of Berberis ilicifolia, the upper half of which is split twice crosswise. The four prongs are whittled to a sharp point and spread apart somewhat with two short small plugs forming a cross and tied together with a braided cord of rushes. Both parts are flattened so that they fit well on top of each other and are then lashed with a narrow leather strap. The expansion of the tough, flexible barberry wood explains the fact that the four prongs are slightly curved outward. This piece was drawn through the fire for a short time as soon as the stick was cut off from the root and split. No other wood is so suitable, and the Yamana know this from long experience (p. 254).

226 It is possible to catch oxystomes (Notopoda) only when the sea is calm, because the Indian woman must look for each individual

/last case./

226 animal on the bottom with her own eyes. If she has caught sight of one, she holds her crab fork perpendicular with both hands and lets it glide into the water. Ample experience has taught her to estimate correctly the light refraction in the water so that, with a vigorous, accurate push, she penetrates the calcareous capsule around the actual body. The entire animal is now securely speared and can be drawn up perpendicularly. In the canoe it is stripped off the fork with a blow of a stick. It usually goes on moving for a long time. Even though the actual body is perforated, this does not constitute a loss, for it has no solid meat in any case. The meat is in each of the long legs which remain undamaged. Whenever possible, the women like to search the bottom near the coast toward the end of low tide, for they, too, enjoy the excellent meat of these crabs (275).

275. Hyades (5):10 and (6):369 briefly mentions crab fishing. We have the impression that he did not become acquainted with the entire process from personal observation.

226 4. Fish. How eagle the Yamana are for a change in their diet can be seen from the fact that they often go out to fish (276).

276. In travel accounts we frequently come across an exaggerated estimate, implying that a fish diet constituted a large part of Fuegian subsistence. This is what is maintained by an earlier account (VSA:XIII, 81;1866): "They live from hand to mouth, dependent chiefly upon fish for a subsistence" /cited in English/.

[221] Summer with its longer period of daylight and its less unfavorable weather conditions is far more suitable for this than the unfriendly winter. Nevertheless, one often finds women fishing even /546/ in the cold season. It is not unimportant in this connection that in winter the type of fish which the Yamana choose to catch withdraw

/top cont./

234 from the numerous islands, possibly into the outer channels driven by adjacent whales most species can actually be seen throughout the year (277). One Indians apparently are not the least interested

[39]

277. Careful observations of the Mission Scientifique, reported by Hyades (f) 14, leave no doubt about the regular departure of certain smaller species of fish from the Orange Bay region. There they are "numerous and of good quality, but only during the months of the summer season, that is to say, from December to March" /translated from French/. In another place, namely, (g) 17, he repeats: "When winter came, the fish completely disappeared; then they seemed to travel northward, for in Beagle Channel we find them all the year round." In point of fact, the difference in the average annual temperature between here and Ushuaia, about 80 kilometers in distance, is considerable.

in fresh water fish. In any case, the cold, torrential mountain streams contain but few, the most common being Galaxias maculatus. In this region there are no wide, deep rivers which it would pay to navigate (278).

278. According to Hyades (f) 363, "the most common and the most prized fish are several types of Nototheniа, N. tessellata, N. macrocephalus, N. coriiceps, N. cyanobranchia, and the following species: Merluccius gayi, Genipterus chilensis, Chaenichtys mox, and Lepidochaenichthys tentaculum" /translated from French/.

/Gbk copy./

224 Although in general fish with a welcome change in the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of vital significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Gumilla (I, 14 has very much exaggerated. For example, he says besides the ray enumerations of the order Plagiogloss, [illegible], although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the sandbar pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[illegible] It is exclusively the women's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Gumilla I, 313). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only 223 when the sea is calm (278). The women makes the very simple 225

278. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Gumilla does (p. 313), is unjustified.

line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, [illegible]. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is 227

280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/347 cont./

227] of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, egg, tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, aña [283 237] yaxtsa, made out of several skeins of braided, tough sinews, čkim (čkim) (Fig. 64). The sinews, tkwčnt, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable; if they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker (tčči, also tčhiši according to BD:399, "a sink [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about Sinulu-watauineiwa, this tčči, tčix, was said to have been introduced [773] by a woman in ancient times.

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

281. Hyades (h):19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

/547 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tõpuline, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lima (9):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /548/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

[227 177]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "tõmmõkur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

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/548 cont./
by Fitz-Roy, has remained unchanged to the present day (King:428). He repeated his report on this subject on May 23, 1830 (ibid., p. 450). Compare Lothrop (b):159.

Sensitive feeling, a sure eye, and much practice make it possible for every Indian woman to obtain her booty safely in this unusual manner. She develops an extraordinary skill in this work, although accompanying circumstances, namely, the adaptation of the fishline to the environment in which the fish move, favor her (285). In BD:615 we find wĕkátanakipa, "a good fishing

285. The advantages of this fishline over a European fishing rod makes a comparison pointed out by Hyades (h):15 very clear: "The women have extraordinary skill at this type of fishing, and very often we have seen them catch quantities of fine fish with this simple tackle" /translated from French/. The Yamana language has several expressions for fishing with a line.

woman" /cited in English/. It is clear that long fishing poles are out of place here.

The woman immediately bites into the neck of the fish or cuts it with a sharp mussel shell. She places the dead animal in the bottom of her canoe. Usually she draws a bast stalk through its gills and mouth and strings other fish on it. Soon eight to 12 fish are hanging on it, like keys on a large ring. Afterwards the woman ties more bait to the lower end of her line and again lowers it into the water. She goes on working in this way until she has collected a goodly number of fish. They do not amount to much meat, but all the women like to spend a few quiet hours fishing.

/549/ In all her maneuvers the Indian woman is as quiet and motionless as possible. Sudden motions of her hands would be reflected in the water and frighten away the fish. This would be even more true of perceptible rocking of the canoe. /Fig. 64 appears here./ Usually several women are busy fishing at the

/549 cont./

226 same time. They have previously agreed on their plan in accordance with the weather and their own moods. Although they are close together in their canoes, they avoid all conversation. Within a short time, especially if they are favored by the weather, every woman has roughly a few dozen fish (286).

286. Fishing with the line is sometimes very profitable, as Hyades (h):15 confirms.

Several species of fish with tasty meat take the bait, most frequently tápun (Notothenia cornucula), súna (Notothenia macrocephalus), imakára (Genipterus chilensis), čátax (Choenichthys esox), lasár[1] (Latilus aff.), and others. In general, these species can be [227] 283 pulled up with the fishline made of kelp, which seldom breaks even when the fish is moderately large (287). In places where

287. Hyades (q):371 also confirms: "The common lines of seaweed rarely break, and they are adequate to take fish of medium size, up to half a kilogram" /translated from French/.

larger fish bite, the Indian woman chooses a fishline of woven sinew fibers (Fig. 64) so as not to lose her catch, for sinew fibers are strong and resistant as well as much more durable.

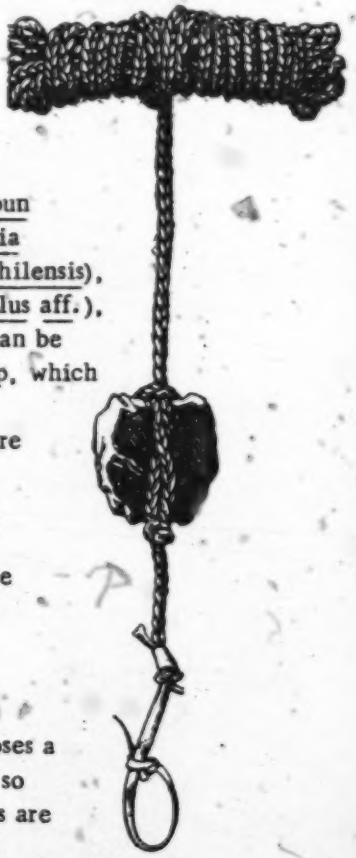

Fig. 64. Fishline Made of Sinew Cord. Three-quarters natural size.

The Yamana women set out in their canoes at any hour of the day, if the surface of the water is smooth and the weather promises success. They even venture out on the water during the brief summer nights which are rather light there, but never in the dead of night, however, even with bright moonlight (288). They like to go

288. Many observers described this type

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/549 cont./
of line-fishing, the following in detail: Bridges (h):210, Despard (VP:VI, 127; 1859), Hyades (h):15, Lothrop (b):159. Darwin (d):245 said: "The women jerk up small fish with a baited line and without any kind of hook."

fishing in the early morning, as Despard (b):697 accurately observed.

A method very different from this one is an actual mass catch directed primarily toward the dense shoals of true herring, ilesci. We are referring to Clupea arcuata J. and Clupea pectinata J. They arrive unpredictably along the coasts at any time of the year /550/ except summer. This shoal of millions announces itself with a peculiar, utterly monotonous sound and squeezes into the narrow channels or small bays, not infrequently running up the shallow, wide beach. Afterwards these small fish lie spread out by the thousands in layers several centimeters high. A not unimportant factor in all this for the overjoyed natives is the diversified animal accompaniment of these two kinds of herring, namely, the much larger predatory fish of various species and even seals. Rapacious sea birds also circle around this mass invasion. For the Yamana this means a rich selection of booty among several edible species (289).

289. On February 6, 1877, Bridges (MM:XI, 109;1877) described an invasion of fish from his own experience: "There has been a remarkable supply of fish, represented by sprats and mackerel, inclusive of such birds, and even seals, which prey upon them. Sprats were so plentiful as to be left repeatedly in dense masses on the shores around us, and for some days the air was scarcely fit to breathe through the stench of millions of sprats which literally covered the shores of the inlet.

226

/550 cont./

Four kinds, -- or rather five -- of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent in flavour and richness, and their livers supply the natives with abundance of oil during the season... The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly rippling water; we could even hear it, though some 400 yards off" /cited in English/.

When this procession comes up the beach, the Indians first pick the larger animals out of the abundant masses, and not until later do they tackle the inexhaustible abundance of small fish. It is obvious that dense swarms of birds which also feed immoderately can now be easily caught. We can understand what extraordinary joy such a swarm of fish with its varied accompaniment evokes among the Yamana (290), for it gives them a superfluity

290. Bridges (j):25 says: "As regards fish, these are found at seasons in immense quantities" /cited in English/. Thus, the amount of fish varies slightly with the seasons.

to choose from for several days. Moreover, it is offered them in an easy way; indeed, it is scattered over a wide, flat beach. All hands, of course, help themselves to the gay profusion, although here, too, the usual division of labor prevails whereby the men try to get the larger animals while the women alone, supported by the girls, scoop the small fish into their baskets with their cupped hands. Everyone is busily collecting, for the harvest lasts only a few days at this richly laid table. Soon considerable amounts of the fish strewn about the beach are washed away by the tide, and the sea birds contribute to the diminution by their

[462]

/550 cont./
226 limitless voracity; finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/551/ Sometimes similar shoals of ilēšoi (Clupea arcuata and Clupea pectinata) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they row after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known as čauwenux (Fig. 65) (291),

[227 285]

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (q):372. Lothrop (b):160 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/.

[224]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grasps the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The woman handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is barely above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

/551 cont./

226 now filled with fish, drop gently off with its contents. The basket is turned upside-down, the fish emptied, and without delay it is stuck onto the pole once more. Agility is now demanded, for the fish shoal quickly passes. No hands can be idle (292)!

292. Hyades (q):372 also briefly describes this mass catch with the loosely woven basket at the thick end of a short pole.

[462] Only the women are busy with all this, for the man meanwhile seeks to catch the larger accompanying animals with his weapon. Sometimes, however, he, too, takes the pole with the loosely woven basket if the woman has grown tired or is otherwise occupied. In less than an hour the occupants of a canoe, if they keep busy, can fill it so full of booty that they must head for shore. Quickly they take the many animals to their huts and set out again, for they know that the larger the shoal is, the /552/ more quickly it will be pushed out again into the open sea. They cannot draw uninterruptedly upon the abundance of the large swarm for more than one whole day. After the exertion of such great haste, they can feast for days on the varied booty and meanwhile rest up thoroughly.

226 462 We have just mentioned the fact that the man sometimes also takes part in fishing (293). Fishing with a line, as we have

293. The general rule set up by Bridges (a):201 long before is true, namely, "men very seldom help their wives to catch fish" /cited in English/. Fishing is woman's work.

said, is an exclusive task of the woman, but when the swarms of ĺiëšči approach, he sometimes also takes up the čauwénux. He alone, however, drives a spear or a small harpoon into the body of a larger fish. He is stimulated to this action when dense masses of ĺiëšči are escorted by large fish that are often lifted above the surface of the water and brought quite close to him. If the wood or bone point of the missile penetrates deeply into the fish, it is badly hampered in its movements and falls helplessly into the man's hands. Large robalos (Eleginus maclovinus)

/552 cont./
226 462
like to hover at the bottom of shallow inlets in the sunshine. These are also easy to spear from a rock or from the canoe and can afterwards be easily hauled in (294).

294. Hyades (h):20 refers to Fitz-Roy (a):184 and adds: The Yamana "Take large fish with the saw-toothed harpoon" /translated from French/.

In exceptional cases the men also build weirs. They decide to do this when there are several families assembled and it is impossible to travel on, but a shortage of food threatens. An ûmmaku, wuépa is a hastily erected woven construction consisting of short sticks driven into the ground and longer interwoven rods, the whole filled in with dense brush. The weir is never more than a meter high. They are placed in narrow inlets or, preferably, in narrow brooks running into a broad channel (295). During an incoming

295. I noted the same construction, here and there, among the Halakwulup.

tide, depending on the water level, the entire brushwork is filled in only when the tide is highest, or only a small top strip is put along the whole width of the hurdle at high tide. In other circumstances the center is left open, being blocked off only at the beginning of ebb tide, depending on whether the whole weir is wide or narrow. At the lowest ebb the fish are held back and can be caught with the hands or killed with sticks. Weirs are used very little, because, as I was told, they can be erected only amid all kinds of inconveniences and because they do not promise sure success (296). Fishing with a line, however, is always most

296. Hyades (h):17 is the only European observer who mentions weirs. See also further pertinent data in Cooper:109 and Hyades (q):372.

successful and, by comparison, requires little effort. Indeed, it affords the woman a certain amount of rest in her /553/ active

/553 cont./

226 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of ĺeźi, is avoided as much as possible (297).

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297. According to Hyades (h):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/553 cont./

231 kept alive, otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the hum of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

B. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):186 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered [462] only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

222 /334 cont./
[EG] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ésĕf; when it is ripe it is called ayícix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amáif or ðamáif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

222 462

[481 934]

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Cutes (g):52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is ášim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes čuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškéyon mémma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[462] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The ášim (Cyttaria haroti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ẽsẽf (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, áman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yčlus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

/556 cont./

262 the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III,116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:218).

222 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [251] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII,121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [261] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amáim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amáiiegure, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called Yanamáim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, aššna, the fruit of which is known as šepisamáim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

/556 cont./

222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hómōr amája, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, ʔéjiamʔjm. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pflaxʔáʔix, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering ʔéjiamʔjm and

[137]

Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amʔjrogux and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable héjuʔlamʔjm, the clusters of the héjuʔ bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these tʔxalamʔjm. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

/587 cont./

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natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uyeta, and the roots of the oawumin and yenhame" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Hariot:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, Owdeim (Osmorhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yhgame (Acaena chilensis), and finally uiyeta (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214, 1866).

[353]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

305. Despard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwashed and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129, 1859). Compare Hariot:402 and Hyades (q):338.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Owdeim" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). Celery, hôôn (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

[151]

306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

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/307 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (Wehl III, 116.1968): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/. In fact the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[263] Some people like to roast the celery root on the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/308/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (6):240 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/558 cont./

181 habitation, and this is best expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of products of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with invariable composure the lot that has befallen them.

153 Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the rigor of battle they have steeled themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situation. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fuegians develop well-trained mental powers and an unsurpassed skill. Even Bridges (b):240 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success [848] without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days of his youth until he became skillful and steadfast. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307):

> 307. Bove (e):157 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves."

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

/308 cont./

147 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along
153 /309/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly: "These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM:XII, 12.1879).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

309. Hyades (f):367 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fuegians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follow the change which each

7110 cont./

22. month brings. Hence he is always ready to obtain and gather in for his sustenance what every day offers. Actually, there are only a few conspicuous differences in the various seasons. Since the Tomato hunts only on the water, along the shore, or on a few rock walls, but never in the interior (310), since, moreover,

> 310. The reasons are obvious. Our Indians are actually helpless inland. Compare Hyades (b) 33.

large mammals and most birds occupy their habitats and lairs summer and winter in practically the same numbers, and since, finally, these two classes of animals are the chief goal of the hunter, there is little change in his course of action throughout the year (311). Wild game, however, as a single exception,

> 311. A few qualifications made by Hyades (f) 343 are obviously too limited.

leave the south in autumn in order to spend a more comfortable winter farther north. A few types of fish also move in the same direction.

In the cold season there are no young birds, nor do large fish gather in shallow inlets. Swarms of herring also cannot be expected. On the other hand, otter, foxes, and guanacos which come up to the edge of the water can be easily recognized by their tracks in the snow. /Fehl/ Now, more than ever, the hunter goes after these animals. The number of seals and penguins, cormorants, and ducks remains the same. As soon as the birds build nests and lay eggs in the spring, the Indian family also develops more mobility. When the young birds are almost ready to take off, the men venture to approach the rock nests of the cormorants. Later, when the summer is on the wane, he makes for the islands on which penguins and wild geese are moulting (312).

> 312. Bridges (Mdd.IX, 8.1.97) says that April is "the penguin and loggerhead duck season. The latter are now in the height of moulting, and many are chased and taken" /tried in English/.

/GBD cont./

22 At this time also the men guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 39 /unreasiewed/).

The gathering activity of the women is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cymaria beriani can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cymaria darwini are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (31). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermata) were

> 31. Bridges (1) 35 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hyades (p) 329 also confirms this. See footnote 188.

best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

321/ 342 The variety that the Yamana family can count on in obtaining food is limited to these few details. Their most supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible storage of blubber mussels. All Indian women can successfully dig into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Yamana as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the individual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cymaria darwini. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 377). Despite the very slight variations, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

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1. The Fuegian Dog

231 114 The dog, [illegible], must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fuegian family. It is taken for granted /GRE/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of all Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (114). If we realize how obtrusively and persistently

> 114. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Selk'nam whom he met on the southeast coast of Isla Grande in the year 1769. See Vol. I, 270.

Indian dogs rush up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the camp or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that these travelers of the earliest period just did not see the Fuegian dog and that the Yamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (115).

> 115. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Narbrough tells about his visit among the Patagonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Patagonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "These dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very native: they were of a grey colour and were painted red in spots: they were very loud" /cited in

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/561 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 345). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /untranslated/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:529 speculated as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /562/ Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (b):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

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that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

> 317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

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/562 cont./
in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout; and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

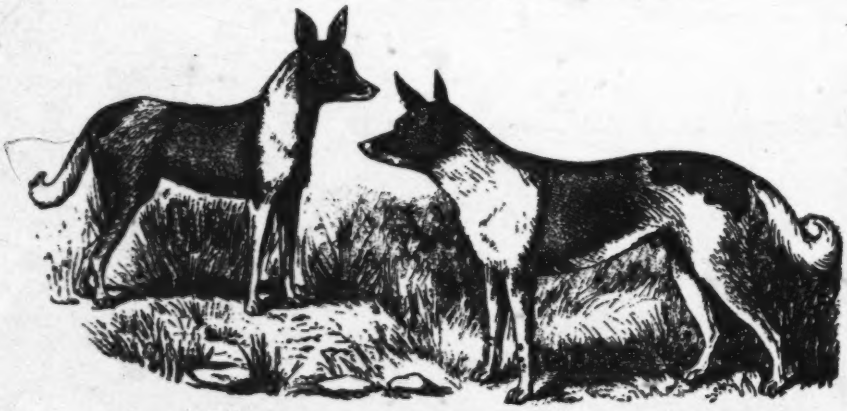

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

/563 cont./

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114 and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Kuenckel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:365).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Kuenckel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal; the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapan) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

/564 cont./
231 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the
114 appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was
177 not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

/564 cont./

231 large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Webster had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /565/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

323. In Volume I, 95, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to [422] eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travelers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

/565 cont./

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of the Fuegian family, to which it is very much attached and which it accompanies everywhere around the hut and in the canoe" /translated from French/.

does not pay the slightest attention to his dogs, much less giving them great care or fondling them. The dogs scarcely expect the slightest attention from their master. They never expect to be fed regularly, for no one finds this convenient. Whenever any person in the canoe or in the hut is eating, the dogs crowd up and wait eagerly to see if a few scraps might be left over for them. If not, they are not disappointed. From the time they were puppies they had to become accustomed to finding their own food. Hunger drives them to the beach where, at low tide, they gnaw the outer calcareous shell of the numerous shellfish and expose the meat. They can leap high and climb bent tree trunks. If the Indian has not secured the birds or seal meat on the branches, the dogs try to get these pieces down. If they are hungry, they take skins that have just been stripped off or even hard leather. Several dogs together will even attack a guanaco and eat their fill of it, and, of course, in their restless foraging they can easily get sleeping birds or young nestlings.

Most of the dogs give an impression of terrible neglect. It is no wonder, for, as Hyades (p):331 admits, "the dogs are never cared for" /translated from French/. The sight of them does not move the Indian, however, even if they walk around battered, with /566/ broken legs, covered with scabs and sores (325). He

325. It has been proved that rabies does not occur among Fuegian dogs.

has no feeling about helping animals. Nevertheless, he would not permit another person to whip his dog, even if that person were completely justified in doing so. He himself is content to punish his dog's mistake with a blow or to drive away the culprit simply with a striking movement (326). Our Indian, however, cannot

326. Kuenckel describes the dog very precisely as "spare, inured to privations, faithful

/566 cont./

231 to his master who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

bring himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

> 327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog... The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM:XV, 250; 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" [522] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

/566 cont./

231 We gladly admit that the Fuegian dog actually performs some services for the Indian, but we must warn of exaggeration. Kuenckel:140 is going too far when he describes the dog as "an associate, a very valuable collaborator" /translated from French/ of his master. It is true that no one likes to give up his animal to a European, but this shows only a certain attachment, not an extraordinary appreciation of the dog's achievements. Kuenckel, however, is right when (ibid., p. 139) he speaks of the dog as "extremely agile and strong in relation to his small size; very watchful and never resting, he is very crafty, defiant, and above all cunning" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):201 emphasizes other natural characteristics of these dogs: "They are exceedingly vigilant and faithful. Their sagacity is shown in many ways; and /567/ not least, in their providing for themselves, each low-water, by cunningly detaching limpets from the rocks, or by breaking muscle /sic/ and other shells, and then eating the fish" /cited in English/. As a result, the dogs cause their masters no worry and are nevertheless useful to them. Each of these animals, to a greater or lesser degree, "despite a very unsightly external appearance, possesses the qualities of its race, such as speed in running, dexterity in hunting the otter, the fox, and birds" /translated from French/ (Hyades [r]:295). It is only in hunting the otter and guanaco that the dog serves the Indian well (328), but by no means in a manner comparable to the dog

328. Compare Hahn in Hyades (q):364, Spegazzini (a):163, Lovisato (b):102, Dabbene (b):185, Martial:194, Kuenckel: 140, and others.

of the Selk'nam. Not a single Yamana actually bothers to train his dog; the things the latter does he has learned by himself or from the example of other dogs. Bridges (i):7 makes a point of saying: "Dogs are never eaten, nor are their skins used; to eat a dog would be almost as bad as cannibalism" /cited in English/.

Day and night he proves to be an extremely reliable watchdog. He seldom leaves his master, only when he must look for food. At night he lies beside his master or on his feet. He starts up at the slightest noise outside. If steps approach, he storms at

/567 cont./

231 the newcomer in frantic excitement. One can defend oneself against his wild attack only with a stick or by throwing stones. He is silenced only by the continuous scolding of his master. Naturally, all the other dogs from neighboring huts will promptly join a dog when he barks and storms against a stranger; all together they make such a noise that the whole camp becomes excited. Sometimes, however, they can be driven off just as quickly, and then they spend their rage in prolonged growling. Often they actually attack, but never from the front. If their barking does not make the strange visitor stop or draw back, they confine themselves to individual barking sounds with interruptions, but during one of these pauses when the stranger is unsuspecting, they will plunge their sharp teeth into his calves. They like to take advantage of the moment when he is stooping to pass through the hut entrance or when his head is turned away. Sometimes the dogs behave so madly that it takes their master a long time to calm them; only then will they permit the stranger to enter the hut without danger (329). In general the dogs are very easily

> 329. A minor experience of Missionary Bridges: "We find the native dogs very troublesome, they are not half fed, and are of course all loose, and always on the look out for something to do. The other day I was passing with my two boys a parcel of dogs, which began to bark at me, and then the pack set upon me, and though I had a stick I had just as much as I could do to keep them off. One of them bit my boy's trowsers /sic/, and no sooner were we engaged in driving away one, than another rushed on us from behind...It is absolutely necessary to take a stick when one goes to visit the natives or for a walk" /cited in English/ (MM:XV, 249;1881).

aroused and dangerous.

231 177 /568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse [272 177] milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiŋ-gur at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šépisamáim, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

> 331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/570 cont./

263 on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take
[271] the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades
[276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway,
262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show
263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of mákw (Embothrium coccineum) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as liner for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, ukéf, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 177 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also re-

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 293).

markable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axíya (Lithodes antarctica) and kíkflu (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

/871 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] 133 available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sẽpa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /872/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Dune:93 writes that when in these distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

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733 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 177 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco. They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 312 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/372 cont./

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271 The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (338). The commodi-

338. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):365 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much. I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

nary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /372/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

271 This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family
516 purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid
415 constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, fembalim (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/1918 cont./

271 576 45 [illegible] ceremony is chosen for it. Some people wear the small tube in front on a beaded sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the spouse puts it on the [illegible]/candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through the small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (360).

360. Hales (1)-327 shows/yd a man in a squat position drinking through a tube or a bone. This drawing had the caption

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Chonkgowagaunis drinking or a mouse with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wraghard-37 designates this article as "a kind of tube neatly made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Hibertus 196 as "a kind of small pipe made from the fore bone of a carnivorous /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (2)-361 explains, use "hollow reed stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 45 /1924/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

[illegible] 1

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ony. The carnivores in the Tylopoda, however, maintain the role each time, and toward the end of their gestation they are observed to go on using it. The brute sole posterity did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Volute shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Solitarians (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old mule teat. Other social diggers or carnivores that hold the contents as safely as does the Volute shell are not used by the Tylopoda.

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The Tylopoda, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening spectre of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the reluctance of a few specimen to accept this solely available dry ration as one more or less voluntarily (941). Function actually rather

> 941. The assertion of [illegible] (p) 66 that "during the winter when the rivers become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appears there as a general phenomenon. Lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is with merry weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of rationing up -- trouble begins if all the reserves on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been marooned on a small island where birds do not alight and where the rocks falls off steeply. In some places on the Cape there Arch-Ipalago they find on land creatures-sized and small animals which are temporarily laid here by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make deft with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted, then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Silverio).109.

/Tlingit/

24l 131 This shows that individual families may be in danger of having to suffer hunger at any time during the year, but only in certain places (345). A family may suffer dire distress for

345. Swanton (b):400 says very definitely: "Occasionally, through storm of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat bodies /sic/, one would judge these painful occasions are rare" /cited in English/.

another, but for less frequent reason, when they lose their canoe and do not make immediate contact with their own people. There are places where the available food /fish/ animals are quickly exhausted, and whoever cannot leave such a place in time must be prepared to suffer hunger. Formerly, when the Indian tribe was more numerous, canoes were everywhere actively moving about, so abandoned family immediately summoned help by means of the customary smoke signals and was soon relieved. Family, in more recent times, the food supplies of a family could become scarce when the family was struck by an epidemic. Children especially were in a serious situation when their parents or adult relatives were prevented from hunting for food because of illness. Neighbors, of course, were glad to help out, but even so, the days of hiree were sometimes continued for a while. It was probably very seldom, if at all, that a Tlingit died of hunger alone.

All Hyadee (g):56 has described how the Indians believe in such difficulties. In times of food scarcity "if chance does not let them find a dead seal or a stranded whale on the shore, it means, of course, fasting. Then they lie motionless in their huts around the smoldering fire and get up only if fresh firewood is needed. If their hunger grows too intense, they gather the roots of Arrowrie sagittifolia (345) on the beach, and although these contain

345. Sometimes also dandelion leaves (Taraxacum). They want this, above all, to suppress the feeling of hunger. Compare Chase (g):50 and Hyadee (f):164.

/575 cont./

261 almost no food value, they stuff their rumbling stomachs with them. Fortunately, snow storms (344) such that make any outside

> 344. A much greater impediment than snowstorms is the agitated sea when meter-high waves roll up from the south and churn up the water even in remote channels.

activity impossible seldom last more than three or four days, and that, after all, can be endured. In such periods of fasting the people quickly become emaciated, but as soon as they have enough food they recover almost as quickly, and then they can eat quite surprising quantities of meat." Sometimes the emergency can reach such a point that the people begin to chew pieces of leather. Darwin (d):245 ventured the false assertion [266] that "if in winter they are plagued with hunger, they would sooner kill and eat their old women than slaughter their dogs." The reliable Bridges (h):206 (345) and later Hyades (q):339

> 345. He specified: "There have been occasions of extreme hunger, when bad weather kept them from obtaining provisions from the forest, shore, or sea, during which they ate their leather shoes and thongs, but no one thought of proposing the eating of human flesh" /translated from Spanish/.

[674] both very definitely disagreed with this. The Indians, however, do steal from any European settled there if they are unable to obtain the most necessary food in any other way (346). When the

> 346. Bridges (e):333, for example, concedes this: "The natives killed some cattle and goats, and they steal crops from the fields; still, one is surprised at the limited extent of their thefts, if one considers the half-starved state in which they live."

261 /575 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /576/ surprisingly fast; serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 439 Ever since the Yamana have had easy access to the various farms, they have bartered there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. [144] Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):208 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/576 cont./

225 No one clamors for priority rights since, in view of the gigantic size of the animal, everyone can abundantly satisfy his wishes.

[887] In general, the old, influential men reach an agreement with the one who first sighted or touched the whale as to which of them should undertake the dissection. Not everyone has the experience and skill to do this, but these are demanded in order that the distribution can proceed without a hitch and as little as possible of the meat and fat is lost. A so-called wálaputës, a man who is practiced in cutting up a whale (348), chooses four or five helpers with [463]

348. BD:630 describes him as "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale" /cited in English/.

whom he attacks the giant animal.

They make a quick estimate to determine the number of people present. Then they immediately step up to the whale or on top of it, and with /577/ sharp mussel shells they cut off one piece of fat after another, the size of a small table-top. Each distributor begins at a certain spot on the carcass and first of all scrapes off the parasites from the surface, especially the common Balanus psittacus. Then he strips off the thin skin and makes incisions from above deep enough to strike the muscle tissues. Finally he separates the square flap of fat from below and lets it go to the first applicant. One small area close to another is taken off the whale carcass by the distributor. Before he gives away an individual piece, he makes a long incision in the middle of this large flap of fat, through which the recipient sticks his head. It hangs around his neck like a shoulder-cape and he goes off with it happily in the direction of his hut. It could not be as conveniently carried either on his back or in his arms; it cannot slide off and, besides, he has his hands free. Without discrimination, one after another of the persons assembled gets his piece and returns when he has consumed it.

Naturally, one or another of them can state his preferences to the distributor, for certain areas are tastier than others. Even on the trip to the spot where the whale is stranded people talk about the abundance that has now been offered them and express their preference for this or that morsel. One person, for instance,

/577 cont./

225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 825 192 There are special names for the larger individual body areas of all species of whales. The lips are called kā́uwa. The adjacent lower part between the lower jaw bones is télaix; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tā́sa. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čítěška. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yā́uaxěr, is mā́maia, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ěpélěr. On the back, tā́sa leads into tauwḗla, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hěssěn, or hěssětěx. On either side of this are the ápi areas. Between these and the mā́maia region are the kā́uiya mā́maia, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are ěntěs and ěnča. The entire rear tapering part is called yěsápi and leads into the wide tail fin, lěpus. The pair of front side fins is called kā́uiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word íškun (meat). Thus ápi íškun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskúpur. The

/578 cont./

225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yáuaxē;
825 the tongue, lēnki; and the entrails, hēsuwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation híta (349),

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apēla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkáriteka. The word tuufkáritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

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the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [251] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hašuwápisa (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmérana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleansing of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do;

/579 cont./

225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tĕpĕ́a (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hášaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ámа (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeámа (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

/581/ 3. How They Prepare the Food

252 Like the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 296), our Yamana are also exclusively meat-eaters (353). This means, as Hyades

> 353. This means, conversely, according to Hyades (q):338: "We have never seen them make a meal of vegetable foods alone" /translated from French/.

(d):306 expresses himself: "their food is exclusively animal" /translated from French/. Because of all kinds of hindrances, however, they cannot spend much time or effort in preparing their food. The simplicity to which their entire household management is geared is clearly reflected in their type of diet and the preparation of their food.

The Fuegians, like any other primitive people in the wide world, do not eat most of their food in a raw state. It is a proved fact that in everyday circumstances they roast, steam, or boil every morsel that they eat, with very few exceptions. Many observers have unanimously confirmed this. Bridges' (e):332 assertions merit full confidence: "The Yahgans do not eat raw meat, neither fowl nor fish, but cook [roast!] all their meat at the fire"; and in (h):205: "They do not eat meat or fish raw" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (f):564 repeatedly emphasized that "they eat all this food only after having put it in the ashes or over the fire" /translated from French/, and (b): 1345 that "foods are preferably eaten cooked or partially roasted" /translated from French/. Certain restrictions, such as Despard's (b):680 that "all food, but limpets, is roasted" /cited in English/, are correct, but in this case it means that only meat is roasted at the open fire, whereas mussels and snails are heated in the ashes.

Moreover, in these general statements it is assumed that the Indians are not hindered in the preparation of their food by unusual circumstances. A family which has accidentally been cut off without a fire on a small island must, of course, to avoid starving to death, swallow the meat of birds and shellfish raw.

/581 cont./

252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

[415] 355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

[412]

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/582 cont./

252 The only taste that a morsel offers is what it has naturally.

When the Indian has caught a seal and skinned it, he dissects the carcass into as many large pieces as he has neighbors to whom he must give presents (p. 314). If he is somewhere by himself, he first takes off the outer layer of fat and hangs the carcass on a high branch. He cuts off only as much meat as can be eaten. The lump of meat, which is almost never washed beforehand, is placed on glowing wood embers that give off no flame and glow evenly; thus the meat does not immediately burn. It is turned at brief intervals with a stick until it is done to a certain extent. Less juice is lost and the heat treatment is more uniform if a short stick is pounded into the earth near the embers. The upper end of the stick is pointed, and the lump of meat is pressed on it so as to hang down like a small, limp flag. When one side has had enough heat, the piece is turned around with the fingers. The turning is repeated at short intervals until even the innermost layers are tender. If there is a great deal of dripping fat, a mussel shell is placed underneath to catch it. The meat of the whale and guanaco is roasted in the same way, for it can be conveniently cut into uniformly thick pieces after the bones have been carved out.

When the Indian woman has a bird which she has just killed, she first opens the breast and abdominal cavity with a lengthwise incision of a mussel shell and tears out all the entrails with a few vigorous pulls. She lets the dogs have these. Only occasionally she rinses out the blood-filled body cavity with water. She cuts off the head straight across and high up. Then she plucks out the larger feathers by grasping a bunch of them in her hand and pulling them out with a sharp jerk. The lower sections of wings and legs she breaks off at the joints. She does not waste any time over the short, fine feathers, but holds the carcass near the flame and singes them. She scrapes off the small burned parts with a mussel shell. A penguin, which has a very thick layer of meat over the breast bone, /583/ is cut up or torn apart into several uneven pieces. These are placed on the embers to roast or are impaled on small perpendicular sticks beside the fire. The carcass of a cormorant, which has dry, tough meat is also treated in this way, but more often the body cavity is filled with heated stones the size of a fist or smaller and the entire animal

/583 cont./

252 is placed on a low fire. The heat inside and out is slow but steady.

Before fish are brought to the fire, the Indian woman opens the abdomen with a mussel shell or with a vigorous bite of her teeth and eviscerates the animal with her fingers. She scrapes off most of the scales with a mussel shell. Then she immediately piles up a thick layer of hot ashes near the flame and puts the fish in a deep bed of these ashes. Sometimes she also puts a single smoldering piece of charcoal on top of it. In this sheath the fish bakes slowly but evenly. When the Indian woman afterwards lifts it out, she scrapes it more carefully than before to get the remaining scales and all the ashes off. I observed the custom mentioned by Hyades (c):142 that "fish and game are partly roasted on the fire and basted with clear water, like all the drinking water" /translated from French/. Only one Indian woman explained to me that this made the meat tastier. The small fish from the schools of herring, ĺëšči, were usually baked in the hot ashes. Sometimes the Indians prepared a savory morsel in the manner described correctly by Lovisato (b):142: "Sometimes a few small fish are cooked in seal fat or in the pestiferous fat of putrid whale; a Mytilus shell heated in the fire is put inside, and then some hot pebbles are put on top of the fish" /translated from Italian/. This preparation takes somewhat more time, but it is chosen by the people when they know they are free for days from food worries because of the abundant masses of fish.

Birds' eggs, like fish, are always placed in hot ashes. First at least a small hole, sometimes two, are bored in the shell so that it does not burst in the uneven heat. The egg is frequently turned in the hot ashes, but is left there until it is quite hard inside. A Yamana would never eat half-cooked, much less raw eggs (356). BD:68 gives warukéna, "to cook eggs as the natives

356. Lewis has explained this convincingly: "Even eggs are invariably cooked [in the ashes of the fire]. I remember Mrs. Lewis once asking an Indian woman at Ushuaia to find and bring her some wild goose eggs, and to her surprise the woman brought them already cooked" /cited in English/ (MM: XXIV, 84;1890).

/583 cont./

252 do, with great care, in the ashes or embers" /cited in English/.

In the household of the Yamana the fat of mammals plays an important part and is very much in demand (357). The layer

> 357. We often read, as in Bridges (a):213: "Whale-blubber is the most highly esteemed dish, and they soon get very fat on it" /cited in English/.

of fatty tissue which is very thick directly under the skin is /584/ cut off in long strips with mussel shells and hung over tree branches. They are taken down as needed. They are preferably roasted between hot stones because they taste best that way. A rather large flat stone is first heated thoroughly at the fire and set firmly on the ground near the fire. When the second, smaller flat stone also seems hot enough, a thin lappet of fat is laid on the first stone and covered with the second. They are called hapȧtux. After several minutes the piece is already brown on the outside and well roasted inside. We may add briefly that whale meat is always prepared in this manner, sometimes also that of seals and guanacos, because the fat does not drip out completely nor is the surface scorched. If someone wants a crisp piece of fat, he hangs it up on a small stick driven into the ground near the fire and exposes it to the radiating heat. A great deal of fat drips off which is caught in flat Mytilus shells and sometimes in the large shell of the Voluta snail. The very much shriveled fat tissue tickles the palate of the gourmet. The melted fat, kun, is collected in pieces of sea lion intestines.

For later use the fatty tissue is cut up into short finger-thick strips and stuffed into a piece of gut. The fat melts if it is kneaded between the fingers or exposed to the heat near the fire and in hot ashes. The piece of gut has been previously turned inside out, cleaned, tied shut at one end, filled with air and fastened at the other end with sinews. It is used only after it is dry, and now it is filled with pieces of fat instead of air, or immediately with liquid blubber, and tied shut with sinews. For greater safety, a short, thin little stick, like a sausage skewer, has been stuck into one end, in front of which the threads are wound so that they do not slide out. After the gut has been filled, the

/584 cont./

252 same thing is done at the other end. These blubber sausages, yáiyi, are easy to handle and they are hung up in the hut on strings. Often they are also filled with the fat of seals. Sometimes a larger amount of blubber is collected in the stomach of a sea lion.

Another kind of sausage, known as kéti, is made from the blood that collects in the abdominal cavity of a freshly killed sea lion or guanaco. It is poured into a soft, not yet dried piece of gut which, as we said before, is tied shut and placed in hot ashes. While it is roasting, they poke small holes into it with a small pointed stick, to keep it from bursting. Furthermore, they collect the heart, lungs, liver, the stomach walls cut into pieces, and the blood and fat tissues of a cormorant or wild goose, stuff all these small parts into the alimentary canal of the bird, knead them thoroughly on the outside with the fingers, and let them roast in hot ashes.

The women always have a supply of dried, short pieces of gut in order not to miss the frequent opportunity of collecting blubber. They also save /585/ the large, firm alimentary canal of the ślakuš (Tachyeres cinereus) which they have previously blown up and dried. They like this particularly well to fill with blubber because it is easy to get and because it is wider than the alimentary canal of other birds.

262 It is well known that mussels are the chief ingredient in the diet of our Fuegians (358). Other shells and snails, which are

358. Bridges is entirely right when he says: "Mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishman -- the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 58; 1876). M'Cormick:I, 315 had already used the same comparison: "Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life" /cited in English/.

found there in much smaller amounts, are also eaten (359). The

359. Hyades (f):563 confirms this: The

/585 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight; it does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yékér I, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as éxuf and kecóin.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p. 324).

4. How They Eat

264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

262 /586/ The general opinion that each and every one of them is consciously selective in eating and in food-seeking is fully justified. Their first criterion is the degree of savoriness. Accordingly, they prefer one animal rather than another, one piece rather than another of the same animal, and appreciate a young animal more than an old one of the same species. They do not hunt herons or owls because the meat of both is too scant and too lean. The bat, apawáta, is very much like a rat, hence it is scorned and no one dares eat it. All petrels and gulls are rejected, just like the diurnal predatory birds (360), because they

360. Darwin (d):246 says: "Jemmy Button did not want to eat any land birds because they ate corpses." He may have meant the diurnal predatory birds.

live on animal carcasses and putrid meat. This is why the fox and rat, wénána, wyanána (361), are repulsive to them, the black rat,

361. Bridges (a):206 says very definitely: "Foxes, on account of their propensity to eat the dead, are, with rats, held in the greatest detestation" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):562 makes a distinction: "The fox... is eaten only when they are pressed by hunger" /translated from French/, and in (h):21 he says that of rats "the natives have a great horror" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):186 gives as the reason "that these animals eat human cadavers" /translated from Spanish/. This induces him to draw the obvious conclusion: "This fact in itself is sufficient to demolish all the accusations that they are accustomed to anthrophagy" /translated from Spanish/. Martial:193 and Cojazzi:110 agree with this literally, likewise Wieghardt:37.

pénkwana, as well as the gray rat, alúkwana (p. 36

/586 cont./

262 /untramlated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lémuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, čpíjačí (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipíala, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hépíen, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [752] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

/587 cont./

262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 262 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausage (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cytaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cytaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small fish, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yuul, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cytaria

/387 cont./

carapace from the bench height while it still has a smooth surface. Its texture is then very elastic and pleasant to chew. Old, dry pieces are soaked in blubber shortly before they are eaten. The so-called "tongues," ŋɛŋ, actually the sex organ of the sea urchin, ɬɛʔ (Echinus), are picked out of the broken calcareous shell with the tongue /387/ and immediately eaten; the milky liquid in the shell is drunk also. The abundant iodine content of these parts stimulates the appetite, which is why the Indians often eat them (384). Naturally, they eat all of these things in-

384. Martial (38) reports: "The sea urchin remains their favorite dish and is always eaten 'even when one is not hungry,' our interpreter told us, and willingly demonstrated this rule" /translated from French/. Contrary to the view expressed by Hyades (5):384, we should like to repeat that the above-mentioned parts are always eaten raw.--It is well known that the tongues of sea urchins are regarded as a delicacy in Argentina and Chile and are chiefly eaten raw with all kinds of condiments.

cidentally after these animals have been taken out of the sea. The soft meat of Pinnotella, ʃɛɣ (crabs), in the western dialects, and of Petella, ɬɛɬɛɣ, is squeezed out of the calcareous shell with a slight pressure of the tongue and is eaten without any preparation, except that occasionally the little morsel of fish is dipped into cool blubber. Some people find the raw fat of the young whale tasty. With the exception of the unimportant things mentioned here, every Tehuelche regularly exposes his food to the fire or the almost equal effect of hot ashes (385).

385. Spiker 78 reports a word from Bridges' "I have never seen or heard of the Yahgans eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets" /cited in English/. Previously here (p)4, 384 had already

/100 rem./

262 263 ensured on. "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All love charms, for example, Kyadon (p) 300, vouch for the general rule.

263 Although the Fangian lovesily lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to set up the heavy he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 316). However, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributor (p. 319). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Tiding says that berries — actually, only those of Pyrenthya racemosa — may not be gathered permanently, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many ~~ovdjin~~ there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, whereupon visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "~~ovdjin sabin~~, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries renewed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a supernatural interpretation. /100/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient canon, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to the commandments conscientiously.

264 265 Only occasionally is a person carried away to such immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called ~~ilong~~ which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

/1899 comm./

regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contained reserve is very much praised (388). When several people are together,

388. Earlier Despard (by.68) mentioned that the Tarnans "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'enaliaenae' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other, the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (387). There is another

387. Bridges (Mitt.GE,13,1870), on April 30, 1870, observed the enormous appetite of several families. "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water. It then melts by itself and is known as [illegible] in this area. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 30, 1897 (Mitt.XXX,172;1897): "A canoe brought

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[to Ushuaia] the sad intelligence of several Yahgans and Ona Indians being poisoned from eating fish...(368). The melancholy

368. From data given below we realize that a whale is meant.

disaster having taken place among the natives now engaged by Mr. Bridges upon the farm [in Puerto Haberton]" /cited in English/. Lawrence went there personally (369). "We found the

369. Later Lothrop (b):186 more precisely determined the place where this whale was deposited as the northern edge of Bahía Cambaceres.

people still suffering from the effects of poison. Nineteen men, women and children (Ona and Yahgans) had died during the past week, the others were slowly recovering" /cited in English/. Lawrence saw the hopeless condition of those people. "Arriving at the place, we found them scattered about; three men and several children were lying in a very weak state; two of the former were unconscious most of the time...We went a little farther and found the lifeless body of a man who had apparently died /590/ about two days before...Near the body of the man we found in different places five dogs which had died from the same cause. We also found in another place part of the body of another man, the rest having been destroyed by two dogs...I will now give a few particulars of the circumstances. About a fortnight ago a canoe arrived at Down-east, and brought the report that a small whale had been found in Picton Island. They went over in Mr. Bridges' boat, and found parts of it, lying on the beach, which they brought back, and having some doubts about its quality, at first hesitated to eat it, but afterwards were persuaded by the Ona saying they had eaten such before. All who were there having taken a little, felt very unwell on the morrow, and gradually became worse, and in a few days those whom we suppose had eaten more than others succumbed...[Others] suppose it to have been a sword fish [a Drescher /Orca magellanica/; p. 37 /untranslated/]. It was about seven feet long. I have also been informed that of

/590 cont./

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late years they have not made use of such, having previously understood it was injurious" /cited in English/.

A similar case, soon after, created no less serious disorder, and Burleigh wrote about it on December 26, 1888 (MM:XXIII, 98;1889): "Numbers of people were suddenly striken down with blood-poisoning through eating rotten blackfish (370). The wig-

370. This probably simply means a whale.

wams were in a terrible state -- men, women and children lying about as helpless as infants, unable to keep anything on their stomachs on account of their disordered condition. Two old doctors, fully powdered and dressed in their feathers (otherwise naked), went from case to case, and would now and again pause in their performance of rubbing and yelling at their patients. I administered emetics and other medicines and gave much relief. Most of the cases yielded to steady treatment, but in three families fever followed. Death followed in one case only" /cited in English/. According to this, the Yamana were sometimes in danger of being poisoned when they unwisely ate the fat of large mammals, not only of whales, but of seals also, which had been dead for some time (371). Faced with these large animals, our

371. On December 20, 1875, Bridges (MM:X, 81;1876) wrote: "These natives will readily eat animals and birds that have died of themselves, and to this fact is owing much of the mortality among them. Thus Jaminaze some time ago came across a dead seal. He brought it here, made a general distribution, and on the second day it had all been eaten. It made the people smell disagreeably; it was very foul" /cited in English/. He is obviously mistaken when he maintains that the Yamana also eat birds that have died by themselves.

Indians seem at times to abandon the strict self-discipline of which

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lépa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axíya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as stekálus (Paralomis

/591 cont./
verrucosus), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Yamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of ɛ̈uuf (Mytilus) or tecäuina (Venus or Mactra) placed in hot ashes (373). Blubber drippings are also

373. We read in La Nature:312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /592/ as well as in the shell of the Voluta snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Yamana eat liquid blubber, kun, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (374).

374. Even Spencer:102 noticed that "they drink this; like Scot's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

The meal proceeds very noisily with the constant inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obtrusively and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/592 cont./

264 Thus he gives the effect of being voracious. He almost never eats while he is walking, except for a few berries or fungi just picked and immediately eaten. He always squats on the ground near a fire while eating.

The daily work of the Fuegian depends on the changing weather, that is to say, there is no particular hour for a single one of his occupations, nor are there definite mealtimes. In the usual order of the day everyone eats well in the morning and in the late afternoon, in other words, before they set out and soon after they land their canoe (375). This does not mean, however, that *occasionally*

375. In this sense the words of Hyades: (p. 328 are correct: "There are two principal meals, one in the morning several hours after getting up and the other in the evening before going to sleep" /translated from French/.

someone does not also eat his fill at some other hour, whether he sits in his hut or in his canoe; everyone eats when he feels like it. The Fuegians eat often during the day and sometimes even at night (376). Apparently everything they eat is nourishing and

376. Fitz-Roy (a):185 confirms that "two or three times in the course of a night they wake to eat and drink. In the day-time also they eat and drink very frequently" /cited in English/.

advantageous, but we cannot deny that with a meat diet exclusively the body demands larger quantities than with a diet that includes plenty of carbohydrates. We must also consider the fact that the damp, cold climate takes a great deal out of the natives, because they are only scantily dressed and often are soaking wet. That is why they frequently desire to eat during the day (377) and

377. In La Nature:311 we read: "The Fuegians must take [food] in large quantities, and even after a very large meal they are still hungry" /translated from French/.

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264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [515] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/593 cont./

264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usu-
261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without
147 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that
151 the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example, he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/594 cont./

264 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his
157 palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

251 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of
261 dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the man who hunts and the woman who gathers. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

381. Bridges' (h):205 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

382. Hyades (g):34 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

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261

pounded by the surf." He is obviously exaggerating the dangers of hunger and distress to which these natives on Cape Horn are exposed.

Nevertheless, the surplus that is left over for the people by a stranded whale is regularly stored, simply because they do not like to let the huge masses of fat and meat spoil and because they would like to give themselves the great treat of roasted whale fat another time. It would be utterly erroneous to see in this endeavor any specific provision, /595/ for, if the stranded animal is young and the number of people that have hastened to it is unusually large, all the fat and all the meat are consumed within a few days, the only exception being that some family or another will carry a few pieces around with them somewhat longer. Thus, they save only what the individual families cannot and do not wish to consume in the vicinity of the whale. The consumption of the fat and meat of this animal exclusively is wholesome for the human body only for a certain length of time.

251 Most of the people transport the entire canoe-load to their home area. Here they put the large pieces in a swamp with good drainage and secure them well between the tangles of peat and roots at a certain depth. The dark-brown water excludes light and air. To prevent them from being washed up, they are weighted down with flat stones or logs, which also protects them from foxes and dogs. Undoubtedly the abundance of soluble salt acts as a preservative, and the tannic acid probably also helps. The pieces put down are never so thick that they cannot be completely soaked and pickled. It is clear that this produces an improvement in the flavor. The natives justifiably praise the advantages of conserved fat, even if it has lain in the swamp for several months (383). Occasionally, if chance permits, the

383. Fred Lawrence found a piece that had lain in the swamp for a year and a half still tasty. Our Indians know that their preserves are safe in it for a long time. "They hoard up the blubber for months by burying it in mud

/595 cont./

251

under a run of fresh water" /cited in English/, Bridges (a):208 explained. Compare Dabbene (b):186, Wieghardt: 35, and others.

family will return to the place where they have preserved their whale fat. It is probably never hunger that impels them. They use a stick and poke around in the brown water to find the pieces, which have meanwhile usually sunk somewhat. If they touch a soft, pliable mass, they have reached their goal (384).

384. BD:240 lists gaiatenaka, "to search for, feel or seek for with the end of a stick as for blubber buried in mud" /cited in English/.

The surface layer of the lappet of fat, which has usually turned very brown, is removed from the roast (385). No matter how

385. Martial:193 describes how the superfluous fat of a stranded whale is preserved in the same way.

oppressive the odor is for a European, it does not disturb the Yamana in his enjoyment of it (386).

386. The words of Martial:193 are not exaggerated: "Sometimes the animal is in an advanced state of decomposition and gives off an unbearable odor, but it does not in the least disgust them" /translated from French/.

In comparison with these masses of fat that individual families preserve in the swamp, the drying of ripe Cyttaria fungi, aucix, is quite unimportant. They are strung on little sticks and dried in the radiant heat of the fire (387). In order to keep them more

387. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) also assures us that "this fungus is very generally

/595 cont./

251 thus cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):340.

conveniently in small baskets and leather bags, they are stripped off the little sticks and /596/ left as they are or made into a wreath on a few flexible rush stalks (Marsippospermum). Since they have been baked until they are quite hard, they resist the dampness of the air for a long time. Before they are eaten, they are soaked in liquid blubber (p. 324). For the final weeks of winter the woman keeps about 50 or 60 of these dried fungi, but only as a delicacy, not out of foresight, since fresh ones can be picked almost all the year round and no one wants to burden himself with them for long.

261 Basically our Fuegians know that they need not fear for the future, hence they do not pile up supplies. Year in and year out they can look forward to the next day, free of care. Despite all the monotony of their food, they always have an abundant amount at their disposal. At the same time, many a change and stimulus for the palate are afforded, for everyone has unimpeded access to anything and everything that Mother Nature is in a position to offer from her animal and vegetable kingdom (388).

388. It is only in this sense that we can interpret what Hyades (p):328 says, namely, that "there are never preferred foods" /translated from French/.

146 In order to characterize briefly the value of their diet according to vitamin content, I should like to remind the reader that the A-vitamins, the so-called anti-xerophthalmic vitamins, occur abundantly in liver oil. Blubber, as is well known, has by far the greatest amount of vitamin A, namely, 300 times as much as butter fat, besides a great deal of the anti-rachitic D-vitamins. Several animal tissues furnish the anti-scorbutic C-vitamins, as well as the anti-neuritic B-vitamins.

/596 cont./

G. The Shell Heaps

172 Throughout the region of the Yamana there are mound-shaped accumulations of mussel shells, varying in height and length. It is unimportant whether or not they are designated as actual kitchen middens. Whether they can raise any claims to being deposits of archaeological finds is uncertain (389). Of real factual value is

389. Cooper:218 prefers to avoid this conception, for "it may be a little inaccurate to use this heading archaeology in the case of the meager remains obtained from Fuegia graves and middens" /cited in English/. South American observers use the terms "Conchales" and "Kjökkenmöddinger" somewhat indiscriminately.

a detailed description of the site of these shell heaps and all the implements that are preserved in their various layers. This shows without any doubt that the former way of living, insofar as it can be recognized from these deposits, coincides in general and in detail with the present form and that the people of those times and of the present day belong to the same race.

1. Their Arrangement

In this description we shall include not only the few very large shell heaps that were built up in isolated places, but also the insignificant dwelling sites which were still used during the last decade. /597/ The fact that Indian families built their huts on them up to the present time points definitely and clearly to the similarity of living habits between then and now (Fig. 70).

172 361 It is very easy for any traveler to establish the fact that there are shell heaps to be found in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. They reveal certain differences, however, In general they are not as large and extensive in the west as in the east, for obvious reasons. Except for inlets, large and small, the western

/597 cont./

172
361

shores are everywhere steep, although they are not always very high. /Fig. 70 appears here./ Hence the Indians could build their huts only in places with a very low, flat, and usually narrow shore-line. Whatever they left behind was washed away by temporary high tides. Afterwards the shingle revealed hardly any traces of the fact that shortly before one or more families had camped there. In inlets with sloping and wide shores, accumulations of food remains are not entirely lacking even in the west, as I myself have seen in different places. They are limited in extent, however, by the rock walls which are close together and rise steeply. Since these heaps are sometimes crowded against the rock walls, a thick layer of earth washed down by the rain covers them in the course of time. Some of them are entirely covered and can be seen only

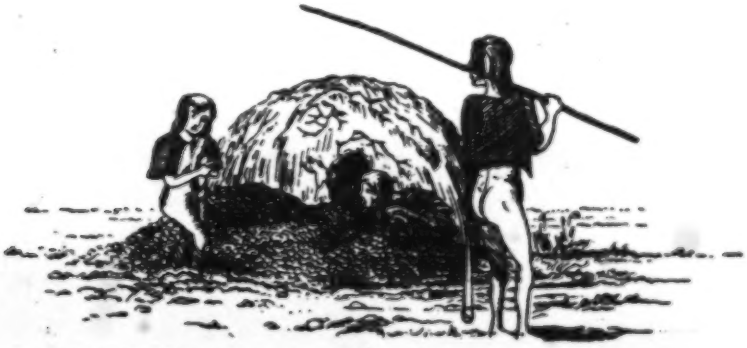

Fig. 70. Oldest Representation of a Shell Heap.

by the careful observer. In contrast to this, the eastern half of the Cape Horn Archipelago has many wide beaches. Whatever piled up and accumulated here remained almost intact and the amount of it gives the present-day visitor food for thought. The fact that in the formation of the shell heaps in the east and west there was a slight difference in diet will soon be discussed.

To begin with, we cannot expect that those deposits extend uninterruptedly along the entire shore-line. We find them only /598/ here and there. Moreover, it is obvious that whole hills have been formed in sheltered places that offered greater security and quiet for a dwelling, whereas on the exposed beach the deposits were extensive but low. It was the desirability of the

/598 cont./

172 361 site alone that was more or less attractive and invited more or fewer families to settle there, by no means the greater supply of mussels in one place or another (390). The shells themselves were

390. Lothrop (b):178 confirms that the heaps of refuse "are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and fire-wood are readily available" /cited in English/. Compare also the geographic distribution of shell heaps in Furlong (r):180. Vignati (c): 85 has indicated on a special map the "Conchales" at Ushuaia and on the eastern coast of Isla Grande.

gathered not only at the place where today large amounts of refuse are lying, but many were also brought along to the place where the hut was to be erected, and the people often went great distances from it looking for mussels if they wished to stay longer at the same spot. The bays and hidden inlets in favorable locations were regarded and are today still regarded as favorite spots by many families. They not only frequently returned to such places, but remained in them longer than elsewhere. One was safe there from the strength of the winds and also found a flat shore-line on which to pull up the canoe. Moreover, firewood and drinking water were easily available. The cup of benefits was filled if the outlying sea floor was shallow and considerably facilitated occasional fishing.

172 The shores of Bahía Harberton and their environs were an advantageous spot from every standpoint. A few huge mounds are to be found on Gable Island opposite it, and Tierra Mayor, and there are two more in Puerto Róbalo, which are far surpassed in size by those in Puerto Mejillones. Less extensive than the latter are those that I saw on Pictón Island and in Puerto Rosa, Puerto Piedra, Wulaia, at the mouth of the Rio Douglas, and in Ushuaia Bay.

All this explains the differences in length and height of the shell heaps, kusimē'a, but in their formation they are completely uniform. All of them form a low, gently sloping, more

/598 cont./

172 or less long hillock. In those that are pushed up close to the water line, the shore side is sometimes much steeper than the land side. An explanation for this shape is not necessary. All shell mounds were built up in layers; hence inevitably the lower layer was from time to time enlarged. Just as in the early beginnings, if I may express myself thus, individual dwellings were placed close together, so also later on, hence the lateral expansion of each individual hillock and a progressive narrowing as it grew in height. On the top one can today see, at short intervals, ring-shaped depressions which in size indicate the groundplan of a dwelling. A distinct, worn footpath leads from this ring to the fresh-water spring /599/ in any direction or to the beach where one can easily make out the place where the canoes were pulled up and safely moored.

The greater the length of the shell heap and the more it expands laterally in one spot or another, the greater is the number of dwelling sites for individual families. In some places the groundplan is well preserved, but usually the edges are flattened out, which makes the central shallow depression less recognizable. In some places the latter is sharply and clearly outlined by the thick growth of grass that fills it (391). We are indebted to

391. According to Lothrop (b):179, "the surfaces of the middens reveal on top a series of pits which represent house-sites. These pits are from ten to 15 feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep, and are circular in outline" /cited in English/.

Furlong (f):178 for the first detailed descriptions. He drew the "approximate plan of Woolyia on Navarin Island" /cited in English/, on which the individual sites of settlement were clearly indicated. /Fig. 71 appears here./ Lothrop (b):184 carefully inspected the shell heaps that are most easily reached. For example, in the entire Bahía Harberton area he counted 82 campsites with a total of 1,215 sites of family huts -- of the latter 367 in Bahía Cambaceres alone (Fig. 71); in Puerto Mejillones, including Puerto Piedra, seven campsites with a total of 253 hut sites; in Puerto Róbalo on each of the two long shell mounds,

/599 cont./

172 43 and 56 family-hut sites, respectively. Since now, as then, safe inlets and sheltered nooks are still sought, the present-day Yamana erect the framework of their dwelling in exactly the same depressions used by many previous generations. For their part they are still adding to the shell heaps.

Besides the shell mounds that have kept their shape, there are /600/ some that have been more or less leveled by the active traffic of Europeans and the trampling of cows, sheep, and horses. We can clearly recognize this condition at the mouth of the Rio Douglas and in some places in Puerto Mejillones. Accordingly, the number of dwelling sites here was formerly greater than that just mentioned. The condition that animals and human beings have brought about here was achieved in other places, which

[102]

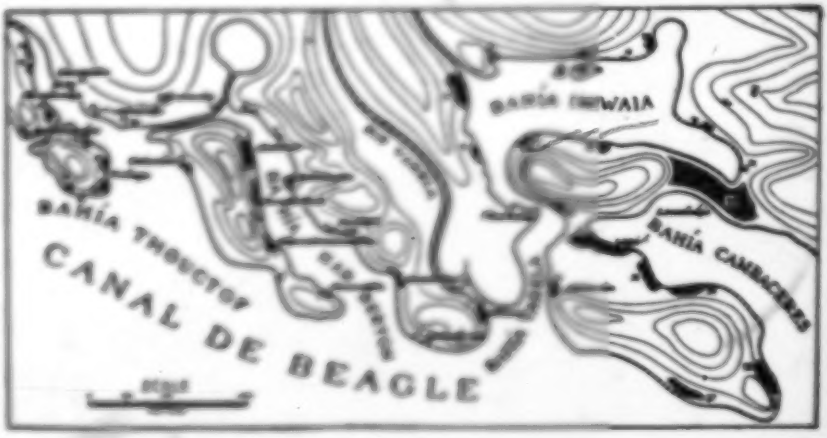

Fig. 71. Shell Heaps near Bahía Harberton.

were ruthlessly exposed to the winds, by inanimate nature. I am referring to many areas between Ushuaia and Punta Remolino. Here the many shell mounds appear scattered in all directions, mixed with much drifting sand, and now form a uniform layer, as though all the many patches had never been gathered together in a mound-shaped elevation and remained thus for some time.

Now it is no longer surprising that the depth of the layers fluctuates remarkably from place to place. Along the areas just mentioned the very uniform layer goes only to a depth of ten to 30 centimeters, proof that only a few families settled here and there much more seldom than elsewhere. On the other hand,

/600 cont./

172 other places were very often visited. For example, in Puerto Mejillones and in Puerto Bßhalo long mound ridges were built up to a height of four meters and more. We can easily measure the depth of the shell mounds in those few places where the sea has washed away one side of the heap (Fig. 72).

172 133 From these occurrences, which are after all rare, Lothrop (b):195 concluded that the earth has settled since the first habitation. Contrary to this completely unauthoritative view, it is certain that this region underwent a post-glacial relative upheaval (392). Whether this is continuing in the present time and

392. Naturally we are referring here to the geologically latest post-glacial surface fluctuations. Unfortunately very little is known about them, and long-term soundings have not been undertaken in Tierra del Fuego. Thore G. Halle ("On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego," Bulletin of the Geological Institute Upsala, Vol. 9, 1910) mentions elevated terraces six meters above sea level along the shore on the north side of Gable Island. J.G. Andersson also observed these at other places along Beagle Channel at a height of three and a half meters. Finally, O. Nordenskjoeld described terrace ten meters high at Ushuaia. They are all post-glacial phenomena, and their upthrust is very slight.

subsequent to the deposit of the lowest shell-heap strata has by no means been proved for Tierra del Fuego (393). Possibly an argument

393. In this interpretation of the age of the Beagle Channel shell mounds, I am relying on the trustworthy decision of Professor Dr. O. Schmieder of Kiel who, in reply to my request, gave the following additional information in his letter of March 18, 1953:

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"In the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say whether the coast is rising, sinking, or remaining level. The land has been post-glacially elevated, but these recent upheavals proceed very slowly, and it remains to be determined whether or not the movement has continued in the last few centuries."

Since I have not personally made careful investigations of the height in relation to sea level of shell mounds farther away from the water line, my conjecture that the above-mentioned minor circumstance possibly argues for an upheaval does not definitively settle this question. Earlier, Nordenskjoeld (I) 236 stated the following view: "When the glacial period ended, Tierra del Fuego was only about 60 meters lower than it is now. It rose after that, but now the upheaval seems to be slight or not going on at all."

to favor of it is that in some places along open and /801/ flat coves the shell heaps lie far away from the water line and a wider beach may have formed later on. There are no tangible reasons why the earlier Indians should have built their huts as far from the water line /Fig. 72 appears here/ as the shell mounds are now to be found. In any case whether or not the insignificant factor mentioned above indicates an upheaval, there is nothing that proves the land has settled. In those places lying farther back, however, the advantage for research is that at least the actual depth of the mussel stratum becomes clearly visible. The fact that in the case of individual mounds some lateral walls facing the water have been undercut and eroded in, contrary to Lothrop's conjecture, correctly interpreted only as the action of high tides. The first deposits had initially formed near the water line, and the more they grew, the more the bottom strata spread out in the course of time, almost up to the highest water level at flood-tide.

172 On the shell mounds cut into by the waves, we can see at a

/Will cont./

[12a] a glance that composition from top to bottom. The newest shells lie on top of each other in layers mixed with a little sand and, in some places, with layers of mica. Near the bottom and also embedded in somewhat high layers, one sees a thin ferruginous stratum, five to 10 centimeters thick. Its origin cannot be explained simply as gravel from the superimposed material (Shell, Mica

336. Lothrop (5):170 has expressed himself similarly, "that the shells have in

[13]

Fig. 73. Shell heaps near Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Piedra.

places solidified into a ferruginous which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These were never synchronously and at an uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them" /cited in English/.

[illegible] to /Will/ the suggestion that individual layers of shells were exposed to strong heat from the hot fire, which made them brittle, and that later the humans had often walked over them, crushing them still more. The mere deposition in a shell layer

/last sent./
[illegible] and cave ages in the Ibe (386) until it, too, be-

386. In Georgian there is snow on the ground, as "winter in Tiflis," on Tiflis(1):220 does, is obviously misleading.

came somewhat mixed with the general growth of the entire coastal. Everywhere we came across large and small caves which were used in some way without being visited. They served as a home for the glowing embers of an herdsman. Less frequently we find those points and caves known which even the earliest Europeans always made to small dimensions.

The case of animal remains which make up the mounds belongs to exactly the same species (388) from which the present-

388. In a draft copy along the coastal caves there of Bahía Blanca, Ludwig (5):103 found that "at a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mussel-shell which could not be found on the beach locally" /cited in English/. He does not think that the appearance of this particular type which, unfortunately, he does not in any way describe, has any particular significance. I did not happen across it.

day Patagonian mound formations. The shells of [illegible] and [illegible] adults are by far more numerous than those of Purpura, Fissurella and Trophon, Nassa and Patella, as well as small pieces of the shell of the sea-urchin [illegible] and the large Volsella mussel, [illegible]. Mixed with these are bones of animals, most of which came from seals and the indigenous marine birds. As may be expected, particularly the bone remains in the lowest strata are poorly preserved; they often disintegrate on the slightest touch (387). Here we see the destructive influence

387. Ludwig (5):101 is mistaken if he thinks that "in Tierra del Fuego the

/Pill cont./

172. [illegible] from scarcely leaves the ground" /cited in English/, and that therefore the bone remnants would be better preserved. The greater or lesser presence of air is a much more important factor in preservation.

[illegible] of browsing and thawing to which these organic structures are exposed more than any other things. All the finds mentioned above exhibit the picture of an animal world that still inhabits this region today.

The remains of human skeletons are less often found in these shell mounds. occasionally they are uncovered by natural forces themselves. It is well known that the Yaruros formerly burned their corpse in their own huts and afterwards buried the bone parts on the spot. It cannot be proved, but it is almost certain that they also buried the entire corpse in a shell mound without first cremating it. Unfortunately only an extremely small number of remains of human skeletons from the shell mounds have been gathered and accurately described scientifically. I know of only two skulls uncovered in the "Conchales de Uhlenia" and described by Vigueri (c):130. /Pill/ He did not examine the corresponding skeletons. Exact measurements were not made of the skulls either, but the descriptions and illustrations leave no doubt that these specimens can definitely be assigned to two members of the Tamanco tribe (168).

> 168. Vigueri's (c):130 own opinion is that the characteristics found, "in summary, authorize one to suppose that both creatures are from Yalgan, such as are familiar to us through the descriptions by Flower, Garson, Dahlmann, etc." /translated from Spanish/.

Judging such remains is more difficult because one can probably never determine definitely whether the find goes back many centuries or only a few decades. The uniform construction of the shell mounds warrants only to a certain extent the inference that the remains more deeply buried are older. Hence the fact that skeletal remains are found somewhere in the lowest strata of a

/603 cont./

172 shell mound is not sufficient evidence to permit us to postulate an older or more recent racial type within the total Yamana group (399).

> 399. Some data are completely useless because they are too indefinite. A case in point is those of Lovisato (b):101 on shell heaps at Pictón Island, in which, together with unusually large human skeletons, were found two arrowpoints of ordinary size and completely identical with those of the Patagonian paraderos" /translated from Italian/.

For comparison we give here a description that Spencer:59 furnished on May 11, 1929: "Spent afternoon searching on kitchen middens beside the Rio Douglas, and found large black somewhat coarsely chipped arrow, or spear head (?), lying among big cobble stones on river bank, and scrapers. Present-day Yahgans do not use these. Middens evidently very old, with enormous mass of shells, mainly mussels with limpets, barnacles, volutes, etc., seal and whale bones; of damp black earth, with beech trees, some quite twenty feet high, which have grown up on top of these middens since they were made and used (400);

> 400. This cannot be regarded as a rare phenomenon, because it occurs in various places. It does not in the least help to determine the age of the shell heaps. Compare Lothrop (b):194.

all middens overgrown by grass" /cited in English/. Of the same spot he says on May 20: "Claude Williams dug out one side of kitchen midden. Six of these formed a kind of semi-circle with open side towards the sea. Each one had depression in middle; longest being [perhaps 15] (401) feet in diameter and six feet

> 401. Miss Hamilton's memory. Mr. Williams writes to her that the average

/603 cont./

172 grave depression is six feet in diameter, and from three to four feet deep (ibid.) /cited in English/.

high. Looked as if natives camped in the middle with fires all round them. One mass of shells and black earth with layers of calcined pinkish earth. Mussel shells predominated, but large numbers of Fissurellas and Patellas and Modiola-like shells and Volutes. Bird bones, apparently gannet, seal bones, and whale bones. Very few stones, and no sign of any chipped ones. Single bone harpoon" /cited in English/. The shell heaps on Isla Elisabeth in the eastern Strait of Magellan were compared by Lovisato (b):102 with the "Conchales de Ushuaia": "These are not such marvels; they do not rise as high above sea level and on casual inspection might be called true dunes or skillfully made entrenchments. /604/ Besides the innumerable mollusk shells of Mytilus and Patella genera and bones of otaries, eared seals, and otters, there are fragments of crabs, of pettini, and of other bivalves. On the grassy carpet that has grown over these deposits stand the actual kitchen middens, with related wigwam, that are simple cumuli belonging to each wigwam, but cumuli of only cockle and Patella shells with the remains of crabs or a very few mammal bones" /translated from Italian/.

The shell heaps are easy to recognize even from a distance. Usually they are covered in patches with only individual stalks or with small, sparse clumps of grass. Herbs and low shrubs do not thrive on the porous, loose subsoil. The largely bare surface has a peculiar pearl-gray color, which contrasts sharply with the dark humus ground, the yellow gravel, and the grayish-white stones surrounding each of these shell heaps.

2. The Embedded Implements

Although the sparse skeletal finds do not permit a definite judgment about the racial character of the earlier settlers, the implements that were brought to light clearly indicate that the former style of life coincides exactly with that of today. The

/604 cont./

172 shell heaps, kusimē'a, as such are good proof of this, while the worked tools buttress it to the point of absolute certainty.

In numbers, the worked blades head the list. They evidently served as knives, since they are flat, usually longish and leaf-shaped with blunt points, and sharpened along the entire edge. A shallow notch that is sometimes visible indicates hafting. Another shape is more like a chisel, the cutting edge being almost straight and the entire piece tapering laterally toward the back which was forced into a wooden handle. The tool used by the present-day Yamana makes this inference plausible (see a description of it, p. 189, and Fig. 45).

In the same category belongs the triangular shape taken from the shell heap at Ushuaia, a single specimen of which Vignati (c):121 illustrates and calls "lámina embotada" /Spanish, "blunt strip"/. It is not fully preserved, but it still measures 8.2 centimeters in length and 3.1 centimeters at its thickest point.

Lance points or dagger and arrow points are uncovered relatively often. Their shape unmistakably coincides with the stone points to be found in the old sites of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 261). They come either in the shape of a triangle with a wide base line gently curved inward, or an extended triangle with sharp corners pointing downward between which a short projection protrudes (402), or finally /605/ the rarer type with a wide projection

402. Hyades (q):414 gives examples of these two forms, illustrated on Plate 30, which he describes as "flint arrowheads found in the old shell heaps at Ushuaia" /translated from French/. The same three pieces are reproduced in Hyades (h):36.

tapering at the bottom (Fig. 73) (403). The two shapes of stone

403. Vignati (c):123 defines this shape on the basis of two specimens and calls it "puntas dobles." The two specimens are 7.2 and 6.6 centimeters long.

/605 cont./

172 first mentioned were used by the Yamana until a few decades ago. They are still made today of glass by aged, experienced men, but these are usually smaller than the old ones which are as much as ten centimeters long (404). Lothrop (b):191 regards the long triangular form

404. I find it inexplicable that Hyades (h):34, in view of the finds just mentioned, maintains: "Certainly this model has not been used for a long time among the Yahgans" /translated from French/.

lar form with the pointed lateral notches and with a short middle projection as "the dominant Beagle Channel type" /cited in English/,

Fig. 73. Dagger Points and Arrow Points. Natural size.

but he overlooks the fact that it is also found in the region of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 263). /Fig. 73 appears here./ Among these shapes two noticeably dissimilar sizes are to be distinguished, namely, those of about six to ten centimeters and those of about two and a half to three centimeters (405). There was, besides, a single specimen

405. Vignati (c):124 regards the nine specimens from the shell heap at Ushuaia as "careful and perfect work, obtained by pressure flaking. All

/605 cont./

172

but one belong to the type of arrowpoint with wings /Spanish, aletas/, with two distinct sizes. The winged /Spanish, aletiforme/ type is known in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia" /translated from Spanish/.

with a very broad projection, which Vignati (c):124 calls "pedunculado" and which resembles many specimens from Patagonia (Fig. 74).

Apparently the Yamana in the distant past used stone scrapers little or not at all. They preferred a simple mussel shell without a haft because this was very easy to /606/ obtain and to sharpen at any time. We seldom find a stone scraper in the shell mounds. I never saw one, and Fred Lawrence could not remember having seen them either. The three specimens Lothrop (b):190 found in Bahía Harbertón seemed unknown to his informants, although Guillermo Bridges contradicted this (Fig. 75). It is possible that they originated among the Selk'nam or as a result of their influence on the Yamana. Until further finds are brought to light, any discussion about it is fruitless. /Fig. 74 appears here./ I cannot but suspect, however, that the persons who picked up stone arrowpoints on the shell mounds either did not recognize actual scrapers as tools or did not appraise them.

Another strange object is a stone borer ("perforador") 4.8 centimeters long from the shell mound at Ushuaia. On a trapezoid-shaped lower part rises the evenly fashioned needle (Fig. 74). This type is not rare in Patagonia; I also found it on the shore of Useless Bay (Vol. I, 261). Compare Vignati (c):124.

[412]

Finally we must mention the numerous stone hammers which show no shaping but unmistakably indicate that they were used. These are oval rubble-stones which the sea itself has shaped and which the present-day Yamana still use very often, either to break open hollow cylindrical bones, to beat leather, or to make larger implements (406). It is strange that Vignati (c) does not

406. Lothrop (b):192 calls these pieces "Hammerstones, anvils, grease stones" and adds, "Every family carried an oval

172

/606 cont./
water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering" /cited in English/.

report their presence in the shell heap at /607/ Ushuaia, since Lothrop (b):192 without exaggeration assures us that "these stones may be picked up at every ancient camp-site" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, they are lying around everywhere and are especially conspicuous in those places undermined or eroded by the restless sea.

Sometimes the so-called perforated stones are referred to. They frequently appear in central Chile. In all of Tierra del Fuego only

Fig. 74. Various Stone Implements. Natural size.

two specimens of this type were picked up. For one of these we are indebted to Furlong (r):180, who expresses himself on the subject as follows: "Most important of my finds was one of the so-called 'morning star' stones. /Fig. 75 appears here./ This perforated stone, about four inches in diameter, has knobby projections around its rim" /cited in English/. I saw this piece in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. According to the finder's own interpretation, it served as "the head of a primitive war club" /cited in English/. He is justified in not attributing it to the Yamana; "it may help in establishing the fact of certain trade relations and communications between the ancestors of these people and tribes of the Chilean

/607 cont./

172 coast" /cited in English/. Lovisato (c):723 brought the other specimen to Europe (compare also Colini:240), it having been given to him, as I learned, by the Reverend John Lawrence. Today it is in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, is listed as Number 36901, and bears the inscription: "stone disk with hole in center; Yagan of Tierra del Fuego, Presented by Dr. G. Dall'orto, 1887" /translated from Italian/. To me this stone gave the impression of being a natural formation. Besides, John Lawrence and his sons assured me earlier that such pieces were never used by the Yamana. In case these perforated stones are really the work of human beings, we shall be obliged to regard

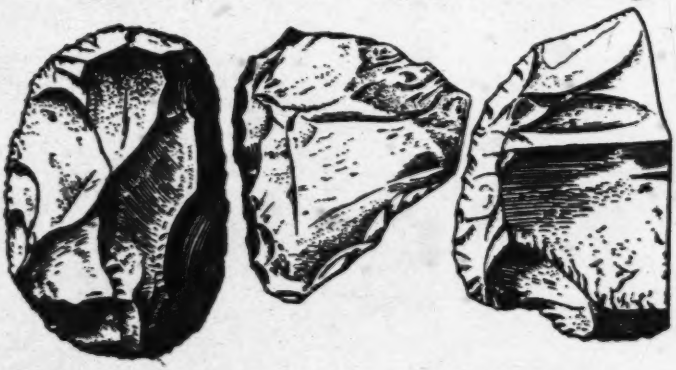


Fig. 75. Stone Scrapers. Natural size.

them as foreign imports (407) until new finds force us to give

407. Cooper:214 shares this view with Furlong (r):180. Compare in this connection Outes (a):437. On the mainland these perforated stones made by human beings are to be found in extensive areas.

another explanation.

/608/ The shell heaps furnish a large number of bone implements, in conformity with the present-day common use of this type. Perfect specimens, however, are rare, for obvious reasons (408). I, too, often came across fragments of notched

408. Without going into specific descriptions,

/608 cont./

172 Lothrop (b):192 says very briefly: "Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity" /cited in English/.

spear- and harpoon-points. From the "Conchal de Ushuaia" Vignati (c):125 illustrated and described in detail three harpoon points, three borers, two wedges (409), and two mussel openers.

409. Vignati (c):128 calls one of these "hacha" /ax/, the other "de uso desconocido" /use unknown/. For me both pieces are the bone wedges mentioned above that are used to remove bark.

We see so clearly in these pieces their absolute conformity with the bone tools still used by present-day Yamana that no one will raise any doubts about it. Proofs of their age are lacking, however, for we come across them even in the lower strata of shell heaps in various places in Yamana territory.

3. Their Origin

174 The repeated comparisons and references called forth by the description of the finds in the shell heaps have made us realize that in those places a form of culture is expressed in external objects and implements that coincides in essence and with surprising accuracy with the things we have observed among modern generations of the Yamana people. A nomadic people, unfamiliar with fixed dwellings, has built up this form of culture. That the search for food was undertaken by individual families is proved by the difference in height and extent of the settlement sites. The sea furnished at least the major portion of the food supply, for no trace of vegetable nutrients has hitherto been uncovered. Peculiarities of smaller areas are clearly shown in some of the middens; for example, in the east, especially in Bahía Harbertón and in Puerto Mejillones, the number and size of the deposits is far greater

/608 cont./

174 than in the west. Here there was a greater variety of sea mammals and marine birds, sea urchins and crabs, whereas in the east, long open coastal strips were less favorable for hunting sea animals, hence the natives were primarily dependent on mussels in and near the large inlets. We cannot expect to find traces of pottery; the many hearth sites with ashes and bits of charcoal prove too conclusively that all food was roasted in an open hearth fire or baked in hot ashes.

In comparison with Mytilus mussels, all other animals were far less important in the diet; although it is true that the bones of mammals and birds were partly destroyed in the fire or left to the dogs, /609/ partly used for implements, and have disintegrated in the course of several centuries, nevertheless we might expect larger quantities of them than we actually find. Thus, in those times, exactly as in the case of the present-day Yamana, the Mytilus mussel was the same as "bread to the Europeans" -- to repeat a favorite comparison.

As far as bone implements are concerned, their characteristic shape in former times was exactly as definite and unmistakable as it is today, as though both groups had been made in the same year. Only the spear- and arrow-points were made in a definite way which, for a century, has not often been repeated, but which nevertheless persisted in worked glass (410).

410. Exclusively on the basis of the worked implements still used by those Indians [yaghanes] at the end of the last century correspond in general characteristics to those from the 'conchal de Ushuaia,' with the single exception of the arrows which are not commonly used in modern times. It is not risky, then, to attribute to this race the remains found in this accumulation of residue" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject of stone implements in particular Lothrop (b):183 decides: "No distinction between stone objects on the surface and in the interior of the mounds could be detected" /cited in English/.

/609 cont./

174 The considerable number of points of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Yamana of recent decades. Continuously, the undiversified picture of their culture runs through the earlier refuse-layers up to the top, upon which the Yamana of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (411). It is this very uniformity

411. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (b):183 must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yahgan except for two points: It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time" /cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain strata, like the types in European prehistory.

172 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types
171 as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly shows everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these refuse heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /610/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

/610 cont./

their diet since the mission stations were erected, and because, under pressure of the White settlers, they have changed their landing places. We are willing to admit that in those places still chosen for dwellings objects of European origin have found their way into the refuse layer, but that layer is high up and therefore shows its recent origin.

Would we perhaps be able to obtain tangible dates from the height of the midden? To me it seems hopeless to bother about it. For example, Lothrop (b):195, in a "Rate of accumulation of refuse-heaps," estimated the amounts of refuse according to the number of natives, taking as his scale of measurement the daily consumption of mussels and snails. His attempt contains so many sources of error that we must expect an extremely unreliable result from the start. The Yamana do not nourish themselves exclusively with mussels, although these represent a predominant part of their nutrition. At times when a whale is stranded, or swarms of herring swim up onto the coast, or sea birds, fish, and seals occur in extraordinarily large numbers, they prefer these things by far. All these phenomena, however, are not bound to certain periods of time. Moreover, a visit to a preferred, sheltered place was very irregular. Some places were more favored and were therefore more sought out by an indeterminately larger number of families than others. Furthermore, the length of time each of these families remained on the same spot depended on incalculable circumstances. We certainly must not underestimate what it would mean in amounts of refuse if all the families in one place stay three days longer than the same number of families in another place. The difference is very considerable. Hence we cannot doubt that one refuse layer at any given vertical distance from the ground is considerably older than another made under the same conditions of deposit, simply because the former accumulated much more slowly than the latter.

We should like to emphasize that a shell heap grows much faster than many Europeans imagine. If we assume, for example, that every member of a five-member family consumes 60 Mytilus mussels a day -- not too large a number, since I counted more than three times that amount among people who happened to

/610 cont./

174 have no other meat supply -- this makes a small pile of 1,800 shells in three days. This is increased by ashes, small stones, and bird bones. These remains are tossed out of the hut where they add to the height of the low, ring-shaped wall, also known as kusimé'ra, which extends above the level of the floor. At first they lie loosely upon it, but they are soon pressed down to a more and more solid mass by drifting sand and the action of rain. Now we see very clearly what a single family under /611/ the assumed conditions has left behind altogether (412). Let us say that

412. On the basis of estimated refuse from the daily consumption of mussels, Lothrop (b):197, applying Nelson's scale, figured the age of the shell heaps around Bahía Harbertón from 1,300 to 2,600 years. A range of 1,300 years altogether shows everyone clearly enough how unreliable such estimates are.

the same spot remains occupied -- counting the rest-days of the various families -- for a scant half year, that is, for 170 days, by an average family of five. The refuse heap will increase by 102,000 mussel shells. In a less frequently visited spot, on the other hand, the heap increases much more slowly in height and breadth. Who could today determine how rapidly this heap has increased and how slowly that one?

On my second trip I took the trouble in Puerto Róbalo to count and place together 1,000 mussel shells next to one of the large refuse heaps. The difference, it is true, was like that between hillock and mountain; anyone who would like to try this kind of game would find himself forced to reduce considerably the excessively high number of years in estimating the growth of even enormous shell mounds.

Now, can we expect special excavations (413) conscientiously

413. Cooper:218 is in favor of such: "Investigations thus far made in this field have been inadequate and have yielded only unimportant results. Systematic excavations

/611 cont./

174 in the abundant middens of the Magellanic archipelagos are urgently needed and may furnish us with important information on the past of the natives" /cited in English/. Furlong (r):178 entertains the same hopes.

carried out in the Fuegian refuse-layers to bring to light a number of finds that differ from those already known? In my opinion there is no prospect of this. The seaward wall of the individual shell mounds has actually been washed down by the waves to the water line, and unfamiliar forms of implements have not appeared. If possibly we might assume a lifting of the land (p. 344), it would be an absurdity to suppose that the customary dwellings were placed so close to the water line below sea level, and that gradually a wall of mussel shells had been built up around them.

Those strata which today are at the bottom of the mighty shell heaps were laid down many centuries ago. The implements they cover are similar to those used among our Indians up to the present time. No proof of a population preceding the Yamana, with a different form of culture and way of life has hitherto been discovered in the Beagle Channel area, nor can we expect it from further investigations there.

H. The Nomadic Life

182 The home of the Yamana is bleak and unfriendly, nature behaves wildly and brutally, and serious dangers threaten every Indian family who, in their frail canoe, cross the fragmented island realm. Nevertheless, not everything here is bad and disadvantageous; /612/ there are a few benefits and compensations. Weather conditions are anything but good, it is true, but at least the temperature is somewhat uniform, and the cool summer is matched by a cooler winter. Here, too, the inexhaustible sea pours out its bounty, so that the Indians can comfortably provide for their sustenance throughout the entire year. Concerning the food supply the Yamana are far more favorably situated than the neighboring Selk'nam. There are a few differences within our tribe, however, insofar as the families on the southern coasts are considerably

/612 cont./

182 hindered in their search for food by the force of storms and waves, as compared to the people in the sheltered channels (414). For

414. With remarkable emphasis Hahn (c):338 describes the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the inner Beagle Channel as contrasted to the people on the outlying islands.

the groups affected, these and other disadvantages are onerous, but they do not change any basic features of the economic life led by the Yamana, for they all live in environmental conditions that are essentially similar.

It is these conditions which have exercised strong, in part inevitable pressure in the shaping of the economy. The Indian is proud of the latter as a creation of his mental powers, and he is fully justified. He must yield to the pressure of the environment to the extent that only an acquisitive gathering-economy is possible for him. This, however, he has developed so favorably for himself that, with little effort, he obtains what he needs for a human existence and what he desires for his well-being. He has not been able to lift himself beyond his dependence on the environment to become its sovereign ruler; nevertheless, he has made it subservient to himself up to the limit of his completely human mental capacity.

1. The Roving Spirit

181 The Yamana are a peculiarly restless band. They can never remain long in one spot. When they are sitting together, first one and then another will leave the circle to look around by himself or to walk a few steps. If a family has built their hut somewhere, they are impelled to leave it again no later than the third day. An inner unrest moves these people, which they themselves cannot account for, because they were born with it. It is only strikingly noticeable to a European, it sometimes annoys him very much, for example, when he has employed Indians on

/613 cont./

181 his farm. It is generally said of them that they are unreliable and unpredictable. As a matter of fact, one never knows if tomorrow they will keep the promise they definitely gave today. Their feelings and plans change quite /613/ suddenly and aimlessly, like the weather of their homeland. They resemble fidgety birds of passage who feel happy and inwardly calm only when they are moving again in their swaying bark.

The ultimate reasons for their unrest and their urge for movement are easily uncovered. The care about their daily food requirement commands their entire attention, and in order to obtain it they are dependent on the opportunities offered and the propitiousness of the moment. This means not missing an opportunity and, if suddenly confronted with a choice, making the right one. The individual usually does not have much time to consider; if he wants to maintain his advantage, he must act quickly and decisively. Hence he remains, as it were, in a state of tense inner expectation of circumstances that may change at any time of day, in order that he may instantaneously be master [513] of the situation. He does not even sleep soundly, and when he wakes up, even during the night, he is quite fresh again (p. 28). Just as he sees himself in the midst of an incalculable stream of natural forces, so his luck in the hunt will unexpectedly appear in this or that unforeseen form, and if he is subjectively ready for quick action, he will successfully seize his opportunity.

Perhaps the Indian is not consciously aware of this subjective state as we have described it, but he always acts from and with a feeling of great certainty that he will surely attain his goal. Long experience helps him to size up the given situation correctly at a glance, or to calculate the impending danger, or to comprehend the limits of what is possible. He is almost never wrong in his decision. In part his inner restlessness may be explained by the fact that he is constantly observing the play of natural forces and the habits of the animals hunted, adjusting to both at the same time. Thus he succeeds with the superiority that is confident of victory to master the first and evaluate the second to his advantage. Sometimes one thinks he faces great danger when storms gather or the waves run high, but he is too intimately acquainted with inanimate nature to be mistaken in his judgment. Sometimes a European

1: Gusinde--365 E-6 (1918-1954) 1937 GUS Tehgan SH6

/613 cont./

will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success if which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

Rationally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abexactly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (615). She takes this very seriously, for the

615. Bridges (MSS III, 114.1903) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /typed in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/614 cont./

4K2 low of the canoe endangers the life of the whole family. She
502 repairs damage as soon as possible (414), or, if there is major

> 416. "It is chiefly the task of the woman to keep the canoe, this article which is absolutely indispensable for the existence of the Fuegian, in repair, and we always see her busy calking the cracks with half-rotten twigs and sewing together the individual pieces" (Hyades [g] :38).

work to be done, asks her husband to do it. Throughout the entire trip the alone attends the canoe; however, if there is a heavy sea, she requests her husband or other occupants to assist. She keeps the boys tending the fire and delegates to the girls the task of bailing out the water that seeps in. After landing, when the dogs have leaped out, when her husband and the children have disembarked, and all their belongings have been brought to shore, she must finally moor the vessel. Bridges (Mat III, 118; 1868) expresses very definitely what the bark canoe means for the Fuegian family: "The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food....Canoes are used daily" /cited in English/.

502 On the trip itself every member of the family has his particular seat. The man squats in the bow; his spear and harpoon lie beside him and protrude far beyond the bow, easy to grasp and handy, with the bone point forward (p. 128). The children are distributed in the lower center part around the fire and between the low, small piles of wood. The woman occupies the entire stern by herself and paddles, first on one side, then on the other, usually on her right side. She grasps the single paddle with both hands and moves it in the water, not with a stroke, but with more of a stirring and short pushing motion. She lifts it diagonally out of the water and /615/ lowers it almost perpendicularly into the water when she prepares for the next stroke. This peculiar manipulation of the paddle is simultaneously rowing and steering (417).

> 417. Paddling has to be learned. Then it is,

/616 cont./

as Hyades (g).38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, while exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvellously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are useless braced out as they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (618). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

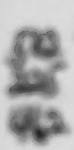
618. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 119 /contemplated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its centre of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low, usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (618).

619. The words of Lovisato (b).136 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wig-wam" /translated from Italian/.

Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (620). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

620. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall.(7) refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family, the



/Will com./

women sow and the men is on the look-out with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them ensures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the year. When they pursue a wounded animal, the women must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow exactly at right angles to the shore while the lanzone disembark one after the other (Will) and /Will/ see to the implements

etc. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Ingmilik's STO assertion hold. "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the footrest, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Haven 376.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the ladies has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman removes sand in her canoe and keeps it dry the same way by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she will has to clean it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of bluecone pine

/Old man./

123 signs, a hand's breadth high, a length together. It is about as long as the keel of the vessel and about 60 centimeters wide. It is sewed on the strips high above the highest water-line at flood tide. From this point to the canoe is the water the larger canoe are removed and then sticks or wooden benches of signs are placed crosswise. Then the boatmen and wife, helped by the children, drag the canoe along this foundation up to the highest point (123). It slides easily because the sticks are damp and

> 123. *Compare (5):107* says: "Much care is taken when a canoe is drawn up on the beach for a short time. A dry-way is made by first removing every stone, and then a deep layer of fresh sand and wet kelp is laid down, and the canoe carefully drawn up on this by a couple of hands" /Cited in English/.

because the benches of signs drawn are still fresh and covered with slime. The canoe remains rigged sideways until, at the next departure, it is pushed into the water over the same sideways (p. 136).

While the women, as we have just said, constantly keep the canoe near the landing place by proper paddling, the men and the children disembark, and with combined efforts they place the individual implements and the heavy load consisting on the shore. When everything has been unloaded, the women again toward the middle of the channel if the waste to moor the canoe there. Meanwhile, following a popular custom, the calls to the members of her family on the shore, repeating an ancient phrase.

the hut	to build	now	quickly!

This is a request to them to set up the dwelling quickly.

If the landing place lacks sufficient room and a sheltered spot for the canoe, the Indian women use another expedient. After everything has been unloaded, the men climb in the canoe of the channel where thick benches of blow-pole signs are forming. About 100 canoes form the case the two-hut vessel to

/514 cont./

582 the rough algae exile and also pulls bundles of branches across it so that it is all entangled in the elastic bundle. She also fastens the paddle there. Then she dives out and swims to shore. Meanwhile her family has kindled a good fire, and she soon warms herself thoroughly (433). No matter how high the waves pile up

433. Bridges (MM:III, 115:1969) also discusses this method of mooring the canoe.

during the night, they do not hurt the light canoe. On the beach it could be dashed against rocks at high tide /517/ or tossed back and forth on the shore, which would scrape open the seams. Hence it is moored safely outside among the floating elastic algae which are so tangled themselves (434).

434. Lucy:170 has erroneously maintained that the canoe is taken apart on landing. Anyone who is familiar with the construction of this vessel knows that taking it apart is impossible.

491 On this occasion, which happens frequently, the Indian woman is obliged to swim. It is a strange fact that generally only women and girls can swim. Many European observers have pointed this out (435) and praised their endurance in diving. Bridges (MM:III,

435. For examples, Bridges (MM:XIII, 157, 1970), Despard (b):497, Hyades (b):12 and (g):113, Lovibond (b):130, Spegazzini (x): 171, and others.

110, 1969) briefly emphasizes: "Women invariably swim, and men never" /stated in English/. Only when they are forced by necessity, however, do they enter the water, namely, when servicing the canoe, when looking for sea urchins, and when they haul in a game animal. On the really warm days which are extremely rare a few persons bathe in order to cool off a bit (436).

436. Hyades (g):38 emphasizes: "Strangely

/617 cont./

481

enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil [302] or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/617 cont./

481 Hyades (h):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

481 The manner in which the women move in the water resem-
868 bles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing with Fitz-Roy (a):186, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

302 In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/618 cont./

502 causes it to rock, and this makes the uninitiated feel very insecure. Several times (p. 129) I rode in a true bark canoe and never dared to move. In it one is in a state of precarious balance, and the higher the center of gravity of the vessel and the less firmly one can brace himself, the more sensitive he is to every movement. Stirling described his experience in March, 1864: "A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 238; 1864).

502 462 Since the boat trips are unavoidably necessary for Yamana economic life and since they occupy more or less half the year, we can appreciate the active participation of the woman. Despard (b):696 proves this emphatically: "Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the house is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment" /cited in English/. The canoe is, so to speak, the center of her entire day's work, and no matter how much she likes to be in her hut temporarily, she nevertheless feels most comfortable in her boat. If
502 the journey is to continue in the morning, the entire family helps her drag it from the landing place into the water. If it was moored out in the channel, she must swim out, no matter how cold the tide. She climbs in, loosens the strong algae stems, and rows to shore. Here all the implements and possessions are loaded up again, and glowing wood embers are placed in the center for a low fire. After all the persons and dogs have boarded, /619/ the Indian woman steers her vessel toward the goal agreed upon. She is able to paddle for many hours without becoming overtired, for she takes advantage of the propelling force of the waves and air currents as much as possible. The bark canoe is extremely easy to move, and constant occupation with it becomes a sort of game (431).

431. Phillips (a):1011 is the only one who mentions the following general observation: "If one invited a fellow for a pleasure trip in a rowboat and gave him the oars, he

/619 cont./

582

kept at it for hours and would not be fatigued. In fact, in all kinds of sailor's work the Fuegians show an uncommon skill, and this occupation obviously affords them entertainment."

It would be unjust to dispute the fact that the Yamana are daring seafarers. It takes great courage and presence of mind to set out in the light, unsteady bark boat with the waves high and with the rapid weather changes of their country, feared even by European seamen (432). In spite of this, they have pushed forward

432. These daring canoeists were marveled at by many Europeans. Lovisato (b):135 wrote: "With these poor boats they do not fear the disastrous hazards on high seas" /translated from Italian/. Other opinions are even more laudatory of the Yamana.

as far as the Islas de Ildefonso, as Bridges (k):233 assures us. One can see these islands distinctly from Seno Año Nuevo in clear weather. We cannot accuse them of cowardice, with Pickering: 19, because they have not visited the Falkland Islands, for these lie far beyond their field of vision. On the open sea there are almost no game animals; why, then, venture out so far? It is only when a sick or dead whale is floating in the waves that many canoes go far from shore, if there is the slightest hope that they can reach it. Near the outlying islands and in the inner channels the Indian family finds all higher and lower animals needed for their subsistence. They are obliged to go after them almost every day. Hence we are fully justified in calling the Yamana genuine water nomads.

Despite all their skill and precaution, occasionally a family would lose their canoe when they looked for eggs or cormorants on a low island without being able to moor their vessel securely beforehand. Usually they had no choice but to summon strangers [202] with smoke signals. Hyades was right when he said (g):38: "The loss of their canoe renders a Fuegian family completely helpless

/619 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 461 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same *piece* until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless criss-cross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1886) simply says:

/624 cont./

221 "In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experiences, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

489 /621/ On land the Yaghana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.

To say that when they walk for a longer

/621 cont./

491 time they have severe nosebleeds, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (435). We must admit that their gait

435. Hyades (q):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fuegians walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:213).

516 The Fuegians do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

/621 cont./

516 they crouch in such a way that only the two soles are flat on the ground and the buttocks rest on the heels without touching the ground (436). In each of these positions the individual requires

436. Hyades (q) on Plates 16, 17, and 18 illustrates the very characteristic way our Fuegians sit and squat on the flat ground.

very little room, which is all the more advantageous since even a large family can be accommodated in a small canoe. Despard (b):697 has expressed himself somewhat vaguely: "In their huts, as well as canoes, the natives sit upon the heel, with the thigh pressing /622/ close up against the stomach and chest. Thus each individual, packed up in smallest compass, needs little space for his accommodation" /cited in English/. Hyades (q): 212 says the same thing in the following words: "Habitually the Fuegians sit in a squatting position which is imposed upon them by their way of life" /translated from French/. They also sleep in this manner, with their legs drawn up. They do not do this, as Hyades (q):212 maintains, merely to take up little room, but, in my opinion, chiefly to protect themselves from getting too cold, for they cover their bodies only lightly so as to get all the radiating heat of the hut fire. When the people squat directly on the ground, they incline the upper part of their bodies forward more or less; women bend far down when they fish from the canoe. No one feels uncomfortable this way, and I never saw anyone, upon arising afterwards, stretch themselves. They do not show a desire to get out of this bent position.

They are somewhat unsteady when they stand; either their torsos are constantly swaying back and forth slightly, or they very inconspicuously move from one leg to the other. It seems as though they cannot hold still long. They can never voluntarily stay in one spot for more than a few minutes. If they are obliged to, they seek to occupy themselves in some way; either they play with stones or poke about among their implements or light a fire, in front of which they can sit for hours without being bored (437). On the whole, the upper part of the body inclines

437. Despard (b):697 confirms this very definitely.

/622 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

487 Overland routes have been used since ancient times in order to avoid a dangerous coast or a long circuitous route. The best known are three in the territory of the southwestern group, that is, from the lowest point of Tekenika Bay straight south (438),

438. This overland route was much used because, if possible, the people avoid circumnavigating False Cape Horn with its strong sea-swell. Moreover, the mission station in Tekenika Bay temporarily afforded a certain attraction.

from the western shore of this inlet southwestward into Bahía Doce, and from the deep inlet of Canal Carfort to Estero Pomonby. When the mission station was located there, the first two routes were used a good deal. Sometimes people left their canoe at the landing place and covered the distance entirely on foot. This is *also true of the isthmus of Cabo Kwaiakir*, due south to the northernmost edge in the western part of Estero Pomonby. I was also told that the two narrow places on the northern half of Península Rous and the narrowest land connections in the middle of /623/ the large Londonderry Island were overland connecting routes. Every family was entitled to use these trails. They were [491] actually corduroy-roads over which one could rather quickly drag the canoe without much effort.

In a few places it is necessary to cross a brook on foot. There are no actual rivers south of Beagle Channel. As a ford, tuwe'ai, they choose a shallow place in the bed, surrounded by flat, low shores. They make no particular signs, but everyone keeps the place well in mind. They wade through the brook, of course (439).

439. Hyades (p):237, also, writes, "one

/823 cont./

487 crosses the streams by fording them" /translated from French/.

B91 If the water is high and there is a strong current, the shores are connected by means of two sticks or short trunks and thus bridged. BD:78 gives ukil̈araxtéka, "to put logs or beams, etc., across a stream to form a bridge" /cited in English/. As I learned, however, this kind of unsteady construction is very seldom made.

4. Nomadic Life, the Result of Environmental Conditions

182 In the beginning we emphasized the fact that the Yamana are forced to lead a migratory life because of their environment, or because of conditions in their homeland. They did not respond to this necessity purely mechanically, but, applying their mental powers, they have organized a form of economy that seems to be the best possible adaptation to their environment (440).

440. On September 18, 1858, Despard wrote in his diary: "The Fuegians in themselves cannot be other than they are" /cited in English/ and explains this in detail on the basis of negative arguments /VP:VI, 83:1858/. Bridges (k):240 furnishes the following positive account: "The natives have developed all the more useful qualities for the life they lead: their canoes are perfect for their kind, and as much can be said for all their utensils and implements. With the materials at their disposal I do not see how they could be improved. They have adapted themselves perfectly to the land and climate in which they find themselves" /translated from Spanish/. The words of Crawshay:XXIII with regard to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 366) applies without qualification to our Yamana: "Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect" /cited in English/.

/623 cont./

182 Thus the territory of the Yanana shows a uniform character from one end to the other, for essentially the same natural conditions prevail everywhere and the total population is low.

The requirement of extraordinary mobility is linked with the form of economy created and adopted by the Fuegians, the only one possible there. At any one particular spot there are game and food for a single family for only one or two days; even if they wanted to stay longer, tormenting hunger would drive them on. To be heavily burdened with a quantity of tools and utensils, weapons, and clothing would soon prove unbearable. It is amazing to see how little in the way of material possessions our natives can get along with. They are not in the least hampered by them for quick, flexible movemen. Even the indispensable canoe is so light in weight and can be/624/ manipulated on the water with so little effort, that these advantages could hardly be increased. Implements and weapons weigh almost nothing in the hands of the one who carries them; hence everyone can move quickly on land. Although, upon landing, the natives must exert themselves for about half an hour to erect a hut, they abandon the framework when they leave, since it can serve them again upon their return. In all their manipulations our Indians are agile and quick.

181 Their modesty and contentment fit in very well with all this and must probably be regarded as a result of the circumscribed simplicity of their material property. Everyone has adapted himself with such matter-of-factness to the meager conditions of life and to the perceptible limitations imposed on that region by a parsimonious and niggardly Nature, as though there were nothing better elsewhere. Everyone is content with his lot, and no one grumbles about his fate. At the same time he is fully aware of his sovereign superiority over the blind forces of nature, and his confidence of victory incessantly drives him toward new risks or more difficult acts. His mental ability and his implements are completely sufficient for him. Hence he has, for many decades and with superior disdain, rejected all kinds of things from Europeans and, in satisfied self-sufficiency, has tenaciously clung to the traditional implements. With perceptive appreciation of all this, even Bridges (k):240 has defended our experienced, capable

/624 cont./

181 Fuegians against the unfavorable, premature judgments of some observers and has upheld them in the following decisive words: "The travelers who have visited them are wrong in condemning them for their poverty and ignorance, of which they are not guilty. The construction of their canoes, weapons, implements, etc., and the labor of obtaining their sustenance from the sea, the coast, and the woods occupy nearly all their time" /translated from Spanish/. But then in modern times when the foreign uten-
177 sils brought by Europeans were finally introduced among the
181 Yamana, the harmonious, compact economic structure of this Indian tribe was disrupted, and its complete disintegration was prepared.

Were the Fuegians outwardly and inwardly or spiritually enriched by their adoption in recent times of a not inconsiderable amount of European goods? I believe not. George Forster (b: 282 already answered this question in the same vein, writing from Christmas Sound in mid-December, 1774: "We described the savages living in the southern tip of our globe as miserable, degenerate, and decadent. Thus it seemed to us, thus it necessarily appeared to every European who knew and was accustomed to a better condition. In their own eyes they are not so unfortunate. Their way of life has become second-nature to them, they prefer it to any other, and not one of them would prefer our mild zone to their cold climate; his hut is dearer to him than a comfortable European residence; his seal skin seems more elegant to him than silks and embroidered clothing; a /625/ tasty dish from our kitchen by no means replaces the more delectable flavor of his seal meat." In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, I refer to my detailed accounts of the extended activity of the Anglican missionaries among the Yamana in several places of their country since the middle of the previous century (p. 288 /untranslated/), and of the manifold influence of all European civilization on these natives who have for several centuries already decreased considerably in numbers (p. 333, 348 /untranslated/).

Our Indians cling, with all the fibers of their being, to the traditional nomadic life to which they have long been accustomed. They find it unbearable to be impeded in this way of life, even temporarily. Despite the many benefits each of them has derived

/625 cont./

177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

/626 cont./

182 means to deny the historically demonstrated connection of the basic factors of certain types of economy, for the latter do actually exist and around them are entwined the locally conditioned separate structures. In the total picture of general cultural events within human society, the external conduct of life of our Yamana deserves a particular, even a favored place, inasmuch as it has maintained itself from its earliest beginnings up to the time of European intervention cut off from outside influences by practically impenetrable natural barriers. /Fig. 76 appears here./

/627/ Part 3

Social Organization and Tribal Customs

The external form of life of the Yamana is that of an acquisitive gathering-economy closely dependent on given natural conditions. Just as the environment decisively influences the total economy, determining its form, so does this form of economy very definitely determine the specific social organization. The latter, in turn, rests on the independence of each individual family, with its special capacities and social performances. "The kind of subsistence which predominates in a social group, the form of their production which is not arbitrarily chosen but determined by certain conditions of life, directly or indirectly shapes all other ideas and actions of that society. If we know what a people eats, we also know what it is" (Grosse 18). This dependence of the social organization upon the form of economy, which has been proved among other primitive peoples, is also very definitely true of the Fuegians, especially of our Yamana.

574 The inevitable obligation of a nomadic people to gather food without pause excludes a structural organization of the whole society. Its sole supporting pillar is the individual family. In the form of a monogamous single marriage, the family appears as the universal, narrowly circumscribed, definitely determined social structure. Not only is it bounded by strong safeguards, but even from the start, as soon as a marriage is planned, certain conditions which guarantee its permanence and its natural function

[Text continues on page 395.--Ana'g.]

L: Cranbrook---383 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 1000 Tallgrass Hill

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Fig. 78. Oyster Catcher, Haematopus ost.

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must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy ensures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the extra-social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, it a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /RITE/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Tsimshian does the primitive race manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 139 /unconformity/). However, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and punishes the violations of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the sacred freedom of the family or against related groups assembled in smaller or larger numbers. Although there is no social social division and no appointment of an authoritative group to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding force embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, however how weak and undefined it still appears to its earliest beginnings.

/629 cont./

The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not taken away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

The individual family consisting of parents and children is /630/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Tamans (1).

1. What has been recorded from still older

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periods lacks the proper completeness and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fito-Roy (x) 181 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or bird-catching, he checks the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit. But this seldom happens" /Cited in English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

84 I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the devastating influences of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had actively experienced almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

85 If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how boldly and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only burdened my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /420/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

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Since the year 1910, when I bade farewell to the Yerooma tavern, the majority of the older persons who served me as reliable informants in my investigations have gone to a better world. Today it is impossible to determine exhaustively and completely the unaffected intentions of human views on the basis of questions (1), because very few survivors of the tribe either have

> 1. About a year after our Lolleng (Ts.10) tried to determine the customary terms of relationship of these natives. He confesses: "It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used" /tried in English/.

enough about them as grew up in them. Without doubt it was also the element best fit for me to undertake the research if it was to be successful and consolidate the result of previous factual data.

a. Proposal and Marriage

Among a people like the Yerooma, who are divided into individual families, each devoting itself to food-seeking independently of others, the approach of two loving hearts and their union in marriage escapes the notice of an observer who spends but a short time there (2), for neither the courtship nor the

> 2. On the basis of reports hitherto available about courtship and the selection of partners, Cooper-104 came to the extremist conclusion that "there are no fixed terms" /tried in English/.

wedding are surrounded by conspicuous festivities. Certain customs, however, are observed on these occasions. They are so pronounced that on the basis of them alone, excluding all verbal communication, the marital union of two young tribal members is recognized by the immediate neighborhood. Let us these two events take place according to definite, simple rules, as there

/kib vun./

are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits or genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Tzeltals never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partner.

Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union or an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show me the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modern ceremony of a proposal /kib/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many prerequisites travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

It never occurs to a Tzeltal to count a person's age in years. Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby reached, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most clans were probably not ignorant enough even a second time as actual candidates of the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second marriage

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of girls in the Yámana community.

Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Tamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the Yámana must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /S197/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the Yámana are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do [833] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

867 It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the čiéxaus, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/633 cont./

584 Mary told me this as she remembered one of her friends who had been dead for a long time (5). This urge of the sexes toward

5. Bove (e):157 is probably referring to this when he says: "The desire for a man is felt early among [the women], and the interference of the mission in these circumstances is regarded as the greatest tyranny of civilization."

each other is natural.

162 For the last three decades an unnatural disturbance of the equilibrium has predominated among the Indian population because there are not enough girls for the number of boys of marriageable age. When, on my second journey, I took leave of the Yamana in Punta Remolino, Homestead joined me on my ride to Rio Carmen in the northeastern part of Isla Grande. His mother was a Selk'nam. He hoped to find a partner among this tribe, and on the way he repeatedly and longingly confessed this to me. I very clearly recognized his ardent desire. He stayed behind in the camp at Rio del Fuego where he had his eye on two girls who apparently understood and responded to his intentions. I did not wish to spoil his favorable prospects, and so I rode on alone (6).

6. See further details in Gusinde (b):154.

On various occasions I was told by several thoughtful older people: "How difficult the present situation is for many boys, because there are no suitable girls for marriage!" These words expressed a deep sympathy for a natural but unfulfilled desire. Truly, there is great tumult and agitation in the heart of a marriageable Fuegian until he completely possesses his beloved!

582 If we wish to establish a definite age in numbers, we need not resort to mere guesses. According to the missionaries and a few well-informed Indians, the average young man marries between the ages of 17 and 19, a weakling somewhat later. It is required -- and the boy's nearest relatives talk to him in this

/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Fuegians wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!". It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

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7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Fuegians generally takes place early: already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 12th year for girls. According to Bridges (l):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):573 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average" /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

/634 cont./

584 two young people is not initiated much earlier and that they do not amuse themselves together as often as they have an opportunity, until finally none of the adults has any valid objections to their marriage.

2. Courtship of Marriageable Persons

584 162 Contrary to the inaccurate and false reports from the pens of several Europeans, we should like to emphasize strongly the freedom of choice in the selection of a mate. As has just been said, it is only in most recent times that there has been an imbalance in the numerical proportion of the two sexes. According to the general statements of several Fuegians whom I questioned, there were formerly exactly as many young men as girls of marriageable age (8). Assuming this, all the conditions for an unhindered, free courtship of youthful lovers during the previous centuries seem fulfilled.

8. Bridges (k):240 definitely emphasizes that "the number of men and women is nearly equal" /translated from Spanish/. Nowadays it is probably impossible to determine whether the number of men or of women somewhat predominated; the few indications that I found point in favor of the latter. In June, 1884, when Bridges took an accurate census and the Mission Scientifique likewise determined the number of persons in the southern group, devastating diseases had already disturbed the equilibrium. We must take this into account in comparing those numbers. Compare Martial:218.

584 The natural shyness and reserve characteristic of the female population in Tierra del Fuego, more pronounced than elsewhere, explain why the young man makes the first advances in courtship. The girl probably never begins it. Usually the two know each other from earliest youth or late childhood. Individual families of the same dialect group meet occasionally, stay together a few

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584 days, like each other, and welcome every new chance meeting. Not infrequently they travel together for days. These are the opportunities for children from this or that family to become acquainted, despite the separation of the sexes strictly supervised by the adults. On such occasions they fall in love, and as they get older the separation until their next meeting, which often lasts a long time, /635/ becomes increasingly difficult to bear. In the play of innocent children, the wish to be together longer and more often becomes more and more insistent, until finally the boy and girl unconsciously take it for granted that they belong together forever and that they are quite apart from the others. Mary said: "When children are still small, one boy will like to play with one girl, two others will do the same, and yet two more. It is remarkable, the longer the time, the stronger they are attached to one another. But that is how it happens that when they are mature they long for the day when they can run to meet each other once more. Finally they marry, for they have already loved each other for a long time!"

Of course, each family also has social intercourse with one from another dialect group, though rarely. An attachment between the children of the one family and the other hardly can grow from this. It is fairly thrust upon them, however, by the repeated meetings of two families from the same circumscribed locality.

At puberty the desire to be together a great deal quickens the pulses of the two who have felt drawn to each other since childhood. "This is the time when they always want to be together; if they are separated, neither of them is happy. This is the time when they really love each other without expressing it. But each of them feels, nevertheless, that he is loved by the other; that is why he is drawn so much to the other person. They are satisfied just to be together; all they want is to be alone. They scarcely exchange a word, although they gaze at each other often. But being together makes them perfectly content. They lean closely against each other when they sit or lie on the ground. Sometimes they embrace for a time, often one will draw the palm of his hand over the head and body of the other. They spend hours this way, until they must part once more." Helly, to whom I am indebted

/636 cont./

for these words, told me frankly that almost never would one of the two permit himself unseemly contact on such occasions.

The frequent meeting of such a couple does not escape the attention of adult relatives of the boy and girl. If in their opinion a marital union is soon to be expected, they do not oppose it with warnings or prohibitions. "The more frequently the two meet and the longer they are together, the happier they will be when they live together, when they live in their own hut [as a married couple]!" This was one of Nelly's statements. The length of time that the flirtation is permitted depends in any specific instance on various circumstances. The adult observers are not guided by a definite rule, but during this time one or another of the neighbors will make a remark from which the boy and girl are supposed to understand that their secret doings have not remained entirely hidden. For example, a close relative will say to the boy: "You like X [he mentions the name of the girl] very much, because you meet her so often in the forest!" To the girl they say: "That is an industrious and strong boy whom you have chosen; now /636/ he will probably marry you soon!" Neither the boy nor girl will talk with adults specifically about their love affair and their clandestine meetings.

I must infer from reliable indications that the two lovers scarcely ever make a formal declaration of love to each other. The conduct of one toward the other is clear in itself and expresses quite enough; the unspoken wish to be together all the time carries with it the decision to marry. The latter is frankly announced by the boy within the circle of his contemporaries, where he also points out the excellent qualities of his chosen one. By means of such conversations his own relatives and those of his bride are still more assured of his intentions. An unconstrained general discussion develops, and not infrequently the boy is abruptly asked when his marriage is to take place. The girl who is in love is conspicuously reticent with her own mother and her relatives, as well as among her female friends, about the matter that so deeply touches her heart. The former, however, sometimes succeed in loosening her tongue and making her speak, no matter how reluctant she is to struggle against her own shyness.

When the gossip about the love affair of this couple has continued for a while, the nearest relatives begin to prepare for the

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584 marriage as though by instinct. There has been no actual demand from any side. The decision to marry is hardly ever definitely communicated to the parents. The attachment begun and reciprocated at some earlier time has so undeviatingly pressed toward marriage that the persons of the immediate neighborhood sentimentally contribute the few external accessories that the ancient law of custom demands. This is desired in every case by the couple in love.

As we have said, it is not possible to determine exactly how long a love affair or courtship lasts, for the first attachment often begins in early childhood. I was also told that young people who suddenly met and in whose hearts the spark of love was immediately kindled frequently decided to marry within a few days. Alejandro, who was young when his wife died, courted Elisa after four months. She had been released only a few days before from the Kiepas and previously had looked with favor on another boy. In the case of Alejandro and his chosen one, I could easily observe how the young people among the Yamana prepare the way for marriage. In his conduct, however, some of the pristine element was lacking, for he was a widower and through his contact with Europeans had become a decided fop. One might say, to set up an approximate formula: as soon as a certain, individually more or less high degree of mutual love and devotion has been achieved (9), the preparations for the marriage ceremony begin,

9. Hyades (d):309 is content with the following terse wording: "The marriage is generally founded on reciprocal affection" /translated from French/. With these words he at any rate admits the freedom of choice on both sides in the selection of a mate.

although no actual instructions regarding it have come from any side. /637/ Herewith the goal of the courtship has been achieved, although from the beginning of the attachment this has been neither specifically recognized nor pursued. BD:623 gives the word wiuúna, "to woo, to court."

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3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner; freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy and girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 Bl. [Illegible] First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

> 10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is rachitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

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express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile, sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (4):143 conception, a "natural selection" /stood in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself to a youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

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581 b6 her body should be neither thin nor heavy. She is most pleased with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

581 A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is correspondingly esteemed. Loud quarrelling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, inconspicuous quietness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Tarasca, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect mate, although in the temperament wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /639/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (13). Even

13. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (z):165 that among these Foreigns "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist." /Translated from Spanish./

someone like Spegazzini (z):165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Ué-gamo (what a man)! Ué-cuña (what a woman)!"

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/Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fuegians; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes cast an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

13. In long conversation with Fthd and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

6. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and ruthless conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere inferences and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fuegians. Obviously, any kind of courtship among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decisions of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important assignment, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

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582 assertions of earlier navigators do not, for obvious reasons, deserve attention.

583 /640/ Not at all infrequently regular bride purchase is men-
584 tioned, as Hyades (q):334, for example, does: "The woman is not, as a rule, consulted; she is usually purchased from her parents" /translated from French/ (14). Bove (c):157 expresses

> 14. Hyades (q):378 does not mention actual sale of the girl elsewhere: "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/.

himself more in detail on the subject: "The relationship between the spouses can be regarded more as a commercial agreement. Among the various suitors for the daughter, the father chooses the strongest, the most skillful, the one who is the most compliant with regard to his wishes, and with this one he bargains about the number of skins which the son-in-law must give him and the number of days he must work for him. Only after the contract has been settled is the bride informed of it, and, no matter what her private feelings are, she takes care not to betray them, and, whether or not she is willing, she is led into the hut of the bridegroom." To this we merely wish to add briefly that in most cases the two young hearts have found each other long before their parents are aware of it, and that they can hardly ever be made to abandon their decision by outside influences. Even Bridges (c):333 at one time maintains that the bride is bartered: "The women were given in marriage, in many cases even sold, according to a certain rule. The payment was made in work or gifts of skins, etc. The required performance was in proportion to the importance of the parties. If the son-in-law was strong and the relatives of the woman weak, there was little or nothing, and there was much if the situation was reversed. The only rule was convenience or common interest" (15). Anyone who knows the social system of

15. Earlier Bridges (c):301 wrote about this

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in a different vein: "Sometimes the father of the girl is in great difficulty through several men expecting him to give him /sic/ his daughter. He, of course, gives her to him of whom he is most afraid; this, of course, makes the others his enemies" /cited in English/. This does not exactly agree with what he maintained shortly before (ibid., p. 184). And three years later he gives still another version: "Son-in-law are expected, either by gifts or work, to purchase their wives" /cited in English/ (ABA III, 117.1960). Thus, one contradiction after another.

the Tarasca will find it impossible to reconcile it with this last description of conditions. In Chinchaysuyo also we read: "They buy the women with gifts... If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price. In this case, while the father lives, she belongs to him anew, and he can again sell her" /translated from Spanish/. If such conditions really existed, a quiet, secure family life would be found only in an infinitesimally small number of huts (16).

16. Similar statements exist, in Wienhard: 40, for example. From all this Spoerri-68, who in other respects is not very reliable, not too incorrectly concludes: "Marriage was a matter of purchase and sale; wives were sold, sometimes, by husbands, and daughters were invariably sold by fathers" /cited in English/. Thus one inaccurate report is linked to another.

This is obvious and needs no substantiation.

584 /641/ In reality, marriageable boys and girls commonly have unimpeded freedom of choice, except for the few obstacles to marriage about which the uncle or the aunt in particular must be

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on the alert. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not drive press her.

What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payments" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs in the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Tsimshian, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Boiling's assertion of March, 1888, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects common-money. On this occasion, as one, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, beads, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /Cited in English/ (Yale U., 590/1884). A commercial part, such as Spegazzini (a)-565 describes, is never made.

[illegible]

This, according to Dawe (pp.54) includes cotton knives, turquoise points, and finished weapons, for skins and flax, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of the marriageable girl, for there is never any question of this when the shag makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship [illegible] or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large axe line. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elsa (p. 288), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelheid, somewhat disappointed over the behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop. He acts as though he were a European and does not know what used to be customary among us Yamana." In the end, how could insignificant cotton compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (16)?

> 16. The following sentence in Dawe (pp.6) definitely draws the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns to a few months and takes back the woman, selling her [illegible] else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never become properly acquainted with procedure in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with these insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and adornments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Dawe (pp.102) writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

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[illegible] the bride's dowry." The arrangement is meaningless. The [illegible] cannot, without which a young married couple cannot live, is usually built by the husband himself, or by his own folks or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the folks of the bride also took part in its construction. The largest item of the equipment of a man and a woman used by a woman given by her to a man.

[illegible] In some of the literature, mention is made of elders, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Dergand (fn.6) maintained: "Sometimes wives are mine, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after wife-con, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /Cited in English/. The qualifications mentioned a significant and [illegible] consistently yes to answer. Hyades (pp.326) even testifies that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated into French/ (1.6). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

> 1.6. It is not likely that the Mbelele [illegible] observed the procedure of an elder-ion. The term Hyades (fn.1.56) [illegible] himself to another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely necessitate all false marriages, for it is simply impossible to elder a woman. It is [illegible] sometimes a married woman who wishes vaguely to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows will to order to escape. It, however, she chooses this expedient, usually, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own choice. Otherwise, it will happen that a married woman avoids a per-manent [illegible] follows her violence for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with elder-ion. Bb.227 gives [illegible], "stolen by force another man's wife and every her as a wife" /Cited in English/ also Bb.243, [illegible], "to escape as a wife from her husband by exotic" /Cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

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837 ...on, is that a lawful husband is shamed when his wife puts herself in the hands of a dreamed rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (p) 378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband, the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (38).

> 38. The two forms mentioned by Rowe (c) 125 are mutually exclusive, for he says. "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

841 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in ceremonial conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words. "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/[illegible] come./

967 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Molly added. "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and permanently say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to each other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /[illegible]/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peacefully for the rest of his life."

594 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
596 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? The male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

594 It very seldom happens that two young people become
597 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even denouncing remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her lover's desire, and since she makes no further claims, her former relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

598 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
599 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally succumb to their urging. My informants emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if the forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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It has also happened, we have recalled, that the two lovers decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of persons, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner, once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

/Next/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she oppresses her own widow without a murmur. Her position is even favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can thus secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (11); the second one to be taken by the man is

11. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (1)11 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact rendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /titled in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 42).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 396). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This rule, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their carnal love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Tarascos (III).

III. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women, the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of foreigners. See pages 336 and 353 /to untranslated portion of this work/.

The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, severely punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Tarascos are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

/E&S cont./
in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Tamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/E&S/ 6. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Tamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

24. Only Holm (x).E&S mentioned the levirate among the Tamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (Edd.III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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584 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are
604 married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the de-
736 ceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the old-
est, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, espe-
cially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any
rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one
who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and
boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

581 /647/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the
587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to
586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
607 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves
585 if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indíruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indíruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

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384 quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request
644 that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle
fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any
doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no inderuwa, his
maternal uncle, iman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps
with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover
that his mission /648/ is already on the way to his father. The
aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has
given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy
about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified
[582] decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

384 The arrangement we have just described is generally made
644 within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people
646 is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all, the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

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elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such shame are regarded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of being such -- make a secret of the fact that they have smoothered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are readiently and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares readiently for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the mans and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the remarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

When a couple enters a second marriage, the /550/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

Marriageable young people in olden times were in an incomparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded a blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

595 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law
807 in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

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595 837 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuiatuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman (27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

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Oates (g):55 says that "in general the old men take young girls, because the women must work hard" /translated from Spanish/, because a union in marriage of persons who are very different in age is not the rule.

Conversely, a young chap occasionally is content with a /882/ middle-aged widow if she knows how to ensnare him. In general, however, every bachelor first tries his luck with a girl (28).

28. Bridges (i):17 writes: "One piece of worldly advice given to the younger men was to take as a first wife an old woman because such would give them little trouble and much help" /cited in English/. Actually, this hint was dropped in the first youth initiation that I experienced. Bridges exaggerates considerably, for he adds: "This was often followed, though never I am sure from inclination but only from necessity, because marriageable girls were scarce, and always bespoken by men already married" /cited in English/. Fred Lawrence assured me that several of the marriageable girls were indeed captured by married men, but that the great majority of them tried their luck with young lads.

Widows are less desirable, which is why they must thrust themselves upon men who are about their own age (29). Their conduct

29. Bove (e):159 correctly observed: "The eagerness that mature women [who as such are, of course, widowed] display to marry youths must really be termed surprising, and the fact is that they almost always attain their goal." He saw five or six marriages there. In the first three the woman was ten to 12 years older than the man; in one case she was 60

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and he 29. We cannot maintain that such a strange marriage was necessitated by the advance of European civilization, for it was not rare even in earlier times. We need only recall the duty of a bachelor to marry his widowed sister-in-law (p. 412).

need not surprise us, for middle-aged men are generally married, and so it happens that they find happiness only with inexperienced bachelors. An old widow is usually charitably taken in by another married couple as a second wife, even though her new husband and she are far apart in age. This happens when she cannot make any connections with her relatives or when they have already died. No one expects her to have children, and this is, of course, not decisive. The main thing is that she is taken care of, and in return she can render the couple valuable service.

In contrast to those provisions which permit and even advise a marital union, there are definite prohibitions. The sharpest warning is given against a marriage between relatives, such as stepbrothers and stepsisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, as well as cousins (30). The general feeling is against marriage

30. According to Bridges (Mbl:III, 117;1969), "cousins never marry, the doing so is held in abomination, and is never thought of, much less done; they speak of cousins as brothers and sisters" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):805 also maintains that "first cousins never marry" /translated from French/.

between any kind of relatives; "they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" /cited in English/ (Bridges [1]:12). Nevertheless, very distant relatives sometimes are joined in marriage, even though mild disapproval may develop among their neighbors. The action of such a couple is not forbidden, however. The severe censure that several travelers have noted is directed against the marriage of close relatives, although an ultimate limit of the degree of relationship based on blood ties is not drawn. An explanation given

/[illegible]/ by Bridges (x):213 is significant: "Commonly speaking marriages with near kin are held in high abhorrence" /cited in English/. Also another by him (in [1] 230): "Marriage is never contracted within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by natural law. For example, first cousins to the second degree would not marry each other" /translated from Spanish/ (31). Thus many

> 31. In another place Bridges (x):205 reports: "They never marry a consanguineous relative, however distant. The idea of marrying a first or second cousin would be absolutely abominable to them" /translated from Spanish/.

versions indicate that, according to the general opinion, all degrees of relationship, even beyond that of cousins, absolutely exclude marriage.

If we consider the conditions of life of our Tamana, we realize that with this custom there exists a sort of local exogamy, for it is the near relatives who wear a certain adze for food and regard it as their true home. To marry within this circumscribed family group is forbidden by the bonds of kinship which link them all together, near or far. Since the only obligation is to marry outside this degree of kinship which coincides with district boundaries, local exogamy thus follows as a matter of course. It takes definite form when a whale is stranded and families gather from far and wide to enjoy for several days the bountiful gift of Mother Nature. The marriageable young people, who perhaps have never seen each other before, become acquainted and draw closer together until sooner or later marriage unites them. It is the rule that every eligible young man looks for a partner outside his own family group. BD:305 gives maafa-gôn-apai, "two persons within the limits which forbid marriage who marry, to be thus married; to marry together as cousins to each other" /cited in English/. It is difficult for young people who live far apart to marry because of their natural affection for their parents (32).

> 32. Bridges (i):21 has already given the reason for this reluctance: "Marriage with very distant clans was infrequent

/654 cont./

from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Bodgie Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (Mss.III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the *kina*, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/Kbd cont./

515 about an actual marriage proposal following definite formalities, such as are /Kbd/ practiced by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 358). They do, however, have an actual marriage celebration with certain conspicuous accompaniments, which they regard as legalizing the conclusion of a marriage.

It is easy to explain why earlier travelers did not understand this custom in its deeper significance, if, indeed, they had a chance to observe it, and that they saw in it only one of the universally common facial decorations. They should at least have avoided an abrupt denial of any kind of marriage ceremony, such as Bove (e):158, for example, did when he definitely maintained: "No festivity, no ceremony accompanies the wedding, which simply consists of the bride's going to the hut of the bridegroom or of the latter's settling down with his father-in-law" (58).

> 58. Hyades (b):1346 and (p):304 is as inaccurate as he is insincere when he tries to make out that "the marriage is accomplished without any ceremony" /translated from French/. According to Spegazzini (e):164 the marriage is concluded "very simply among them" /translated from Spanish/.

Bridges (e):333 made a slight concession, without grasping its real meaning: "The marriage ceremony was quite unimportant; there was no contract, no gathering of friends, no festivity, but they simply painted the face of the bride and sent her to her future husband in the best attire that they were able to afford." In contrast to this, we must emphasize that our informants positively established the socially valid significance of their ceremonies for the first marriage of a couple. These ceremonies were also regularly conducted, for without this public announcement the union of the two young people would not have been recognized as a valid marriage, but would have been regarded as a free, impermissible love affair.

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302 Among all the things that surround and accompany a wedding of those who are united for the first time, the facial painting of the bride and groom is the most significant feature. Like a public

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declaration, it announces to the neighborhood and Gonewith to the entire tribe the free decision of both parties. It is this visible sign that proclaims the marriage as legally concluded (36). D

36. Simon Hyades (pp.378 did not understand the significance of this facial painting, he contradicts himself in the following assertion: "The marriage does not give rise to any special ceremony, the young girl adorns herself more on this day, at least with facial paintings and with necklaces which she receives as gifts, and the hair on her forehead is cut" /translated from French/. In view of the little sense of form that our Tamana have developed, all these details certainly seem display enough!

binds the bridegroom as well as the bride, and the painting in this special form is used exclusively for the wedding. It consists of three parallel, horizontal red stripes of medium width which begin at the edge of the nostril and are drawn across the cheeks almost up to the ear lobes (Fig. 77). For about a week the newly-weds appear with this painting, which is carefully renewed every day. The dye is mixed with seal blubber and applied with a little stick to achieve even, fine lines, a neat application being particularly prized (37).

37. Ipeara: 69 was the only one who learned of this custom: "The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband" /cited in English/. Among the Seik'nam (Vol. I, 338) a "wedding decoration" is prescribed, which in style corresponds exactly with that of the Tamana.

/656/ The young people whose parents have cleared the way for their marriage begin this facial painting as soon as one of their

[illegible]

relatives, usually the neighbors, confirm them that the big feast is soon to take place. A few related families are informed or specially invited, and the men go hunting to collect a great deal of meat which the women prepare for canning. Although no particular day is set, the general mood or the momentary decision of the relatives, or even the unpredictable weather, brings about the ceremonious delivery of the bride or the bridegroom to the hut occupied by the other party. /Fig. 77 appears here./ In this manner they are influenced by given circumstances, usually the bride moved into the hut of her new parents-in-law. A few hours earlier the news spontaneously spreads that this formality is about to take place, and everyone passes prepares for it in happy excitement. The bride and bridegroom are once more carefully painted and somewhat dressed up with a new fur cloak. The other people also paint their faces, usually with the fine vertical red lines from below the eyelid, over the cheeks, to the level of the corner of the mouth. Finally, at a large fire outside the dwelling where the bridal couple is to meet, a few women roast the large amounts of meat. Messengers go from one hut to another to see how the preparations are progressing. At the appropriate moments a few women, followed by children and neighbors, accompany the bride to the hut occupied by the bridegroom. This procession is regarded as the core of the ceremony. Sometimes there is more formality, for example, when the bridegroom himself, surrounded by a few relatives, approaches the hut of his bride and invites her to follow him to the hut of his father. She joins him in the procession. There the happy celebration begins.

Fig. 77. Facial Painting of the Bride.

Young and old enjoy themselves at the abundant meal; there is lively conversation, and finally the wedding guests give eloquent expression to their joy in dance and play. They remain together many hours, and it is only general fatigue that puts an end to the celebration. The bridal couple do not yet have a hut of their own

and spend the night at the place where the celebration /417/ took place (38). Then the people of the neighborhood again assemble

38. Here pp.105, and Wrigglesworth as well, exclaim: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of seeing guests and soul mate, he must choose himself on the morning after the wedding by walking in the water of the sea. These ballcare without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Llama del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I solemnly informed whether a bridegroom was obliged to wear a bath, they could not keep from laughing. they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two reside each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

A new family has now been established. The public regards this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (c):331, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

/657 cont./

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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

SB 4 606

In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

L: Gautsch--450 1-6 (1909-1924) 1937 UAS Tolgus UAS

/658 cont./

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but of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 387).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of these parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's but until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations on intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

/659 cont./

606 and crouches low when his father-in-law speaks. These precepts are observed to this day. One day when we were talking to a few old men about the men's celebration, kina, Calderon, who was otherwise very forward and loquacious, acted so silent and reserved that his conduct could not fail to be conspicuous. When he was questioned about it, he explained that his father-in-law, William, was present and was talking, and that under these circumstances it was proper for him, as the son-in-law, to maintain a respectful silence.

The daughter-in-law is obliged to maintain the same shy reserve toward her mother-in-law. This restriction, however, is somewhat relaxed after the first year of marriage. In any case a free exchange or frank disscussion never comes about.

Nevertheless, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law have several unavoidable obligations toward their parents-in-law (41). In

41. Bridges (a):201 referred to this with imprecise data: "Men work for their wives' parents both before and after marriage, until she bears her firstborn, when the husband is exempted from further duty, save occasional gifts of fish, blubber, canoe, spear, etc., and a willingness to help his father-in-law in difficulties" /cited in English/. What Krickeberg: 321 has to say about this should be corrected on the basis of the above explanations.

sickness, especially, or if the parents-in-law are incapacitated they must be helpful and show concern about the former's sustenance. The children are not required to take them into their hut, because this would awkwardly constrain them. Nevertheless, an old woman sometimes lives temporarily with her married daughter and takes part in the daily canoe trips. In any case, the son-in-law or daughter-in-law must at certain intervals see how their parents-in-law are doing, must provide them with fresh food or good tools, and perhaps find other persons to care for them, all depending on the requirements of the individual case. The parents-in-law must not be denied specific wishes or refused particular requests.

/659 cont./

606 In spite of these prohibitions, and precisely because of the prevailing obligations, the two parties must associate in an indirect and roundabout way. For about a year after her marriage, the daughter-in-law may exchange a few necessary words with her mother-in-law; the son-in-law for the rest of his life refrains from any direct conversation with his father-in-law. We have just spoken of this. It is the daughter who intercedes for her husband with her father, or the son who does so with his parents for his wife. The corresponding brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law also serve as mediators.

In a concrete situation, social intercourse runs as follows. /660/ When the son-in-law becomes aware that his father-in-law is approaching him and his family, he sends his wife out to meet him and has her say: "My husband sends me, he invites you into our hut!" Pleased over this, her own father replies: "Thank you very much, but I was about to build my own hut!" He decides to do this in order not to embarrass his son-in-law, for the latter would have to remain silent, sit apart at meals, and humble himself constantly, which would spoil the visit for him. Hence, in order to save him any embarrassment and unpleasantness, the father-in-law builds his own hut nearby, and he is assisted by his daughter. When the building is nearly finished, she returns to her own hut and addresses her husband in a voice that all can hear: "I invited your father-in-law to stay with us, but he prefers to live in a hut of his own. He thanks you!" Then her husband speaks in a loud voice so that the father-in-law can hear it: "I am very sorry that my father-in-law is not coming to my hut!" In this delicate way he expresses the fact that he is glad to be at the disposal of his father-in-law. While the latter is in the vicinity, his own daughter visits him repeatedly; the son-in-law himself appears in the father-in-law's hut only once or twice and inquires about the possible needs of his father-in-law from his own wife.

521 203 606 As a substitute for direct conversation, which is not permitted, they manage in their own way. As soon as it is quiet outside, the son-in-law, in a loud voice and without addressing anyone, tells what he has recently experienced, observed, and learned, especially things which are worth knowing for his parents-in-law. The latter hear each word and are kept up-to-date.

/660 cont./

521 606 On the other hand, the father-in-law, squatting before his hut fire, talks as though to himself, but so that it can be heard all around, saying what he wants his son-in-law to know. He also gives actual instructions to him in this manner or in similar roundabout ways. For example, if his son-in-law enters his hut, he neither greets him, looks up, nor says a word, but silently stays in some dark corner. If they are both alone and no one can mediate between them, the old man expresses his wishes, not by direct address, but as though he were talking to himself: "I left my knife lying on the beach!" Or he says: "Outside on the tree branch there hangs a penguin that I should like to roast, I'm hungry!" Or he might say: "I killed a sea lion this morning. It is a large animal. I am an old man, and I could not drag it to the canoe; I left it lying out there on the rock." Or, finally: "The wood for my hut fire is almost used up; if only someone would provide me with fresh firewood!" The son-in-law understands such statements; they are requests of his father-in-law, which he carries out without objection.

606 /661/ Such strange reserve on the part of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law and their association with their parents-in-law in the oddly indirect way through their respective children or through a brother-in-law or sister-in-law are expressions of veneration and respect for the old people. They say: "The parents-in-law are worthy of veneration, therefore children-in-law may not conduct themselves conspicuously in their presence nor exchange a word with them (42)!" The parents-in-law are held in the same

42. "Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law treat with considerable deference their fathers and mothers-in-law" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):202.

esteem as own parents; the fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of a married couple regard each other as brothers and sisters. Hence the children-in-law fulfill all the duties that they owe their own parents. They give them presents very often and do all kinds of work for them: they bring wood for the hut fire, grass for the sleeping place, drinking water and food, rushes for braiding baskets,

/661 cont./

606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 182 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 593 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/662 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple [514] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

> 44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, and the maternal aunt, yĕxadăbi (BD:645 writes yekadăbi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 593 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life. Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the [677] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 595 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

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this arrangement was prevalent, generally approved, or only tolerated under certain conditions (45). Bridges obviously contra-

45. Cooper:166 has assembled a few more recent opinions. We might also add Furlong (b):131, Dabbene (b):179, Lothrop (b):163, Outes (g):55, and others.

dicts himself. After he had spent the first decade on Isla Keppel, he wrote: "Polygamy is very general. Thus Jemmy Button has three sisters for his wives..., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869). For the time being, let us disregard the last-mentioned inaccuracy (46). Seventeen years

46. Eleven years previously, on December 10, 1858, Despard had long since corrected this flase accusation: "Jemmy Button declared that the report of his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two -- other woman my sister'" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129;1859). Only after he let his first wife go did he take the second one.

later he (h):206, consciously or unconsciously, makes a considerable qualification: "In some places the rule is to have one wife; in others many have two, some three, and up to four" /translated from Spanish/. At that time Bridges did not know a large part of the Yamana, and for this reason alone his assertion has little credibility. Finally, after another seven years /664/ he (k):234 makes an almost frank revelation which seems like a refutation of his earlier opinions. He confesses: "But when one came to know them [los Yaganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that arise from family life" /translated from Spanish/. It took long years of observation on his part until he properly understood the obvious and significant arrangement of a Fuegian marriage in its actual form.

/664 cont./

114 595 592 Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time. A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported: "The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observation dictated these last words?

114 595 Hyades (q):378, however, very definitely represented the view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/ (47).

> 47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy... is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fuegians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives; sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:166 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Yahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however, 595 considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions

/664 cont./

595 are not a criterion, although all families are monogamous. A decade ago, Manuel (p. 444) from sheer necessity, was the sole exception. Along with his first wife, he took the youthful Julia, a Halakwulup.

The oldest men and women, questioned independently of one another, were and are unanimous in the opinion that monogamy by far outweighed polygamy, and that the latter was tolerated as an exception. The two brothers Martin and Fred Lawrence repeated this verbatim and gave as the reason a few obvious circumstances. /665/ The number of adults of both sexes was more or less even. If the majority of the people had lived in polygamy, a considerable number of men would have remained unmarried, and every stranger would necessarily have noticed this. According to his natural inclination, the Fuegian man gives himself to only a single woman, and he feels that it disturbs his emotional life if he is supposed to give his love to two women at the same time. For this reason one of the wives of a polygamist will stand very low in his estimation. To say that he is economically better off [556] with a second wife, as long as his wife is still well and able to work, is a misunderstood exaggeration, for no one gathers riches and certain tasks imposed upon a man by ancient tribal customs are largely doubled if he has two wives whom he must support along with the children.

My attention was duly called to a popular erroneous manner of speaking among Indians and Whites, according to which a man is called a polygamist when he has sent his first wife away and has taken another woman in her place. Actually, these two women did not live in his hut simultaneously, but the first was superseded by the second. It happened relatively often among our natives that a husband dissolved his tie with the first wife and in her place took another as his wife (48). Monogamous

48. It is only in this sense that Lothrop (b):163 accepts the term "polygamy," for he writes: "In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term 'progressive polygamy'" /cited in English/.

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595 single marriage is, after all, the general rule among the Yamana. It has often been proved that the rare cases of polygamy are necessarily tolerated only as exceptions.

2. Polygamy

Polygamy among our Fuegians has justifiably been put down as a fact by several travelers and missionaries. This confirms my personal investigations. Some accounts apparently take pleasure in increasing the number of joint wives of a man. Thus Outes (g):55, for example, says: "The poor have two or three wives, but there are some with four, five, and even six" /translated from Spanish/ (49). To this I wish only to say that everyone knows [556]

49. Even this view is topped by Spegazzini (a):166, namely, that it is not rare "to find some youth who has four and up to five wives" /translated from Spanish/.

there are neither poor people nor rich people among the Yamana.

More reliable accounts limit themselves to the bare statement that polygamy is permitted. In Hyades (b):1346 we read simply: "Polygamy, which custom permits, seemed nevertheless to be the exception" /translated from French/ (50). In February,

50. In another place he says (p):334: "Polygamy is permitted."

1920, Alfredo told me clearly and definitely: "While it is true that a Yamana may take a second woman along with his actual wife, the great majority of our men have always been satisfied with a single one!" Neither /666/ he nor his wife remembered a single native who had lived with three women at the same time. Relative figures are never cited, and the following communication by Bridges, dated February 14, 1871 (MM:V,138;1871), about the 21 men and youths present in Ushuaia does not fill me with confidence. He says that of these, four were bachelors, seven had one

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595 wife each, five had two each, three had three each, and one even had four wives (51). A case of more than two wives, if it actually

> 51. In contrast to this assertion, I refer again to the decisive correction which Bridges (k):243 made in his own judgments of earlier years, when he says: "But when one came to know them [los Yahganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists" /translated from Spanish/. With these words he curtly denies any kind of polygamy; in doing so, however, he obviously slightly oversteps the bounds of reality.

happened, must at least be regarded as a rare exception (52). It

> 52. This automatically settles the preposterous assertion of Bove (e):157 and (g):234: "Although... a man takes as many wives as he pleases, one nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives." His traveling companion, Lovisato, of course repeats with him that "a man takes from one to five wives and without any ceremony" /translated from Italian/.

would be more accurate to reject many of these accounts as false observations, for, as we have already emphasized (p. 437), not every woman in the company of a man was therefore his wife. Nevertheless, it seems that one must grant this fact, at least for modern times. BD:573 mentions tuxlöisa, "to marry more wives than two" /cited in English/. The two Lawrence brothers definitely dismissed the idea that in earlier, ordered conditions a Yamana might have been married to three or more wives simultaneously.
595 On another occasion, in February, 1923, Fred told me: "Anyone
587 who is familiar with the Yamana manner of speaking knows that they also speak of two or three wives of a man who has taken two or three women successively, in other words, another one

/666 cont. A

595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

595 A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
586 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the general public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

595 Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition.[53] In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!" She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having peddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana
937 never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first
586 wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me emphatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

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585 587 /988/ 842 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, Kikakakipa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

585 177 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 36 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 430).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (16), which is not regarded as an obstacle

16. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

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5H6

equal in age. while a young man will often be allied to a woman his senior [illegible] forty years, for among some of the [illegible] it is inculcated as a duty that the young men should marry -- or, perhaps, it could be more correct to say, should adopt into their family, and undertake to provide for -- the aged women" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 81.1866). Aspinall [illegible] writes strangely enough, the man usually has two wives, an old one and a young one."

to marriage (p. 419). In fact, there are [illegible] advantages if an elderly couple takes a young girl into the hut (p. 442) and if a young bachelor brings home a widow who is [illegible] iddle-aged or older (p. 438). This observation apparently dismayed Stirling on his trip through the Wolaita region in March, 1881: "The elder men have frequently three wives, and two of them are generally of extreme youth. . . I long for plenary powers to [illegible] set matrimonial affairs right down here, for the young men are too often glad to pick up destitute, while their sires adorn their wives, arms, and propel /5H8/ their canoes with the fairest faces, and choicest arms in the community" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 204.864). He said this in the unconsciously erroneous assumption that every woman associated with a man is his wife.

If a married Yahgan takes a second woman as an actual wife, along with his first wife, the formalities which are the general requirement for a young bridal couple (p. 424) are not repeated, nor are they when a widower, [illegible], marries again. The situation is taken for granted by the neighborhood when they see these persons living together uninterruptedly in the same hut, if, indeed, the newly married couple have not already announced it in so many words.

The first wife, unmistakably, has a privileged position. Outwardly this is shown by the fact that she is permitted the place directly beside the hut entrance. Alfredo calls her wafia; BD: 638 writes [illegible], "the first wife whose place is the door side of her husband" /cited in English/. Thus she appears as the

/669 cont./

595 doorkeeper (56), so to speak, for here she also arranges her

56. Martial:198 called her "the door-woman" /translated from French/. Bridges (i):25 wrote in exaggerated detail: "Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as respected the seat of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle /sic/ wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wahyusin, i.e., the one on the doorside, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Uhushpai, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Cuchiellahco, i.e., next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time" /cited in English/.

sleeping place and the husband has his place beside her. Next to him, on the inner side of the hut, the second wife takes her place; hence she is called uiŏgupaiki, who is, according to BD:114, "the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam" /cited in English/. Moreover, the first wife is entitled to give the other one certain tasks and other orders. The latter submits, more because she is younger than in acknowledgment of a special greater power of her superior. It never occurs to the first wife to misuse her power, much less to leave her rival in want or to harm her. Just as in general the first wife distributes to the neighboring huts the meat that her husband brings home, so she lets the second 595 214 wife have a special piece (57). She is particularly attentive,

57. Hence she is not dependent on the whims of the first wife at every meal, as Martial:198

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[569]

maintains. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /670/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. [578] Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how irritatingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

> 58. The meaning of klexana which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

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Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Fuegians simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (a):166, "the peace of

/570 cont./

58 the family is never disturbed" through polygamy, "no altercations
114 among [the wives], neither jealousy nor favoritism" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (e):107, on the other hand, maintains: "Although...a man takes as many women (10) as he pleases, one

> 10. Apparently leaning on Bove, Wieghardt:38 repeats verbatim that "with so many women around [namely, with four wives], domestic felicity disappears entirely" /translated from Spanish/.

nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives. It seems that with such a number of wives domestic happiness is no longer secure and the hut or canoe is daily turned into a battlefield, so that a young and beautiful wife probably sometimes pays with her life for the favoritism which the man shows her. It is worse for the man when the women settle their own quarrels and combine against the head of the house, in which case it probably becomes clear to him that even a single woman can at times be very uncomfortable." Faced with the inventive spirit of one who can produce such battle scenes, I for my part remain silent.

595 In spite of everything, it is true that individual men lived simultaneously with two women, for the most part two sisters, but the great majority of marriages were monogamous. A few authorities surmised that, as an extremely rare exception, a man also had three wives, /ETI/ who were almost always sisters. There is no reliable evidence for this number or for a larger number of wives. There was probably always some reason for polygamous marriage, most of them arising from the existing division of labor and the obligation of the brother-in-law to marry a widow. Most of the European observers erroneously regarded every woman accompanying a man as his wife and hence very much exaggerated the extent of polygamy. Again we should like to suggest the reader of the considerable modifications that the experienced Bridges (b):243 made in his earlier, hasty assertions, for after living with these Indians for almost 40 years, he frankly confessed: "When one came to know the Yaruros well, it appeared that they were neither cannibals nor polygamous!"

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Nothing indicates that the Tamate would permit sexual polyandry (59). So-called sexual promiscuity was closely

59. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (5):33 clearly stated, "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /typed in English/, and later he (5):310 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Ideally a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (9):155. "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /typed in English/. The Anglican disinterest, beginning with Darling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy. Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (5):. Unfortunately, the commissaries did

61. On May 28, 1871, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /typed in English/ (also 5:33, 178, 180").

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Tamate, and reasonable exceptions are rarely tolerated (p. 44).

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b. Division of Labor between Spouses

In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Pangloss all work serves the purpose of immediate consumption, or one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains unexpectedly dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /871/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Women, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the sexual ability of each sex (65).

> 65. In March, 1884, Darling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (Vol.XI, 220.1884). Bridges (b.210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (p.3) expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, rough endurance, endurance courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/672 cont./

462 man, for he is by nature more sturdily built and he likes exertion and danger which he triumphantly conquers. The woman, on the other hand, likes to take care of the children and busy herself in the hut; she also likes to combine with this the many light manipulations required in her household and in the canoe. Since the division of work is carried out uniformly on the basis of natural assumptions, the co-operation of the two partners proceeds without friction and harmoniously.

Finally, it is helpful that the amount of work apportioned to the man and the woman does not overtax either of them, hence never makes them lifelong slaves to their duties. They are, of course, by no means spared hardship and toil, effort and exhaustion, but Mother Nature does not force upon them a hard "struggle for existence," in the sense familiar to the European day laborer. A slight effort suffices to satisfy their natural demands in life and to let them lead a happy existence (63).

63. Darwin's (d):247 assertion is utterly false: "The man is for the woman the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

European travelers have quite unjustly painted the lot of the Fuegians in very somber colors. For example, Bove (e):157 felt that "in this struggle for existence the chief role falls to the women who are regarded more as slaves than as partners." To such an untrue statement the missionary T. Bridges (e):332 retorts: "The division of labor was just and sensible, and the women were in no way oppressed, but led a more comfortable and happy life than the men and, as everywhere, reached a greater age" (64).

64. Spegazzini (a):171 even professes to know: "In general among the Canoe Indians the feminine sex is much healthier and stronger than the masculine sex; this natural debility of the man and his not knowing how to swim are probably the causes that contribute to such a great predominance of women" /translated from Spanish/.

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

65. Hyades (q):220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

α. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he develops all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

/673 cont./

462 escaped despite the severe wounds inflicted by a well-directed harpoon thrust.

He hunts seals industriously, slaying them either with his club or with his javelins. To do this he must climb rocks, push into rock crevices and hollowed-out shores, or outwit the strong, very agile animal from the vantage point of his canoe. There is the greatest danger for the whole family in an attack on a whale swimming near the shore. In order to wound it severely and exhaust it fatally, each of the men hurrying toward it from all sides must ceaselessly thrust their harpoons into the mighty body of the animal, must enlarge the wound by tugging at the lasso, and immediately draw out the harpoons. The eastern Yamana creep up on guanacos. /674/ A small group of hunters will usually try to have their dogs encircle the herd and edge them toward the beach along the paths the guanacos have made. Men are concealed in the thicket along these paths and hurl their spears after the animals as they race by. The successful hunter will often disembowel the heavy booty at the place where it was slain and then drag it to his hut. Here he skins it and cuts it up into a few large pieces which are distributed among the neighboring families by his wife. The hunt for otters frequently demands patient waiting and afterwards often becomes very exciting. Finally, it is the duty of the man to stalk and kill the birds that are wanted in the household, namely, penguins which are killed with the spear, ducks and geese which are bagged with the sling or large snare, and cormorants which are caught by a dangerous search of their nesting holes in the bare rock walls. The man leaves the task of preparing the birds to his wife.

A no less vital task is canoe-building. He must attentively search for suitable pieces of bark in the forest, remove them carefully, handle them skillfully, and put them together masterfully into the finished vessel. Many tedious distances have been covered and sometimes very hard work performed before the new vessel can be pushed into the water for the first time (p. 116). It is his duty to undertake major repairs.

If possible, every man makes his own weapons and implements; it is seldom that he barters for a particular piece elsewhere. Whatever raw materials he needs, he usually gathers over a wide range.

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462 His work is interrupted by the constant canoe trips, and he must pick it up again and again before it is finally finished. He is expected to make the paddles and dance clubs for his wife, as well as the toys for his sons. From thick skins he cuts leather straps and suitable pieces for leather bags.

He does the heavy work in building the hut, especially gathering and erecting the necessary poles, and fetches large logs and whole bundles of smaller sticks for firewood. He lights the fire and keeps it going only if his wife is busy elsewhere. In the hut he lets her wait on him and keeps his hands free for his own work.

In the morning when the trip to another place starts, he alone takes care of his weapons and implements. He lays them out in the front part of the canoe and ready to be seized. On the way he is thinking only of his hunting and stands steadily on the lookout. He has his wife take him to the places where he expects to have success.

After consulting his wife, he procures whatever the family needs that can be obtained by barter. We refer to flint, raw hides, finished fur cloaks, ornaments, colored earth, whalebone, and smaller implements.

The above are the most important tasks of the man. He is primarily concerned with supplying sufficient amounts of meat for his family /675/ Everything that contributes to this end or that is required for it belongs in his sphere of duties. As a matter of principle he never touches the tasks that fall to his wife. If she should become sick or die, he immediately brings another woman into his hut to take her place. The clear separation of the two spheres of duties of man and wife can be seen in the fact that she would never remind him of a task or admonish him to greater industry, even if the family should become destitute and suffer hunger because of his negligence. All of which proves the almost complete independence of each of the two spouses in the management of the household, despite their co-operation (66).

66. The more important duties of the man have been enumerated by several travelers, for example, Bridges (h):210 and in MM:III,

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115;1869, Fitz-Roy (a):185, Furlong (b):132, Dabbene (b):188, Hyades (g):35 and (q):220, Lista (b):47, Outes (g):57, Webster:I, 182, Wieghardt:44, and others.

The following, which Stirling wrote in March, 1864, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):185 had made similar observations earlier.

β. Activity of the Woman

462 855 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time and are primary in the daily work of the Indian woman, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

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462 [252] and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 356 /676/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 502 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

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462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the
462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut.
252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

462 With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of
281 birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

462 If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

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the lord and master is lying beside the fire, the wife stands in the water, exposed to snow, rain, and wind, to fish for her idle husband." And yet, several years before that, Bridges had definitely established that "the men and boys do not lead an idle life at all" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116; 1869).

Nevertheless, the woman not only gets her day's work done effortlessly, but even enjoys doing it and takes it up anew each morning with fresh spirits. Neither she nor her husband has a comfortable and pleasant life. Stirling was quite right when he emphasized in March, 1864: "The division of labour is not unfair, although the women are doubtless exposed to some hardship in cold weather, when they have to wade in the water in search of mussels, or to moor a canoe to the kelp, or set it free" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228; 1864). In April, 1871, Bridges (i):22 came to the same conclusion from his own observations, namely, that "the division of labour was very fair, the women were not imposed upon" /cited in English/ (68). These are opinions worthy of note.

68. Footnote 66 gave a number of sources, to which we must add Stirling (VSA:XI, 228; 1864), Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869), Hyades (c):142 and (p):332. What Fitz-Roy (a):185 wrote may serve as an example: "The woman nurse their children, attend the fire (feeding it with dead wood, rather than green, on account of the smoke), make baskets and water-buckets, fishing-lines and necklaces, go out to catch small fish in their canoes, gather shell-fish, dive for sea-eggs, take care of the canoes, upon ordinary occasions paddle their masters about while they sit idle; -- and do any other drudgery" /cited in English/.

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γ. Collaboration of the Spouses

462 The activities and spheres of work of the man and wife are distinctly separate from one another. In their daily work both spouses strive for the material welfare of their family. This single aim /678/ is the reason why the two supplement each other harmoniously and beneficially. The identical direction of their efforts is shown even more in certain joint activities in which each lends a hand. In such cases, one alone may lack the necessary strength or their common effort may accomplish the work more quickly. This is true of hut-building; the man brings [342] the thicker trunks while she ties the framework together, stretches pieces of leather over it, and finally calks the whole construction. Usually the hut is built after a strenuous canoe trip on which man and wife have overtaxed themselves more or less, or at any rate enough. Hence the sooner they can move into the modest structure, the more advantageous it will be for the whole family. That is why they both work at it from the very beginning to the final touch. In order to moor the boat on the shore both of them must join forces, and again when it is once more pushed into the water. Together they lift the large pieces of leather, which are to be distributed over the hut framework, out of the canoe and put them back in again shortly before departure. Not infrequently the success of the hunt depends upon the accurately timed cooperation of both partners in the canoe, for as soon as the man starts pursuing a game animal, he is fully occupied with his weapons and his prey. It is the woman's responsibility to guide her vessel according to her husband's directions, to take it on this or that course faster or slower until the animal they have been pursuing is theirs. This sometimes requires the utmost exertion on the part of the man as well as the woman. In moments of greatest emergency she may even shout to him to take the paddle, for if a sudden violent storm breaks, she is unable to make shore paddling alone.

It is true that man and wife have their definitely circumscribed fields of activity. Nevertheless, if danger and distress, sickness, or incapacity demand it on occasion, neither of them

/678 cont./

462 would hesitate to lend a hand in the other's sphere of duties (69).

69. Bridges (a):201 mentions: "Men very seldom help their wives to catch fish, which is their chief employment" /cited in English/. Not only in this respect, but quite generally it is the rule that one party may encroach on the sphere of activity of the other only to help on a serious occasion or if there is vital danger.

If we compare the day's work of the man with that of his wife, we realize at once that he is responsible for those labors and tasks which demand greater physical strength or perilous daring or bold /679/ recklessness. She, on the other hand, has the even, quieter, and less dangerous activities. While he, in single thrusts, as it were, and in isolated undertakings, must use all his capabilities, thereby growing very weary and sometimes actually exhausted, she has a diversity of light manual work (with the exception of the difficult paddling in bad weather) which permits her scarcely a moment to rest her hands idly in her lap. She stirs about the livelong day and often at night. The man, on the other hand, is entitled to rest periods of several hours at a stretch whenever he has exhausted himself in extraordinary physical efforts. An ignorant observer interprets the well-earned rest of the man as pure laziness and the tireless activity of the woman as the work of a slave in degrading dependence on her master. On the basis of this false judgment, descriptions have been given, such as Bove (d):292 (70) in particular indulged in, which found ready credibility

70. "How many times I have seen the men tranquilly sitting around a good fire, while the poor women stood exposed to the snow, wind, and rain, fishing for their idle and irate husbands" /translated from Italian/. Similarly, Lista (b):47 maintains: "A loafer, like all South American natives, the man leaves the whole burden of domestic tasks

/679 cont./

462 to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women. . . while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks" /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (d):247 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

in many circles.

461 Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great . . success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

462 Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent
461 on our Fuegians. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

/680 cont./

462 461 expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:169 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Yamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (h):210 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly; that is why, without specifically

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./

562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
626 woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreatment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically, public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
593 bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges' (i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210 repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times, an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out and takes violent measures against the man, without however, actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146 gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable independence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

1: Gusinde--465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5198 Yahgan 5198

/682 cont./

593 Bridges' (h):210 words, "...in general family life is happy and correct" /translated from Spanish/, apply to the relations between the two spouses. They are attached to each other by genuine love. Affection and the desire for love brought them together in marriage, and the things they have done for each other have constantly increased their mutual esteem, so that after a few years they consciously or unconsciously live for one another's happiness (74). They exchange their thoughts and plans; they

74. According to Lovisato's (h):146 unauthoritative opinion, the wife of a Fuegian means no more to him than "a means for having children; we cannot say that she is the equal of the man, not even his slave, although she is given the most painful work" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (p):332, on the other hand, says: "The woman whose conduct is good is independent and respected" /translated from French/. This is the truth!

discuss their own experiences and their observations of their children; they avoid being separated for long and are filled with bitter sorrow if one of them falls sick or dies. From time to time
593 one of them will make the other happy with some surprise or will
20/ express the customary, very modest but always effective tenderness. This is limited to a gentle stroking of the cheeks or individual parts of the body, or they lean their head together and move close to each other (75). Everyone is very receptive toward

75. From this account one should correct what Spegazzini (s):166 maintained: "... caresses and kissing are completely unknown among these people" /translated from Spanish/. Parents are certainly not sparing with kisses for their infant (p. 514).

1: Gamble--466 8-6 (1919-1954) 1937 SHR Yahgan SH6

/883 cont./

883 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

> 76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

> 77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

883 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Yamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /883/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

> 78. Hyades (q):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

> 79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

1: Gusinde--467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S916 Yahgan S916

/683 cont./

583 nonsense: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his loves, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat; if he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

583 152 Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often stunned (80) his bold obtrusiveness by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /unpublished/, p. 2).

flight. P. Snow (a):1, 149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally tormenns only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (q):239 also observed that "the woman, and above all the young woman, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (q):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

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false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (2): 58 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:287 gives bingun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (x):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

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84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (1):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfulness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid occasions of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XXII, 303,1864), is false in its generality, and he

/Bibl cont./

137 himself converted in some other, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (Bibl.III, 117,1903) is customary. Six years later he (1:19 learned of the splendid Tavasa simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Ipegenius several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (BD), but

> BD. Hyades (p.278 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are loyal in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:139 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very lowe" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gonzalo [E] :168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the *Tabuno* ceremony. "The women of today," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their transgressions and have themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it?" In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /BD/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old blancks, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

137 BD 177

/985 cont./

to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see the account on p. 303 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be carefully concealed from the eyes of the injured person. If a man caught his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Mantel 139 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Grenga Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's running and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing.

87. According to Hyades (2):335 and (4):316, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

Even in the penitentiary, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). In very seldom happened

88. Mantel 139 and also Delibesse (5):169 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Chaise (2):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of the offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the bed of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that the because

89. Mantel 139 tells of an adulteress who

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SF3 §27 576 found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him. @

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

SF3 §27 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous wrath of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (91).

91. Spegazzini (op.cit.) reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

§27 SF7 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Tarasca makes a serious effort /585/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gueiede (op.cit.) 168, that "among the Tarascs this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Penglan tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (op.cit.) 378 way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is ap-

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

proved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this,
867 naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

836 /686 cont./
867 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

836 Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper conduct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not [581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

431 A few effective protective measures for special occasions have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two 834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/687 cont./

431 834 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /688/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Yamana consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

593 In most marriages of our Fuegians, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

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593 relationship with one another (96). The far-reaching independence

96. Bridges (e):333 maintains, "in general the conjugal tie was lacking in happiness as well as stability." In saying this he obviously contradicts the facts which are verified by many other details.

of the woman corresponds to her importance in family and household management (97), and her importance in the tribal com-

97. For "a wife was by no means wholly in her husband's power and she had quite as much liberty as was good for her" /cited in English/ (Bridges [I]:21). The far-reaching independence of the woman rests on her important contribution to the support of the family (p. 454).

munity as a whole is very nearly equal to that of the man. Although the various social units (in this case the monogamous marriages) have a very natural basis, there is never an absence of transgressions against their foundations on the part of a few individual persons. Even nowadays on the frosty Cape Horn Archipelago one can meet young married persons who love each other sincerely and aged persons who are harmoniously united.

5. Divorce

586 When young people come together in marriage, they almost never have the definite intention of forming a lifelong union. Calderon told me: "The young people think only of their love. Whether they are suited to each other will be seen only when they live together. If one of them is not suited to the other, they separate and each of them looks for another partner!" This is no proof against the basic lifelong continuance of marriage, but the fact of divorce is not only recognized, but, under certain

/688 cont./

586 circumstances, even regarded as justified. A few travelers have described divorce as such an indifferent step that their numerous errors are obvious (98) and generally the result of utter ignorance

98. A more contemptuous tone than that of Martial:199 is scarcely possible: "The total absence of any guarantee in these [conjugal] unions, moreover, frequently results in their rupture, through the fault of the man more often than that of the woman. They take each other and leave each other, following the whim or interest of the moment" /translated from French/.

of the solemnity of marriage. True family life, such as is reported by many reliable observers, would not come about even in Tierra del Fuego if every person could replace his life's companion with another at will, according to the principle of a supposed "continual promiscuity" /translated from French/ (Martial:200). True, each additional child draws the marital tie tighter between the two partners, but no less strong is the love between young married couples, which continues almost undiminished up to the appearance of /689/ the first child (99).

99. In this respect Bridges' (e):333 assertion that "the conjugal bond was weak until it was strengthened by children" /cited in English/ does not mean much.

586 626 It is lawfully permissible, however, for married people to separate if they have a reason for it. The people generally have a sensitive feeling about this and are not deluded by extenuation or false appearance, and although they cannot usually avoid injustice, their sharp weapon, namely, the discussion of conditions which cannot be condoned, remains effective for years.

586 The chief reason for dissolving a marriage is maltreatment by a brutal husband, yaná, under which the wife must suffer. Very early Bridges (a):184 reported: "Cruel treatment often

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

She often urgently needs this protection because the disappointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

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100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Post had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule

586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It
602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

586 [602] /690 cont./

her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 837 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

/691 cont./

586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married 586 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsi- 602 ble for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life. [558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent lighthearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III,117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
888 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/692 cont./

589 888 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

/693 cont./

182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

/693 cont./

861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

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1. Delight in the Child

842 We must say without qualification that the Yamana of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Walter in the following brief words: /695/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (107)!"

[591]

107. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 434).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly de-
855 pendent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the
887 most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

/695 cont./
855 their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontane-
887 ous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

855 As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand
609 why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show
152 themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 328 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

1: Gusinde--487 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Tahgan SH6

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immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):282 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/698 cont./

variations of this exclamation: "How fortunate Felipe and Elisa are, for all their [six] children are still living and occupying their hut." There is no other family of the few that are left who can show so many living offspring.

Naturally, each one of the children is an object of special attention for the parents and all the adults. This is less evident in the fact that they keep the child physically clean than in their tireless vigilance and in all kinds of demonstrations of love (111).

111. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends, and encomiums of every kind expressed in order to please the parents" /cited in English/.

They are not happy if a child is absent from the hut for long hours and they do not know where he is, but quite in /697/ contrast to European mothers, they remain completely calm no matter how long the child is absent if they do know where he is staying or where he went, on foot or in the canoe. They are beside themselves, however, if they have to wait for the child far beyond a fixed time. Once, late at night, I saw old Pedro and his wife get up and prepare to drag their canoe into the water. Someone had just reported to them that their seven-year-old daughter had gone on foot with some other girls to a distant inlet and that they had not returned. Although the neighbors, some of whose children were also absent, tried to reassure the old man, they could not hold him back. He rowed a great distance along Beagle Channel until, after a search, he found his daughter. Finally, early in the morning, they were all united in his hut, along with the other children (see Gusinde [t]:164). In order to appreciate this effort we must remember that a family ventures out on the water at night only in the greatest emergency.

Very often and lovingly parents fondle and play with an infant or an older child. They let them have particularly delectable tidbits, call their attention to rare phenomena in the environment, decorate them with ornaments of all kinds, and often paint their faces for sheer pleasure (112). Again and again the adults busy

112. As Bridges (i):22 and (t):208 reports,

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BS "girls and boys were by their proud parents often laden with a profusion of native necklaces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hyades (4):308 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /translated from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something else is happiest when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also *of course*, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another parent's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will mistake a woman for the mother of a child when she is not even a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued no less highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 461). Fitz-Roy (4):188, too, noted: "both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, whom they felt sufficient confidence in to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

BJ BS /BJE/ By nature the Tamaia children of today are not as open-hearted and uninhibited as the Selk'nam children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journeys; I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Fuegian group and their greater taciturnity. Nevertheless I succeeded in crossing myself with these little creatures most unceremoniously and also in pinching them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

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152 Later we shall show that quite generally Pregian families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (113). The mother addresses urgent pleas

> 113. Hyades (2):30 reports. "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and one infrequently the French [of the Athenian Scientific Expedition] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Hiddigwet, the Tamonu deity, to make her sick darling well, and the indulgence of human superstition agrees that, in spite of her pleas, he took the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Walter's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, as though to a last refuge.

155 For all persons many healthy, lively, and obedient children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (114). They stir up fresh life in the entire

> 114. Bridges (1):31 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /tried to English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their exuberant play. They allay the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /KRU/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

children whom death has taken away. A woman is ashamed if complains, however indirect, much her about her disinclination wrong, and a woman may feel something like jealousy when is seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father when, in proud self-esteem, he comments his manly key and points many of his qualities to the other men in connection of great achievements have on.

Who could therefore doubt that parents in Tierra del Fuego always want still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the parents never tire of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and duty work perceptibly, yet augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not mean a unbearable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Many women go through difficult inner struggles when, with the consequence, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Fred Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1923, only very rarely and secretly by the woman herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she becomes pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1923, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion. "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." When second at that time to be only a supposition on my part because a qualified probability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she presses and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (111).

111.Hahn (p.) 900 also mentions this method.

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with an absolutely false exaggeration of its practice. "Induced abortion is very common; it is done by means of violent manipulations upon the woman's abdomen" /translated from French/.

Sometimes she lies down with her belly on a crossbeam or a tree trunk, and while hanging over on both sides, she increases the pressure.

Very rarely (116), it seems, a woman does grow tired of child-

116. Cooper's[17] conclusion that "deliberate abortion is common" is thus grossly exaggerated. He relied on Martial:108, Hahn (x):805, and Hyades (q):378. The latter referred to Bridgen, but did not count his assertion and adds: "Nevertheless, we have not witnessed any act of this kind [abortion and infanticide], and it has always appeared to us that from birth the children are given lavish attention by their parents" /translated from French/.

bearing /720/ and secretly gets rid of the still unripe fruit. She knows that she must do this promptly, for if the embryo were any size at all, her own life would be endangered. She also knows that the customary procedure mentioned above is never harmless. She keeps her deed strictly secret, for it would be severely censured by other women as forbidden. They say: "It is better and nicer to have a family with many children whom the mother can love than that a woman should not let her child be born." In order to avoid this criticism, in case other women have become suspicious, the guilty woman will try to cover it up by saying: "I fell down. -- I stumbled over a stone. -- I hurt myself badly in a fall. And that is why I lost my [premature] child."

Sometimes such a woman, out of fear and shame, will use the same excuse when her husband who has been waiting in vain for the child asks her about it. We must realize, however, as I was repeatedly assured, that in such very rare cases perhaps a spontaneous miscarriage occurred. This was without doubt true of Lola's mother

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847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 714 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kēspix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

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843 It is only when this condition continues that they accept the fact of its cessation (117). Experience teaches them that the fruit grows

> 117. Hahn (a):805 mentions the following physiological observation: "Pregnancy is of the same duration as elsewhere...She has as signs of it the cessation of the menses, the swelling of her breasts, and the movement of the foetus" /translated from French/.

in proportion to the size of the abdomen of the woman who is to become a mother, and that this goes on until birth takes place. The mother thinks a great deal about the child she is carrying under her heart, and full of confidence she speaks of her hopes to the women near her. She longs for the birth, not because she would like to be free of the slight discomforts, but so that she can soon, in the happiness of motherhood, hold the child in her arms. Gertie said to me: "Many a young woman waiting for her first child feels that it takes too long. In her impatience she often becomes ill-humored!" Every woman hopes for a sturdy and beautiful child, and to achieve this she places a few blossoms of má'ku (Embothrium [824] coccineum; see Fig. 78) on her genitals and presses them tight with her upper thighs. She spends the whole night this way, thinking constantly of the child which she has already been carrying for several months. At the same time she repeats the wish in her thought: "May this child be as beautiful as the má'ku!" Her husband is very pleased if she repeats this procedure often (118). Instead

> 118. I was unable to find an explanation for what Hahn (a):806 cites as "a popular belief that children are sometimes born with a part of the body of an animal when the mother has been frightened in the course of her pregnancy" /translated from French/.

of má'ku (southern dialect), most people say máku.

Even though pregnancy is far advanced, a woman does not curtail her work, but must keep it up in full measure. The women of the neighborhood constantly recommend uninterrupted and lively

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

843 262 During this time the married couple are required to observe a few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

[824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/702 cont./

843 262 who herself abstains from the meat of cormorants and, even better, from birds generally wishes to prepare a roast for her family, she either leaves the bones whole or she asks someone else to break the bones in the meat of the bird. If she herself were to do it, she would have to be prepared to give birth to a crippled child. The woman must also abstain from sea urchins, but the man is not required to do this. He may not break open the calcareous shell, however, but must have someone else do it, otherwise the child would be born with a split skull (119).

119. Calderon told me this in August, 1923. As a result of searching questions I obtained the impression that this superstition is connected with the greater or lesser width of the fontanel with which the child is born.

843 When the external indications of pregnancy point to an imminent confinement -- this was unmistakable in former times when nakedness was customary -- the relatives and neighbors are more concerned in their thoughts and speech with the two persons who /703/ are soon to be presented with a child. They also discuss the expected event with the young couple. There are always several women on hand with good advice, especially for a woman who is giving birth for the first time. They encourage her with the following prospect: "Soon you will hold your own child in your arms. What happiness and what joy you will feel! -- It is indescribably gratifying for a woman to take care of her own child. -- Only then will you be a real woman, when you have a child of your own, and this will soon happen!" Old Mary repeated these words to me as the basic ideas behind such reassurances.

844 Women who are giving birth for the first time receive special attention. They are supposed to move about constantly or at least walk a great deal and to gather wood and berries diligently, in other words, to sit as little as possible. The things that were told the girl on the occasion of her first menstruation are now repeated, and special emphasis is placed on what was said about the treatment of newborn babies. The constant encouragement, together with the restless activity, hardly gives the young woman time to become

/703 cont./

844 anxious and perturbed. "They [the women giving birth for the first time] are not afraid of confinement!" Nelly explained very emphatically. The neighbor women probably also give the customary advice to the woman who has already had several confinements and is again expecting a child. They speak more seriously and anxiously if the woman has previously had difficulties in giving birth. Due to their worry about her life and that of the child, they stay with her until she is confined. In their everyday talk the women generally discuss whether for any one of them the momentous event was easy or difficult, whether or not it was accompanied by special symptoms. Hence they are prepared when someone has another confinement. Finally even the men discuss it among themselves when they notice that one woman or another is in an advanced state of pregnancy. On such occasions they also quite frankly say: "Now it is time for her husband to stay away from her [sexually] !"

Relatives and neighbors regard it as their duty to help gather food and care for the children of the women who are giving birth for the first time and those who must expect complications. All Indian women, without exception, are attentive and sympathetic toward the mother-to-be.

The husband and wife are instinctively confident as to the approach of the decisive hour. As a rule, the pregnant woman, usually upon the advice of her husband, has notified a neighbor in plenty of time so that she can come to help her. Indian women most often give birth in their dwelling. The husband leaves beforehand and takes with him his boys as well as other male occupants. A feeling of tact for the woman in her most difficult hour prohibits male persons from being present; a sense of modesty advises her to be alone with a woman helper (120). Small girls are sent to

120. Hyades (q):190, 375 also mentions the latter reason: "Confinement takes place most often in the open. An instinctive feeling of modesty impels the women to undergo the suffering of cold rather than to suffer the presence of men and the promiscuity of the hut at the moment of their confinement" /translated from French/. He also says: "Mr. Bridges agrees

844 /703 cont./ that the men never assist at the confinement" /translated from French/. On the other hand, Hahn (a):805 maintains erroneously that "the husband is present, but all the other men must leave" /translated from French/.

women neighbors. Even at /704/ night everyone who is not supposed to be present leaves, provided there are other huts nearby. In case several families are occupying a single hut jointly, which was customary among the western group in winter (p. 31), the women helpers in a few minutes build near the dwelling a simple little hut, ëkëli, for the expectant mother, where she and her helpers await the approaching hour. It is much more convenient for her to leave alone than that the many other occupants of the hut be sent away (121). Soon after the confinement, on the second

121. Bridges once maintained erroneously: "Women never bear children in the wigwam but out of doors" /cited in English/ (VP:III, 118;1869). Later he (i):21 wrote somewhat more accurately: "Children were generally born in the open air, and this of necessity and from proper feeling, the wigwams occupied jointly by several families offered no privacy. The expectant mother with her nearest female friends withdrew" /cited in English/.

What Spegazzini (a):166 and Bove (e):158 say about this is true only under the conditions given above: "During pregnancy the woman takes some fox or wolf pelts and leaves her husband until she has given birth" /translated from Spanish/. And "when the great moment has come, they leave the hut in the company of their female friends, going to the nearest thicket where, away from the eyes of the curious, they bring the child into the world."

day at the latest, she comes back to the family hut with her newly born child. Such a little hut is regarded as a makeshift and is

/704 cont./

844 occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is
844 traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, she
551 tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilis" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ūšipin, ūšipisin, ūšjāpisin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ūšipisinčis kiltašáka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiltašáka." BD:105 gives ūsipisin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

844 It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxípa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

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844 As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (124). The midwife squats behind

124. The Indian women, as Hyades (f):568 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

[856] No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately this woman passes

/705 cont./

844 her flat hand over the entire body of the newborn /706/ child in order to clean it superficially. Continuing the stroking motion of her hand, she squeezes the blood out of the umbilical cord and cuts it with a sharp mussel shell about 12 centimeters from the belly. The two ends are tied with narrow tendons or with rush stalks. The after birth, jĕkáluf, bits of blood, and the leather pieces soaked in blood are shoved into the open fire or the glowing ashes where they are destroyed. If there is no fire, they are buried (125). The čílĕr

125. I did not know, as Hyades (q):191 maintains, that these articles were burned only before the advent of the missionaries and that since then they were covered with earth. The Indians told me emphatically that these things were not buried, but always destroyed in the fire. If they were buried in the earth, there is the danger that dogs would dig them out and eat them, which would make the woman forever barren.

/fine Berberis shavings/ with which the woman cleans herself is burned. Confinement is never without pain. Hahn (a):805 assures us: "The pains are generally very sharp, and the mother utters groans... exactly as among us" /translated from French/ (126).

126. Hahn (a):805 and Hyades (f):568, (q):190 describe the process of birth in detail.

We have reliable confirmation of the fact that among Fuegian women giving birth is almost without exception an easy process (127)

127. Spegazzini (a):166 maintains, along with Lovisato (b):150, that "the deliveries are easy" /translated from Italian/.

and that afterward there is no thought, so to speak, of care. "When the child comes into the world, the neighbors, if there are any, assist the mother, who almost immediately takes up her customary

/706 cont./

work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:197). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hahn (a):807 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous cross-birth, and the assistants had great difficulty keeping mother and child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the women constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she had a miscarriage (p. 493). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertie, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth in her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

/707 cont./

844 immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 495) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as
844 restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the follow-
262 ing days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ĕ'auf (Mytilus chilensis), kečŏin (Mytilus edulis), and amĭnaku (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects
776 the lakúma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are
825 many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, deška (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present
844 in sufficient quantities, the yékamuš /shaman/ must help out.
262 Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful,"
783 /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

851 Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

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851 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he still stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
842 come each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical wish than for a

128. Hyades (q):376 mentions only briefly that Fuegian parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (i):21 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (a):182, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are coveted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they
845 grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as wolakémen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

844 The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

129. Hahn (a):805 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (a):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively she

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844 rinses off the baby's entire body. With her hand flat she rubs the parts that she has covered with water and dries them immediately with a ball of čílěrˇ or with a handful of soft Sphagnum moss. She cleanses the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose with particular care. Now she lays the little one on the furred side of a particularly soft skin, usually fox or otter, on top of which has been strewn a thick layer of down. Wrapped in this, it rests until the mother, too, has washed herself.

846 Soon after her delivery she gets up from her bed and, /709/ alone or accompanied by the midwife, goes to the shore to wash in sea water. The mother steps into the water as far as possible and rubs herself thoroughly with her hands flat and with a ball of čílěrˇ or moss. The bath in sea water is regarded as necessary and good, but not a bath in a brook. That is why women do it to this day. The water is always cold, but the Indian women do not shy away from it, and for several days the young mother bathes once or several times a day. Hyades (q):192 observed "on the same day of her delivery the mother went alone to take four baths in the sea, one each hour, the first one four hours after her delivery" /translated from French/. He was also told by the same woman "that all Fuegian women do this after their confinement" /translated from French/ (130). After each bath she dries herself well with čílěrˇ and returns to the hut.

130. He describes (loc. cit.) very accurately the many details of a woman's bathing and washing. This was in winter: "The temperature of the air was then +2.7 degrees, that of the sea water +4.7 degrees; the wind was strong, north-northwest, 5 meters per second" /translated from French/.

Often when the mother goes down to the water to bathe, she is accompanied by the so-called adopted mother, who carries the newborn baby in her arms. Instead of washing the baby in the manner described above, she dips it into the sea water (131) for a moment

131. Bove (e):158 reports the following,

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846 and Dabbene (b):190 repeats it verbatim: "The newborn babies are immediately bathed in the sea; the poor creatures, of course, often pay for this superstition with their lives." Contrary to this latter assertion is the fact, according to the memory of my informants, that not a single newborn child died in this bath. It is held in the water for only a second or two. Other travelers also mention this bath, without definitely describing the real facts. Bridges (a):182, for instance, says: "Children, generally within a few days of their birth, are dipped in the cold sea, from a superstition that it makes them grow well" /cited in English/. Compare Bridges (h):208.

and quickly dries it off with ɛ́ílɛ̈rɛ́ . Hurriedly she carries it back to the hut and wraps it well in a soft skin. I was told: "The bath in sea water immediately after delivery is very good for mother and child, and that is why the Yamana have always kept it up!" It is only on an extraordinarily cold day that a woman will sometimes omit it (132). When the ablutions are over, the child is

132. Hyades (q):193 confirms that for several days the young mother takes at least one bath a day, unless the weather is unusually cold. For example, the woman mentioned above did not go into the water on the fourth day "because of the cold, the Fuegians say. It is, as a matter of fact, the coldest day of the year (-7.3°), and a thick blanket of snow covers the ground" /translated from French/.

nursed for the first time. After that the mother rests for a while; sometimes she herself undertakes to clean the hut and set it in order.

845 All traces of the delivery are destroyed in the fire. A stillborn or aborted child is regularly destroyed in a blaze outside the dwelling.

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The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

133. The following description by Bridges (i):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (a):807 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/710 cont./

to whom she had meanwhile given life without any outside help. In July, 1923, Fred Lawrence told me of another Indian woman who recently had her child as she was fetching water. She called two women to help, and they attended her there on the bank of the brook. Afterward they all went to her hut with the newborn baby (135). Finally, as we have already mentioned (p. 500), her own husband must help the woman somewhat if delivery takes place in the canoe and there is no female attendant.

135. Segagzzini (a):166 himself saw Indian women "a quarter of an hour after the event going about their work of rowing, gathering shellfish, lifting loads, as though nothing had happened" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (a):158 reports in a similar vein, and Bridges (a):183 adds: "The mother almost directly after her child's birth resumes her various duties of fishing in the canoe, gathering shell-fish, fetching water, etc." /cited in English/.

As on the day of confinement, there are similar rules of abstinence for both parents on the subsequent days. The rules we have just listed (p. 502) must be conscientiously observed until the child's umbilical cord drops off, even for a period of three months if a couple is having the first child. In fact, the parents may eat certain fish only after the child has entered its third year. They are permitted these and other things sooner, however, if the yékamuf, with the power peculiar to him, has removed the "evil" from them /711/ He must do this separately for each pair of parents. During these days mussels are practically the only food for father and mother (p. 503). Other travelers have neither observed the couvade nor understood it as such. Bridges (a):183 reports merely: "The mother and father of a newly born child are called yimbéna. They are both careful as regards their food, thinking some kinds are hurtful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child's birth" /cited in English/(136).

136. Hahn (a):906 writes: "After the confinement,

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> the mother...enters the period of 'gimbana,' which lasts five to six months and during which she submits to a special regime and does not have relations with her husband....He is also 'gimbana,' but to a lesser degree than the mother" /translated from French/. This description is accurate if we reduce the period to two months. Lovisato (b):150 refers in a general way to a food taboo for the woman on special occasions. Martial:197 correctly says, "the parents, after the birth of the infant, abstain from certain foods which could adversely influence its health" /translated from French/.

Wieghardt:42, also, and with him Martial:198 point to the duty of abstinence from certain foods, but I was unable to check the accuracy of this: "It is customary for the mother to bathe in the sea before eating certain foods" /translated from Spanish/. I only know that for a few days after confinement the young mother must bathe in the sea (p. 505). The husband avoids sexual intercourse with his wife, at least during the first six weeks after her confinement, the majority of the men even somewhat longer (137).

> 137. I read Cooper's:155 assertion to my informants, namely, that "a Yahgan mother must abstain from marital intercourse for five or six months" /cited in English/. They laughed heartily over this. Fred Lawrence also contradicted it and pointed out that in some families children are 11 or 12 months apart.

It is extraordinarily strange that among the Yamana there are rules for a true men's childbed, of which I did not discover a trace among their two neighbors. There are references to this custom in Despard (b):698 and in Bridges. The former mentions: "The

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people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /stated in English/. On August 16, 1865, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA XII, 273,1865). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupations soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child, but just to make sure, they have a shaman exorcise all evil. In the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not curtail their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Calderon was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children, after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.

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In contrast to the dutiful inactivity of the father immediately after the birth of the child is the industry that every young mother must pursue. The woman who is giving birth for the first time may permit herself some rest for a few hours, but after that she, too, must do what mothers of several children do automatically, namely, busy herself briskly and assiduously in her household. It is said: "That is good for mother and child!" For a few days she must be very reserved; she must act withdrawn and thoughtful, speak little, keep her eyes fixed to the ground when she walks, as though in mental concentration, and avoid visits to other huts. Older women anxiously watch over and care for a woman who has just had her first child so that she does not thoughtlessly offend against the ancient regulations and thus make her child unhappy. Other mothers, after a confinement late in life, are assisted in their daily work by their daughters. Even today, parents are very punctilious about observing the regulations pertaining to the first few days after confinement (138). During this time they are relieved

> 138. Hahn (p.)56 reports a few special details: "The Indians say that a distant ailment will kill the babies whose parents have not obeyed the laws of the 'gimlets.' If they are male, the children will have a mouth inflammation (or something similar)" /translated from French/.

to by the designation given above (p. 369), yandaba, according to BD:845, "the state of having a young child or offspring /713/ (used specially of women and men, but also of animals), referring to the time when the child is weak and requires constant attention" /cited in English/. The Fongbeen live in the firm conviction that all warnings and threats are vague or less realized if the parents are guilty of transgressions against the existing rules of conduct.

We have earlier (p. 369) emphasized clearly enough the difference between the actual midwife and what I call the adopted or foster mother. In August, 1910, Bailly and Mary told me in detail about this arrangement. Among the Tanoans it is the custom that a woman who is a friend of the expectant mother takes charge

(713 cont./
of the little creature as though it were her child. The friendly caller to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman sees to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, ebidoüwoyüje- the husband, known as ebidoübawa. Likewise arises into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the ebidoüwoyüje if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and attends both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. The former even has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the latter, the voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision, when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, have the scales. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

(713 cont./ 734) By giving the child an ebidoüwoyüje, they desbelieve with to make his pregnan, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has an foster mother, often ought morally when a child is orphaned, no matter when happens (138). They do not

138. Martin 138 is without doubt referring to this when he says, "Sometimes the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

/713 cont./

friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (4):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

Or the latter women adopt several children of one mother.

The relationship between the two /714/ is never dimmed throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adoptedwoman assumes the sponsorship in the Tahgan for her foster child, which will more closely links the two together.

6. Treatment of the Infant

Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves excite each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (5):288 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to security and personal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

/714 cont./

854 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

854 Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when 201 he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, ūpášu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

736 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will 854 be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

/715 cont./

736 854 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

143 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women; "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

/716 cont./

113 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

854 515 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, nufy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/716 cont./

854 515 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never forgets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

> 144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 513 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she naturally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/717 cont./

854 supports the baby's head with her cupped hand. She even has him lying in front of her like this when she paddles her canoe. Usually the baby sits with his back leaning close against her, and she lightly presses her folded hands against his stomach.

The reasons why our Indian women always carry a child on their backs are obvious. They want to have their hands and arms free for their work. They carry their infants about with them wherever they go because they do not want to be separated from them and sometimes there is no other person to care for them. Actually, it is a rare sight to meet a young or middle-aged woman without a child on her back. If she has put it down for a few minutes, it is crawling about on the ground near her. With astonishing dexterity she makes all kinds of maneuvers, bends low in gathering mussels and berries, stretches up when she breaks off dry branches, exerts herself strenuously when she pulls the canoe up on the beach, winds her way laboriously through brush, and even climbs over tree trunks lying in the tangled thicket of the forest. While all this is going on, the child sits securely on her back.

Every woman with a baby sometimes uses a wide back-cape or a piece of leather which she can put over the entire upper part of her body. With her right and left hands she grasps the little left and right hands of the child, and holding both arms parallel, she draws her right arm over her head and settles the child on her back. Either the two hold hands or the child places its little arms around the neck of the mother. Then she draws the back-cape over the child or wraps him in her own fur cloak, /718/ in which, however, he has just as little support as under the back-cape (145).

145. This is to be emphasized in contrast to Fitz-Roy (a):138, who erroneously maintains: "The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant" /cited in English/.

He hangs by his own little arms and sits straddling the back of the mother (146). Occasionally the mother uses a square piece of

146. Despard (b):698 writes clearly on this subject: "Mothers carry their children

/718 cont./

854 dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

147. Hyades (f):572 expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that chil-
[165] dren under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

854 145 Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 376), the babies of the entire

/718 cont./

854 145 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

853 147 262 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces 853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/719 cont./

853 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Fuegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the fifth day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Fuegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (a):183 asserts that "children are not weaned
853 early. It often happens that two children of different births are
862 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the youngest which has meanwhile arrived (151).

151. Despard (b):698 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):806 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):195 increases this to three years.

862 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

/719 cont./

862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, ušlĕmĕški, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ǰlakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 736 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

> 152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, álakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds.
853 The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/721 cont./

827 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-
833

154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):195 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (a):805 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translated from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

846 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):194 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kúfu, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly customary to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /722/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (155). When the child is about four years old, he must

155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

/722 cont./

846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tĕčikáśina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wíša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyataša, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

835 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
854 the sea duck, dēška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
714 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dēška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/723 cont./

854 him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European [533] mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasána.

With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the čiéxaus. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "huí, huí ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (1):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

/724 cont./

854 the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 514).

854 constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure
186 of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

8. Infanticide

847 In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

/724 cont./

847 woman bear all daughters, the youngest is /725/ sometimes killed" /cited in English/. These reports originated at a time when Bridges did not yet have sufficient insight into the social conditions of the Yamana. Although he later repeats certain details (159).

> 159. For instance, he (b):268 and (i):21 merely says: "Deformed babies are destroyed at birth, but only if the deformity is great..." /translated from Spanish/. "Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbors over the child's crying" /cited in English/.

In his last publication (k):240, 1893, he limits himself to the following: "Infanticide was very rare among the natives, although not completely unknown; in such cases the victims were almost never male children" /translated from Spanish/. On occasion Bridges (e):333 calls infanticide one of the many evils which is supposed to have disappeared since the Anglican missionaries have been active in the Cape Horn region.

847 In view of these vacillating reports, we would be justified in
634 omitting any comment, but in order to prevent any doubt, we shall add a brief correction here. Infanticide has never been a widespread habit among the Yamana. Fred Lawrence and Calderon denied any intentional killing of a child, because of the spiritual disposition of our natives. They did admit what I had discovered from other sources, namely, that a deformed baby was consciously neglected by some mothers so that it would soon die (p. 507), but these mothers never talked about it with other people. In August, 1933, I discussed with Fred the four reasons for infanticide summarized by Cooper:171 from Bridges. He gives "the following cases. Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies" /cited in English/. I shall here reply very briefly to each one of these. If in the case of "desertion on the part of the husband" a woman were to murder her child as well, she would make herself utterly

/725 cont./

847 626 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Fuegian children cry very little in any case (p. 520). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed these four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (160), with the exception of a deformed prema-

160. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fenton to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

ture birth.

847 845 626 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, unfit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1905, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

1: Gusinde--631 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 G86 Yahgan 1938

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cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped. Although Walter's wife herself did not divulge any details about the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

Through a regrettable error Martial.138 made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (Mbl.XVIII, 223,1884)

161. Hyades (Q.189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (Q.189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1882, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 40 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely seven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

/"E" cont./

163 another was the mother of ten children. Finally there was a 38-year-old woman who had seven children. Although at the time of my journeys one was obliged to regard the entire race as decimating, some of the few surviving families nevertheless had many children. Walter, whose first and only wife was still living, kept a total of eleven children alive, and Felipe, whose wife was only 36 years old at the time of my return in May, 1953, was happy to have more than seven children (162).

> 162. It is only in Chile (pp.3) that we could access the isolated environment. "The Fuegians do not have many offspring. It is very rare to have five, and generally they have no more than two" /translated from Spanish/. These are probably figures for the living children in each family, but even so they are wrong. Moreover, one should realize that parents never speak of their deceased children in front of strangers.

Mindful of the enormous difficulties involved, I believe that I must give at least six as the average number of children in a Fuegian family. Hahn (p.)405 gives five (163). Hyades (p.)33

> 163. I arrived at my figure independently of him and realized afterwards that it came close to his. He says: "The least number of children is five. I have, however, seen many old women who had as many as ten children" /translated from French/.

also ventured an estimate and was content with the number five, but he could scarcely have inquired specifically about the number of children in many families, or else, for the reasons given above, he was not told the whole truth about deceased children. Bove (p.)158 is not very reliable, although he correctly emphasizes the great fertility of Indian women (164). In Tierra del Fuego a large

> 164. Bo writes: "Moreover, the women are very fertile; seven or eight children are the

/797 rom./

163 average, but are not infrequently finds young women who already have two or twelve."

Speed of children is always a recommendation for the parents, no one would venture to make sarcastic remarks about supposed reluctance to sexual life. In general the children of a couple follow one another at brief intervals (165).

165. Obviously Montel-138 exaggerated with his remark that "children are often born after long intervals" /translated from French/. He was probably influenced by Bridges (p).202 whose assertion, "few women have more than six children, owing to the great length of time between the several births" /cited in English/, is wrong as both reasons.

165 Although the fertility of Fanglan marriages is amazing, it is counterbalanced by a frighteningly high infant mortality. The reasons are not so easy to determine as the facts themselves. Why, in view of the high birth rate, the population has remained the same as in former centuries raises the question as to the specific nature of the agreement to numbers. It is brought about by the mortality of many young /796/ people. During their first year of life children seldom die, but all the more soon after, and it is only at the age of puberty that the mortality rate again sharply decreases. Bows (p).188 is right when he says, "Mortality between the ages of two and ten is enormous." The following figures will confirm in general what I have said. Each of the two groups of eight women from around Osanga Bay just referred to (p.101) had a total of only 16 living children. This, reduced to an average per family, is too little to keep the race alive. Hence there is no doubt that, in view of the well-known fertility of Indian women, a rather large number of children from these families must have died. To demonstrate this we give a few data which Hyades (p).189 likewise gives. "A Fanglan woman 60 years old had had 14 children, only three of whom had not died prematurely. Another woman 45 years old had had nine children, eight dead at an early age" /translated from French/. By way of contrast, however, he also mentions the

/750 rem./

fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children: out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

166. The explanations offered by Bridges (d):202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy: a disease in the throat carries many off" /stated in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a surer guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian women is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167).

167. Hyades (q):188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 25 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, matlúna ghenóhowe, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

/728 cont./

842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a caxula. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

> 168. The unreliability of what Hahn (a):805 maintains is obvious: "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the precocity and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My inquiries agree with Hahn (a):805 that "spontaneous [843] abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

845 In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 390). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM:XI, 274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (a):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

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145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that 144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

> 169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

> 170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

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551 ending according to the child's sex. The ending for boys is ẽnčis or ẽnǰis or inǰis; for girls it is kípa (171) or, more rarely, wílis.

171. Hyades (q):376, with some inaccuracies, also describes this word-formation. He (g):39 correctly says: "Usually [the children] are given the name of the place where they were born." Lovisato (b):151 also gives examples of male and female proper names.

The giving of a proper name is, as Fred Lawrence expressed it to me in August, 1923 "a purely automatic process." A girl and a boy born in Uŭuwā̃ja are called uŭuwā̃jakípa and uŭuwā̃jinǰis, respectively. Bridges (h):207 also mentions an example of a man "who was named mamashtagadagangez, from Mamashtagadaga, his birthplace" /translated from Spanish/. Despard (b):698 gives another example, namely, that "the woman's toponymic, or place-name, ends in keepa or willis, e.g., Lashawiawillis [better lašawā̃jawílis], a woman of Lashawia, Camileunakeepa, woman of Camileuna" /cited in English/. It is not worthwhile to cite other word formations which will henceforth be intelligible. Naming follows this pattern up to the present day (172).

172. It is a mistake for Bridges to maintain, in Hyades (q):272, that a few words formerly used are no longer current, among them "the word Entsis or Indjis, ... like Kípa" /translated from French/.

A child born in a canoe is temporarily named ũŭípin or ũŭípisin or ũŭípisin, with the corresponding final syllable. Thus Santiago is called ũŭípisẽnǰis, meaning roughly, "man without a birthplace."

It is unavoidable that a child will receive a name that another already has. Then the personal nickname makes the necessary distinction, or else the child temporarily remains a ũŭípisẽnǰis until the time of the youth initiation. Then he gets his final name from the name of the place where he is first introduced to this ceremony. I myself may serve as an example. On my first visit I was an

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551 ūšipisēnjis according to Yamana ideas, because I was not born at a place in their home country. The first time I experienced their čiéxaus was in Šámakuŭwája near Punta Remolino, and after that I was called šamakuŭēnjis.

As we have just said, the same name should not be used for two persons, according to the general rule. If there are two ūšipisēnjis, they are distinguished from one another by nicknames, and this is certainly done at once when one of the two dies. The [184] Yamana do not like to repeat the name of a deceased person, which they would be forced to do if the survivor continued /731/ to bear the name. For this reason the above-mentioned Santiago was called ūškēšyágu, "White Forehead," and no longer ušipisēnjis. If two persons have the same name and one of them dies, the survivor afterwards is called ūsiluŭwēnjis for the time being. Fred Lawrence, for example, was called this after an Indian named Fred had died, and he told me that it means roughly, "the one from the same birthplace as another," and everyone knows that the other one is dead (173). The name ūsiluŭwákipa is used for a

173. BD:104 also gives this word as "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/.

female; naturally this name is applied to the surviving person only temporarily and a nickname soon becomes current.

The same consideration applies to the use of the word ikáškan for a son and very close relative (father, brother, sister) of a man and a woman who died by drowning. The name of that son or that relative is never repeated thereafter in order to avoid the memory of the death of a father or relative.

Finally, the Yamana also have a special designation for someone who is the last survivor in a region, namely, ūsidépa, meaning "the one whose country will be forsaken after he dies." BD:104 gives ūsitōpa, "a person whose near relatives have died, as tho he had only his country left him" /cited in English/. Old Walter is regarded as an ūsidépa, for he is the last of the eastern people.

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551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of its bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames 551 that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of 609 our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

wéngul (wéngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapála (télla, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ūškeĭlú (ūškeĭ "forehead"; lus, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ūškeĭyágu (ūškeĭ, "forehead"; yágu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitówa (BD:118 ufkitáuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakáici (yakáici, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; 522 some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

haišmuwa (haišmuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, haišmuwakipa.

páčeaškilan (páčea, "behind"; aškílan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wáxēxidénja (wáxēxi, "vulva mulieris"; [d]énja, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

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551 522 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence used very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 --- At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

174. According to Bridges (i):26, "three classes of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.

"Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lasapa, Aiaminaez, Palahlaian, Meacol, Cushchin...

"The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.

Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

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551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaɣkamērnaɣgāɣyatakwēlakirɣēnjis (i.e., hūmaɣ, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamērnaɣgāɣyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wēlakirɣ, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

954 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

/733 cont./

854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies
145 on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness during the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

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145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

856 The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
171 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mi'ŋáŋa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/735 cont./

856 171 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pʃ" just once. This movement is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 [Ps] There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the larva, ukáiamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same [Ps] time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice:

sagyéuy,	tun	háje	tége
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pás (Patella) and yekás (Chiton, mail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./

and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/736 cont./
861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, [illegible], but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

145 /737 cont./

not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tymuran. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 223;1884). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

864 In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making insinuating remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their nakedness before the eyes of others. With candid naturalness the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fuegians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/738/ This conduct changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Stratz:336 has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

/738 cont./

864 been pushed out of place, but never add any particular warning. Unobtrusively the mother draws her small daughter closer in the hut and takes her darling silently by the hand when she goes to gather mussels or wood; the boys then automatically remain apart and stay behind. Thus the children unconsciously take it for granted that boys and girls are separated, and in neither of the two groups is the wish to be together and to play together awakened unnecessarily and prematurely.

It does not long remain hidden from either of them how distinctly different they are externally, for the so-called clothing is scant enough. It is not until their seventh year that the children must expect short and definite warnings if boys conspicuously approach girls. Even forward boys seem to avoid any comments among themselves on sexual differences. Alfredo confessed to me: "Every boy at some time or other realizes that he is [built] different [sexually] from the girl. Now he watches very sharply, but does not talk about it with anyone, although he sometimes feels lustful pleasure [in his discovery]." These words indicate the awakening of knowledge about the body.

593 Since during most of the year the individual family is dependent on its own resources, the brothers and sisters have only each other and no other company. Thus it is strange that a brotherly and sisterly love in our sense of the word does not appear among the Fuegians, any more than it does among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 263). "Since the children of the same parents associate only with one another for long stretches, one would expect a particularly strong and intensified mutual love; instead he finds just the opposite. A very strong tendency toward self-reliance and independence characterizes the child from its earliest years. This one must admit. This alone, however, does not explain why a strong feeling of solidarity among the children of the same family does not seem to arise at all. They rarely play together, nor do they confer about carrying out some prank together or making mischief. Each of the brothers and sisters actually feels best when he is by himself and can entertain himself just as he pleases. One can plainly see how each one of them entertains himself animatedly and how happily he goes along by himself. /739/ Should one of his brothers or sisters approach him, it would disturb his quiet

/739 cont./

593 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[355] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another. In fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-

[213] ranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (170). In the canoe they are

> 170. Hyades (f):373 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 38).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

/739 cont./

During the periods when the children of several families are staying in the same place, the two sexes are required to remain apart. The boys are summarily told to do this, usually by their father but also by other men, and the girls by their own mother. Now and then it is emphasized, in fact, repeated under threats. Thus I heard it said: "The boys belong together, and the girls should remain among themselves."

"There is nothing for a boy where girls are playing."

"You, my boy, should look for other boys to play with; the girls are playing by themselves, too."

"You are planning something improper if you agree to meet that girl [the name is given] alone in the woods. I'll /740/ punish you severely if I catch you at it." This threat was directed at Roger, one of Calderon's sons. Calderon is not very careful in bringing up his wild rascals.

Older children are given a special warning. The father says to his son: "If you go around with girls a great deal, you will have only girls as children later on when you live in your own hut, no boys!" The mother will warn her daughter similarly: "Stay far away from boys. If you are with them too much, you will later have only boys as children when you are a mother (180)!"

180. From these admonitions we may conclude that neither boys nor girls are more preferred by parents or welcomed with greater pleasure at birth. We have already spoken of this attitude (p. 104).

Adults are very strict about this rule. It is everyone's duty, so to speak, to interfere with admonitions and threats if necessary, no matter whether his own or other children are involved. They do not tire of being extraordinarily watchful if they notice that a child has a strong tendency toward secret meetings with others. Adults are quite frank in discussing such observations and call each other's attention to them. They are intently concerned about guarding a child against moral infractions, since they know only too well what goes on secretly between two little culprits. In order to prevent such acts by a child who is

/740 cont./

864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fuegians who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fuegians are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about
857 to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different where girls are playing among themselves. It is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

/761 cont./

857 entertain themselves exclude noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in consequence and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

3. Application of Training

861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Tarumo Ire simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality to which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intervene as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often suggested that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Pygmies teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few split representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /761/ of child-rearing principles and personal efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately preserving it even up to the present time.

L. Gentile—GSS 6-6 (1958-1964) 1967 GSS Religion 108

/Tell cam./

C. The Teachers

Nature itself has given a child to parents as teachers, who also would the Torahs laws, with their entire life become up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It expresses the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet. Hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself enlightened. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family. So must therefore have the character and personal skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it to its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more loyal because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

The child-rearing ideal proves to be exceptionally exact, and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up in the words: "As is customary among us!" The examples of their ancestors, customs, and traditional songs are their criteria. If there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is vital for him to present the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will assume or have much

/tsi vom/

adult status. That is why all older people regard /tsi/ the training of youth as an obligation, and no one dies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, as well by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- ever of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults are under no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

Since Samoan kanwil has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less closely than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely enough, conscientious parents are charged by challenges, their only duty, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Samoans, there is no stronger pressure for effort or guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, wherever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Samoan would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

L. Gusinde--GSS E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 9316 Tahgan 5316

/Tab cont./

Finally, and no less eminently, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children. It admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring. It continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /Yaa/ Tahgan. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

B. Training Practices

Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

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Spegazzini (a):165 could maintain that in their language the Yamana "do not have a verb that corresponds to our 'obey,'" and further that the little ones "know nothing of obedience and the children do whatever they like" /translated from Spanish/.

"Whatever your father tells you is a guide for you; he knows what is customary among us from the people of former times."

"Take whatever the old people tell you [in the way of instruction and warning] very seriously, for they have your interests and your happiness at heart."

"Do not make a lot of noise with other children around a strange hut; there are perhaps old people inside [who deserve respect]."

"It is not at all nice to quarrel with other children; a child who does that will later on, as an adult, quarrel with his neighbors, and no one will like him."

"Do not eat what you have gathered [in the way of mussels and berries] all alone. Give some to other children, for they, too, will think of you when they have something [similar]."

These few words, which I picked up quite casually and which I could expand considerably, prove that the Yamana give brief and perfectly clear /745/ commands and that their instruction is based on easily understood reasons, hence their favorable effect.

One can easily understand the gist of their admonitions from the short sentences we have listed and from many other statements. There are certain virtues that are cultivated and recommended with great zeal by the Yamana. Foremost among them is veneration for the good things of old, namely, traditions, tribal customs, and the prevailing practices, but also for the representatives of all this, the honored elders. Submissiveness and prompt obedience by the children follow as a matter of course. The helpfulness and unselfishness of an individual toward all tribal members are no less cherished. Everyone must share his booty generously and must share his tools with a person who is suddenly in difficulties. Contentment and a quiet nature are very much

/745 cont./

867 recommended, as are busy activity and untiring industry, so that everyone to the best of his capacity can serve the members of his own family. A person who gets along well with everyone is very popular.

These and other virtues are, of course, not recommended to the smaller children as explicitly as they are to the older ones and, even more, to the candidates of the youth initiation. Everyone is made familiar with them insofar as he can grasp them. I shall, therefore, not give in detail the entire content of Yamana wisdom in guidance until I describe the youth initiation (182).

> 182. I am unable to understand how Bridges could make the following basically false assertion: "Of course the education and discipline of children are nearly wholly neglected, children are allowed to grow up wild, following their own whims and desires; thus they become of necessity disobedient, rude, wilful, lazy and proud" /cited in English (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the course of all training, they deliberately take into consideration the personal aptitude and the momentary requirements of the child. Sensitive natures are treated with extraordinary kindness and patience; stubborn rascals are tamed with pitiless severity. They try to win over girls with gentle persuasion; threats are more speedily effective with boys. Several adults work together with tenacious firmness if they wish to eradicate a serious fault in a boy. Calderon's oldest son was a troublesome scamp, but when he ran after girls of his own age, despite many warnings, a few adults were so irritated that they dogged his footsteps. Walter's son and, even more, his slightly younger daughter were so spoiled by their mother that several women spoke of it in disgust. "That girl will never grow up to be a useful wife," Mary once told me, quite indignantly, "for her mother is constantly holding her in her arms, so to speak!"

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867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and
861 colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/746 cont./

direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable tidbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /747/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

> 183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1875, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 214;1875).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

The adults now and then weave references to Hiditaia into their teachings. I was definitely assured of this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

/747 cont./

861 The success of this training is assured in large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the Kina'ipa celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual naughtiness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gusinde [5]:169), which I cannot list separately here.

864 As I have explained earlier (p. 391), it is not customary among the Yamana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /748/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naively: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms; I have fetched it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]; X-kipa [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and tell them:

/748 cont./

"X-kipa found me over there when I was very little and brought me to the hut. Now this woman heard another little child crying over there in the woods [or behind those rocks, etc.] and brought it here; it is very small and will now stay with us." The children are content with such explanations.

In later years their observations and impressions accumulate. When they reach puberty they know about the origin of little children, and neither girls nor boys need enlightenment. Adults strictly avoid obscene talk and insinuating jokes in the presence of children, but the latter among themselves, discuss their observations of the sex life of others and draw their own conclusions. Several older persons assured me of this.

When a girl experiences her first menstruation she is generally and quite rightly assumed to be adequately informed about sex life. They now wish to protect her from illegitimate pregnancy. With puberty and even a few months before that, a period of special dangers begins for the girl, about which she is warned from all sides. Young boys are watched no less closely. Young people could easily succumb to the sexual urge; hence they are thoroughly alerted and alarmed by serious threats. The girls are often reminded: "If you associate with boys a lot, you will later give birth only to boys!" This suggestion is more effective than ethical explanations.

Parents and adults have allowed their children to associate only with their kind from the time they were small. They say quite frankly: "If we do not accustom our children early to the idea that boys associate only with boys and girls only with girls, we shall not be able to keep the two sexes apart later on. Then they will not obey their parents in spite of warnings and will engage in all kinds of secrecy!" If relatives and neighbors notice that a girl /749/ constantly meets a chap in hiding, they call her mother's attention to it. The latter will say to her daughter in a firm tone: "Do you have much to do with that boy?" Frightened, she will answer evasively: "No, I don't!" But the mother, quite rightly, does not trust this report and continues, as though she were serious: "No matter, but marry this boy soon and go off with him!" The mother's determined way of speaking is all the more effective since it comes as a surprise. The girl suddenly realizes that she is in a serious predicament, and in

/749 cont./

64 order to get out of it she is not content to be more careful in her meetings with a forward chap, but will stop seeing him altogether.

Sometimes, in order to keep a girl from illicit sexual relations, she is informed somewhat earlier about the things that are usually told her in the days of her menarche: "Men are murderers! If one of them lasciviously lies upon a girl, he kills her (184).

184. These words are meant to be a serious warning to intimidate girls. Every woman knows well enough that an unsuspecting creature who has yielded to her seducer will never be murdered by him.

So don't let any boy lie on top of you, not even if he is very insistent and says: 'It will be very nice!' Don't let a boy playfully put his hand on your body. Do not give yourself to him without resistance, even if you like very much to be touched by him'" The girl is earnestly given to understand that she must never consent to intercourse because an illegitimate pregnancy would cause many people disgrace.

Nelly and Calderon repeatedly assured me that they were not familiar with a single instance of this kind. If a girl had really slept with a boy, she would not have kept this from her mother for very long, since she is sufficiently aware of the consequences. They also told me that almost always a young wife will discuss her wedding night with her mother soon after the marriage.

Responsible men confidentially warn the boys: "Beware of a woman who invites you to follow her secretly to some hiding place. She will show you what she [her body] is like. There are lascivious women who would like to explain all kinds of things about their bodies to a boy, and in doing so they gratify their desires. Such women will cut off your penis, and that is terribly painful (185). Then you will not get a girl to become

185. These words, too, like the above warning to girls, are meant only to frighten the naïve and gullible.

/749 cont./

your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

/750 cont./

are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (Hdt: IX, 214,1875).

The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering mussels and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age she can in part replace her mother.

/751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridges (1):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (2):30 and (3):587 mentions

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/751 cont./

that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

V. Results of the Training

Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Tamano have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favourable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favourably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat cleverly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the Tabora, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents are as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fonglaze in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among these much despised Fonglaze one would scarcely suspect so much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/786/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail, not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-villagers. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has brought several women into disgrace (p. 363 /untranslated/). To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer credited and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the circumspection and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/752 cont./

tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Foogians without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the [illegible]. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Tamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

/753 cont./

a. Regulations for Girls

Among Yamana children there is a decided physical development around the fourteenth year, leading to a greater fullness among girls than among boys (p. 396) (188). For the

188. Hahn (a):604 also observed this. "The development of the young girl is most remarkable at the moment of puberty. It is so rapid that it is difficult to determine the age of a girl between ten and fourteen" /translated from French/.

majority of girls the menarche begins shortly before; girls experience it between the beginning of their 13th year and the 15th. Hyades (q):187, not deviating very much from these figures, says: "For all Fuegian women the menses begin between the 14th and the 15th year" /translated from French/ (189). In February,

189. Hyades (f):172 repeats this in essence: "Menstruation begins between 14 and 15 years of age. These figures coincide with the information given me by the Reverend T. Bridges" /translated from French/. Another, inaccurate assertion on the subject by this missionary was rejected by Hyades (f): 717, 720.

1930, Lola was exactly 13 years and four months old when menstruation began for her; the venerable John Lawrence knew her birthday. This occurred on my second journey, and I had an opportunity at that time to learn how a girl must adjust to the event. /754/ We must add that Lola bore her first child at the age of 15 years and seven months. It is usually impossible to determine the exact age for each girl, because no Fuegian pays any attention to the exact age of anyone (190).

190. Bridges (d):289 expresses himself vaguely: "As regards the time of puberty,

/TS4 cont./

185 it is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 13 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (a):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

187 The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother. "She is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called [illegible], according to RD:855, and [illegible], [illegible] is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Rahn (f):171 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these [illegible]. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The males do scarce and also shun in doing this, the latter. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and is sent to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the personal hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably decreased and early rising absolutely demanded. The [illegible] is anxiously and solicitously watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

/754 cont./

wood, gather insects, grub beetles, etc. In all this the girl is willing and eager and behaves very submissively and quietly. Her whole expression shows gravity and inner concentration. The girl also closely observes taste when she performs work at one of the neighboring huts. She keeps her eyes cast down and moves as though she were afraid and intimidated. She may not look at the moon or men, nor at the sun and rainbow, much less adopt a comfortable or negligent attitude.

/755/ Once I was residing with Sally when Adelheid passed by. She was completely preoccupied, her head bowed, she was looking at the ground with half-closed eyes and moving forward almost furtively. Sally carefully pointed to her attitude and said softly: "This is the way every [illegible] behaves!" She is supposed to preserve the above mentioned attitude and a quiet withdrawal until her first child appears, at any rate it is expected of her just before her first confinement. After she has given life to her first-born, she may be somewhat freer in her ways and talk happily and animatedly.

As may be expected of our Tswana, they require the girl to fast strictly upon this occasion. Originally she was given nothing to eat or drink during the first three days, not until the fourth day was she given a total of three mealies and a little water at intervals. Since most girls, however, begin to feel weak before the end of this time, they are immediately given a few mealies or something else to eat, but always only good things and hence given, since ordinary things would be physically harmful to them. With the sixth day the food and drink restrictions are in part removed. Before the end of this period, on the eighth or ninth day, the girl must bathe and wash in the water. Then she is given a piece of guinea meat, if there is any in the camp. If she had not taken her bath before eating the piece of meat, the dog that tracked down the guinea would forever lose its scent and would henceforth not be able to find other guineas. The [illegible] is forbidden to kill any animal. If there is an opportunity to do it, namely, as the nine young birds take flight, she gives the animals she has caught to a man who kills them

/756 cont./
for her (140).

> 140. In Gallo (a)/694 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless the [illegible] considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from various foods" /Translated from French/.

In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "There a [illegible] sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few beans. Soon a strong [illegible] /water spirit/ came along, seized this [illegible], lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the [illegible] as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Dolly and Mary that the [illegible] is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtue willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 413). By the time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from, Mary thoroughly [illegible] has neither childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 385). Every [illegible] has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here, as have just spoken of the above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Dolly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

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[187] [187] "If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few mouth, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not lie and scold, grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman constantly to drink and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others breeds discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband, defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not torture him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (188)! Soon he will be convinced

> 188. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

1: Gwatsde--672 6-6 (1910-1964) 1971 OSU Telugu Coll

/736 cont./

"Gossiping at the house of other people and chattering a lot in the late evening /737/ agitation and even scant quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the effect [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were a virgin!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of fibre /herbaceous dressing/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

During these days the virgin is also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 78). For this purpose lac /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 78. Facial Painting during the Initiation.

The conclusion of all the observances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called *thaddige vatu* (118), "the big meal of the girl who has reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many crawfish and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of one lizard and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay crowd they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the *thaddige* must serve each of them again and again at mealtime

118. BD-433 also gives "vatu: to distribute a lot of rewards to all people around" /tr.and in English/.

/TEI com./

811 them to eat. Then all the participants dispose and tell every-
196 one. "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, cassava, and other things!" They are referring to the *dhrringa* tree, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the blossom

841 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly blooming, *dhrringa*, is inserted here. The *dhrringa* has already been told that "his occurrence will be repeated with each bloom." It scarcely causes a woman /TEI/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blows up the blood with a small branch of *Vitex* and bears it inconspicuously in the hut fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself. "Sw only those are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not as strictly demanded of her as of a *dhrringa*, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual does or has conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (196).

> 196. Hahn's (p.894 opinion is not very accurate. "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices, and do not present sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p.369) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Tetsuna tell it.

/TSS cont./

On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a sip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Pasta Annotine, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he answered me: "It is all because she is now thin!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he answered me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gradually he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat sinister remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first communion was introduced by the elder Tyéloy.

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this blessing Tyéloy has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up each time bleeding begins to free herself each time from Tyéloy. /TSS/ How consistently the Tamara regard the relationship of every woman to Tyéloy as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say her elder sister, Tyéloy tamagiya, is the sister-in-law of all women.

The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her examples. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the Tyéloyo that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Tyéloy. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who oversees her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the Tyéloyo, we candidates had to

/759 cont./

get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain men, and mentioned their names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The older Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become ripe; he causes the bleeding after every moon[-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, while. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the connection of the moon in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed, this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

/760 cont./

859 What we emphasized in the beginning cannot be stressed too clearly, namely, that every child has a strong impulse to play as soon as he is with contemporaries. The individual family is sometimes thrown on its own resources for days, and the monotony of the canoe trips during which the children must squat almost motionless by the fire offers no stimulation worth mentioning. In the end even a group of lively brothers and sisters fall into a bored, depressed mood if they are together every day. When strange children meet, however, they get together in no time and in their play develop a liveliness of which one would not have thought them capable. It is as though they had to be brought together from a distance to awaken their strong play instinct which had fairly been lulled to sleep by an unchanging environment. Even children who have never seen each other or who have been separated for years meet with a complete lack of self-consciousness and get along together so well that they hate to part when their parents are obliged to travel on in different directions.

α. Boys' Play

Only those European visitors who feel warmly toward merry children and who themselves enjoy their play are in a position to win the confidence of the little Fuegians. A person observing them closely will realize that they are bright creatures, although they are not nearly as lively as the Selk'nam boys (Vol. I, 398). We cannot overlook the fact that they must spend hours in the canoe; no wonder they are relieved as soon as they climb out on land. Then they romp about happily and feel free of all restrictions; they run and jump with exuberance, as though they wanted to expend quickly their accumulated surplus vitality. They know that their freedom of movement will end abruptly, perhaps even the next morning, so they thoroughly exhaust themselves walking and running, climbing and tumbling about. Nothing stops them. They must sometimes lend a hand to beach the canoe and to erect the hut, but often not even that. Thus they are left entirely to themselves, and the parents hardly glance at them when they rove about on the edge of the forest, on the beach, or between the rocks.

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 868 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

54 men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them well,
168 the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One
857 most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be
869 a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root [illegible]nuwëlux, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hăuš. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

> 195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with mares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/763 cont./

regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

There is a kind of very modern fireworks, ʻēlakina (ʻēl, simple, plain," kina, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tʻēlkipa /763/ tāns, for the conclusion of the initiation, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this ʻēlakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII, 10;1860).

Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/763 cont./

857 made of bark, *sipilo kilis*, as they are used at the *dina* festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 159 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 859 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

/784 cont./

little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and smooth skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, cleaning skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

> 198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 398). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yĕkaxĕ́ola. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does; sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yĕkaxĕ́ola too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and 873 care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sínuluwataginé́jwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yĕkaxĕ́ola, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwágu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 231 and the brown robber gull, wilaqila (Megaleatris skua chilensis); cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent meal. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 848 581 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Bobalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

7. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 231 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

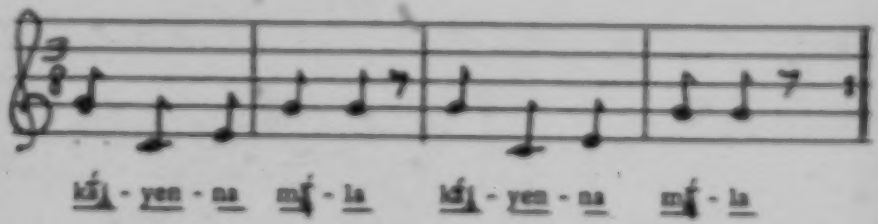
/766 cont./

and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the cruelest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 388), Yamana children of both sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (190).

190. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kajyemamúla to the following rhythm: /767/



/787 cont./

857 The child who pushes the swing given it enough force and spunks
S24 quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Tamasa constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tilaylmalo: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as tolaylmalo in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others may move or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

857 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January
S24 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tilaylmalo. Even
S20 the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 Tumutella: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and
S24 adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

[767 cont./

down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dola, dola, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Comments: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even comes puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ínan, the canoe; lúra from lur-telli, "to wobble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:280). They all sing in time to the movements of their bodies.

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[32] After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandélla: This game is almost like ɛ́gnalóra. Here, too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in ɛ́gnalóra and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandélla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

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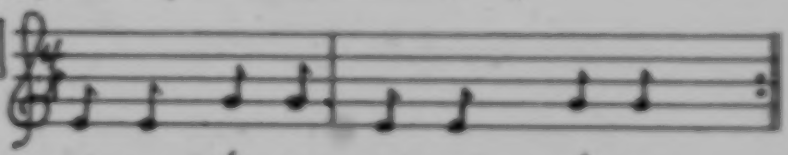

/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wájyana, the bow, and délla, délla, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hájyɛkalá: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

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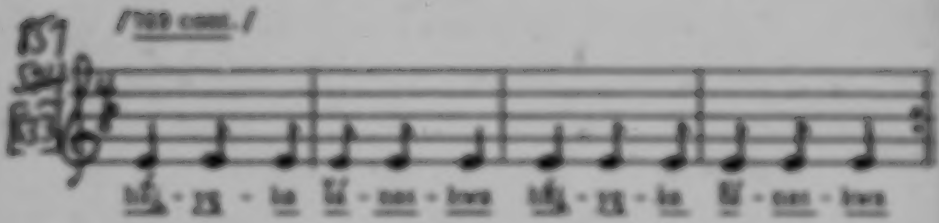
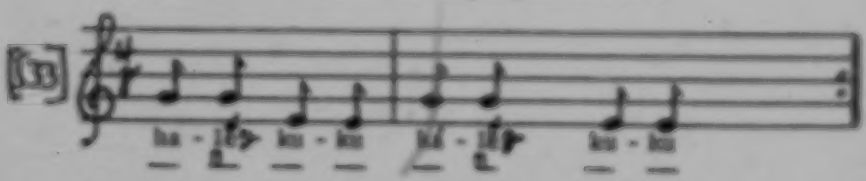


The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the Tahgar festival because it is quiet.

Ha'pecku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word



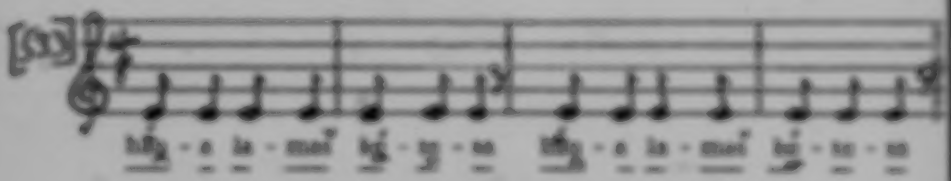
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

526 857 Kakiyana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/??1 cont./

return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the contest were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

[illegible]: This is a ring game played by girls and women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed. It finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation becomes faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they unisonously and with increasing speed repeat:



The word [illegible] (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:??1 we find: " 'hwalimdimbira,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukunutswana (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukunutswana,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/??? sam./

[57] dances. both have the same number of syllables.

[54] Ring: This game shows many similarities to [illegible]. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /???/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and unobtrusively low rhythm:

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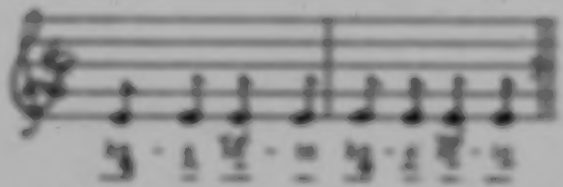
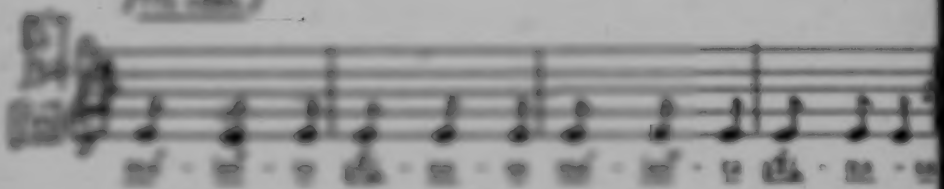


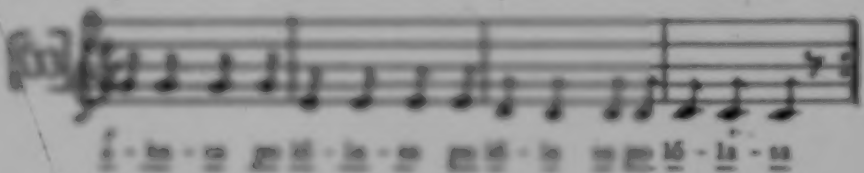
This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:388 gives " 'Ingilata,' a certain kind of game whom those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Hide-and-seek: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:



While they sing the first half of the word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left, at the same time they also change the step.

Akanagoiikwa. This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in sullatapinaa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/???/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kilishe, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/772 cont./

lack this thoroughly wholesome, unspoiled characteristic. Since they stay within the limits of fun, the adults do not stop them. Thus, in winter, they throw a snowball at a passing girl from some hiding place and enjoy the greatest satisfaction over not being discovered. On another occasion they will hurl spume from the sling to the ground or into the water beside an unsuspecting girl, only to frighten her. If several girls are sitting together, some boys will stealthily strip off a handful of small Cystoseira hariotii fungi and from their hiding place toss them against the heads of the girls until the latter leave the vicinity of their tormentors.

Another time bolder rascals will provide themselves with a quantity of the short, thumb-length thallus buds of pépai, a small brown alga (Adenocystis utricularis). These plants are found in masses on the shores and are filled with water (Fig. 80). They can be easily removed from the thallus by pressure with the thumb nail; at this point the plant structure is less resistant. As though each thallus bud were an elongated bubble, it is grasped between thumb and forefinger and pressed gently, whereupon the water filling it shoots out in a fine, far-reaching spray, as though from a small squirt. This is the way the fellows tease the girls whose affection they would like to win, while they squirt particularly heavily the girls they want to annoy. Of course the boys also squirt each other with the pépai.

Fig. 80. Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis. Two-thirds natural size.

/773/ With these and similar harmless pranks the two sexes become sufficiently well acquainted; it would be a disadvantage for their spiritual development if they were always kept absolutely isolated from one another. Whenever the children of different families chance to meet, they immediately begin their social

1: Gusinde--596 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 Ono Y'elgan 0058

857 games spontaneously and need not be told to do so by the adults. If the latter take part in them, they have a stimulating effect on the young people.

5. Mutual Relationship of Parents and Children

583 Anyone who only superficially observes the Yamana will probably be aware of the loving affection and solicitous care that every pair of parents bestows on their infant, whereas mature children seem to be a little aloof from their parents. This is an illusion. There is something in it, however, since young people show great respect for all adults, especially their own parents. We can probably say that the little Fuegians are born with this charming virtue, and if it should be deficient or lacking, it is taught and fostered by the child's teachers. The latter, as we know (p. 514), keep their expressions of love within narrow limits and in everyday life never smother a grown child with affection. Not that the Yamana have no feeling for him -- they ouede themselves in loving service for a sick child -- but because they are much too reasonable and sensible to expend themselves in too many externals, for this would gradually make the child indifferent. A love that is genuine and willing to make sacrifices does live in the hearts of the parents, however, and expresses itself in their efforts for the child's spiritual and physical welfare. This is for them a matter of duty, to which they devote themselves in all seriousness. The child knows this and experiences it often. Hence he cannot be otherwise than respectful toward his parents who are far superior to him in maturity of judgment, general experience, and knowledge of tribal customs.

Due to this conviction and his inner restraint, the child is submissive and docile; he gives unqualified obedience and shows that he is very willing. Those children know nothing about grumbling at orders and pulling a long face at disagreeable errands. Defiant stubbornness and loud contradictions are unheard-of in Tierra del Fuego. Every child knows that he must submit to the orders of adults, and children do this even after they are married (203).

203. Hyades (p):332 said several times that

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"as a general rule, adults always respect their parents, the father a little more than the mother" /translated from French/.

The respectful attitude of Fuegian children toward their parents does not in the least affect the loving fellowship of parents and children together. They are naturally dependent on one another, and the more they are in harmony, the more surely will the /774/ family, as a self-contained social entity, fulfill its duty toward the tribe and the more easily it will attain its goal as an economic unit. The children complement their parents spiritually, and vice versa. They cling to each other and instinctively as well as consciously avoid anything that might separate them. They live for each other's happiness.

[52] Although embracing and kissing are not customary among them, they show their affection toward one another with friendly looks and heartfelt words, by caressing and leaning against one another, with affectionate play and all kinds of attentions. Parents are concerned day and night about their little ones; they provide food and shelter, maintenance and security; indeed, they risk their own lives and defy all kinds of danger to promote the health and welfare of their child (204). How dear and precious a child is

204. Like Lovisato (b):145 (see footnote 208), Bove (e):158 and (g):234 also makes the absurd assertion: "Mother love lasts about as long as the child nurses at the breast; by the age of seven or eight the parents' influence soon ceases altogether, for as soon as the son is able to get along without his parents, he leaves them. The only feeling that governs them is self-love." Hyades (p):331 describes the true situation, although much too tersely: "In general the parents care for their children until the day the latter marry" /translated from French/.

to its parents is unequivocally expressed when the child is severely ill or lost through death.

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593 861 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe.",

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sápa, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

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867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [833] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

593 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and
152 they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents; but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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591 152 practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

593 152 574 Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p.428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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861 The characteristic quality of the relationship between parents and children in Tierra del Fuego is sincere love and warm affection. The children display respect and confidence. In their training procedures nothing diverts the parents from what they regard as duty and necessity. I often and carefully observed them in this respect. I was most struck by how well they are able to control themselves and how much patience they have with their children, along with all the firmness. Fuegian teachers have an almost inexhaustible forbearance, and they never tire of pointing out mistakes to their small offspring or often repeating urgent advice. Santiago, who was inclined to be somewhat irascible, quietly and emphatically talked to a regular rascal for about ten minutes and dismissed him with the words: "I have often warned you, and I shall not stop doing so until you stop being naughty!" Then he added confidentially to me: "Children will be children; it takes a long time to get anywhere with them by talking, but one succeeds if he does not give up and is always well-meaning." Adults instantly react to obvious faults and occasional infractions; they even give whippings, but this seldom happens.

593 Parents and children, naturally bound together most closely and almost exclusively dependent on one another because of the nature of their economy, are held together by the bonds of sincere love and warm affection. Their happiness in life is in being together and caring for one another. Outside, the storm may be howling and shaking the frail hut, living conditions may be as poor as can be, and for long weeks there may be no other companions, but if the parents and children are all together, they are happy. In the bosom of his own family everyone feels protected and safe; the family guarantees the well-being of the individual. If one sees parents and children together, he can see shining from their /777/ eyes the trust that flourishes in the soil of a family arrangement destined by nature. Parental happiness and childhood paradise in the Indian family thrown back on its own resources: these are the brightest spots in the threatening climatic turbulence and the frosty unfriendliness of Tierra del Fuego.

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

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602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

> 209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

> 210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

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619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

> 211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

> 212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

> 213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

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The interpretation which he adds is very mistaken: "And the man lives without pleasure, but also without great sorrow, among his wives and his children" /translated from Spanish/.

These families associate with each other more or less closely according to the closeness of their kinship ties. Consanguinity is the basis of kin-group unity, even though it spreads out in far-flung ramifications. Persons with the same blood form neither a strictly defined group nor a definite social stratum in a unique position with their own rights.

602 Among the closest relatives, however, certain obligations accrue out of their solidarity. These obligations are also part of the larger sphere of general social obligations, but they are more strongly emphasized for kinsmen. Conversely, the latter may count on special mutual aid as a sort of compensation. Kinsmen in the stricter sense of the word do not as such dispose of any kind of common property shared equally by all, nor are they guided by any unusual special regulations.

1. The Individual Family

594 In this context, as in other parts of the present book, the designation "individual family" always means only the small group made up of parents and children. Thus understood, the individual family is the kin group in the strictest sense of the word. Earlier travelers either failed to call attention to the family's natural and lawfully upheld position among the Yamana people as a whole or they only mentioned it. The navigators of earlier times recognized the occupants of one and the same canoe as a tightly knit group, but they were often mistaken in their judgment about individual persons, regarding as a man's wives two /780/ or more women who usually only by chance were in the same canoe with him. Subsequently it was chiefly the missionaries who opened their eyes to the actual independence and economic position of the individual family. Nevertheless, most travelers of the last few

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centuries did not grasp the significance of all this for a basic interpretation of Fuegian social organization, and only a few, for example, Lothrop (b):160, recognized the uniqueness of the individual family as it actually exists.

The individual family is the sole source of the vitality and the economic accomplishment of the entire people. This characterization expresses the fact that its significance could not be greater. The family's primary and basic obligation, which nature herself has imposed upon it, is fulfilled through all that the family is to the child and offers to him. This is by no means all; beyond that it also works specifically for society as a whole. For our natives, "the family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/, as Spegazzini (a):165 expresses himself. It constitutes a living and working community of all its tightly knit members; the individual does not live for himself, but for his family.

This legal standing is evident in the fact that everything that serves the family and keeps it alive is available as the common possession of all members of the family. The hut and the canoe, in which everyone has his place, belong to all of them together. The one hut and the one canoe, with the single hearth fire, are symbolic of the lawful unity of all those who form this small group. It is isolated and depends upon itself alone. Its own law governs it, and no outsider may presume to tamper with this law. Stirling clearly understood its independence and self-government: "Each family -- each canoe, it might be almost said -- represents an independent authority, and carries in it, not the rudiments merely, and not the symbols, but the most complete form of government known among the fisher Indians of Tierra del Fuego" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1870).

Other persons, whether they are related closely or more distantly, do not belong to this compact unit representing the individual family. In every hut only the parents and their own children have their rightful places; all other persons are regarded as occasional guests. The latter have no right to make any kind of demand on their hosts; they are remarkably modest in their requests for help and support, even when they are in urgent need. When a grown child marries, he voluntarily relinquishes his direct connection with his hitherto close family unit and forms a new one which thereafter likewise exists in complete independence. An

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591 orphan, on the other hand, remains joined to the surviving parent until it establishes its own household through marriage, but until then, besides his own parent, the new stepfather or stepmother must take charge of him /781/ as though he were his own child. All this shows the individual family to be a small state by itself, whose boundaries literally coincide with the narrow plot of the family hut, ēkērˇ (214).

214. Bridges refers to this with a somewhat unfortunate way of expressing himself: "The term 'Ucurr', which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). Hyades ( ):718 repeats this sentence.

593 The proximity of the members of an individual family unavoidably forces upon them a consciousness of their mutual obligations. Nature herself imposes them on parents, and the attitude of the children toward those who gave them life is thus also imposed. Hence they must be ready to help obediently and submissively, if they are old enough, and to contribute to the stability and growth of the family as a whole. All members derive their particular benefits from the family community, but the latter can exist and live up to what everyone expects of it only if the individual serves it according to his ability and the prevailing division of labor. On such soil a strong, loyal family feeling flourishes. Each of the two parents lives and works for the family; their own wishes, which they might sometimes like to express, recede far behind its demands; their personalities unfold in the service of the other members of the family.

Hyades (f):586 observed this pronounced family feeling: "The feeling for the family is highly developed among these savages; it has been rightly said that it was the strongest tie that kept them united" /translated from French/. Elsewhere Hyades (g):35 emphasizes that despite separation "a certain connection always remains and the offspring of a family always feel that they belong together in case of danger and strife." Finally, Bridges

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573 (a):204, from another point of view, also elucidates that relationship: "Family influence is the one great tie which binds these natives together, and the one great preventive of violence" /cited in English/.

The son or daughter or the older brother or older sister who marries may not renounce his duties toward his own parents and his still small brothers and sisters. It is true that he severs his close connection with the parental hut, but not his intimate relationship with the persons it shelters. For the rest of their lives the children remain in touch with their parents and their brothers and sisters (215). For each one his own family, as well as every

215. Spegazzini (a):166 emphasizes "family affection," but this love, far from "not manifesting itself much in familial relationships, in which a barbaric egoism seems to prevail" /translated from Spanish/, enfolds its most beautiful blossoms on this very soil. In the face of all this, Bove (g):234 makes the monstrous assertion that "there are no family ties" /translated from Italian/.

member of it, is incomparably dear and esteemed; everyone gives the family the highest praise and remembers the truly good things it stands for with utmost appreciation. Anyone speaking of the accomplishments /782/ or personal advantages of the members of his family praises them in terms which can hardly be surpassed. Universally binding regulations prevent the dangers of one-sided exaggeration, rude selfishness, or voluntary withdrawal from the group. The individual family per se is and remains firmly fixed (216); other individual families and its considerable

216. Hyades Op):333 confirms this with the following words: "The family is well established, but the tribe does not exist, properly speaking" /translated from French/.

independence even of the society as a whole (217).

217. Now and then an observer realized,

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593 along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

612 In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

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412 common ancestors, no matter whether this is through the paternal or maternal line (218). Through marriage, /783/ adoption, and

218. Bridges (i):21 also points to the equality of both lines: "Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear to them, as their father's and they were equally bound to befriend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs" /cited in English/. Elsewhere (k):236 he emphasizes that "relatives on the maternal side were regarded as highly as those on the paternal side" /translated from Spanish/.

so forth, a close connection is established between the persons concerned, but not kinship. The prohibition against a conjugal union of persons in whose veins flows blood of the same ancestry is quite universal.

582 612 What Bridges (k):205 has maintained on this subject stands without qualification: "They [the Yamana] never marry anyone related by blood, however distant it may be" /translated from Spanish/. They show a definite aversion toward the conjugal union of persons who may be regarded in any way as relatives by blood (p. 421). A brother-in-law and sister-in-law are not regarded as blood relatives; hence the precept for levirate marriage does not encounter any difficulty from this quarter (p. 412). On the same grounds it is permissible for a man to marry two sisters and take both into his hut simultaneously (p. 418). It is not permissible, however, to marry a widow and her daughter at the same time, because if the man marries the former, he must fulfill the proper paternal obligations toward the latter (p. 423).

It would obviously lead to misunderstanding to speak of a spatial limitation of consanguinity. Actually, most families who belong together stay within the same area, and a goodly number of the persons forming a local group are related to one another. For that very reason, the young man or the girl chooses a marriage partner in the neighboring region, so that with marriage many a person leaves his circle of relatives and joins another local group.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

604 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible, for beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

> 219. Bove (c):138 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

> 220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

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612 571 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more 612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi- 571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo- 554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

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"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/.

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):333 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

[182]

Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

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601 number of people." From Vierkandt, Das genossenschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker /The Cooperative Communal Life of Primitive Peoples/, Stuttgart, 1922.

601 127 The following list of Yamana kinship terms comes from the pen of the university lecturer Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who at my request furnished it specially for this book. He writes:

Just as the language of the Yamana is extremely rich in forms, so also are there many designations for kinship. Reverend Bridges seems also to have felt this very strongly, for in his works we find several summaries of these designations.

The following list is first of all an excerpt from the Yamana-English Dictionary of Reverend Thomas Bridges (226). This

226. In the present book we refer to this work as BD.

furnishes the basis. As a supplement and a check, however, we have also used other accounts by Reverend Bridges, such as the one in his grammar published in London, as well as the manuscript of the above-mentioned dictionary, which was never published. From this manuscript edition, however, we obtained only clues since we had only the galleys which were not proof read and the handwritten copy was not available. Furthermore, the Gospel according to St. Luke was also used, namely, in the form of a vocabulary made from it by Platzmann (228). The grammar /786/ of

228. This refers to Platzmann (a). See the list of sources at the end of this book.

Lucien Adam has been used only sparingly, since it does not contain anything original; the same is true of the reports by Buggiani and Bove. We have, however, made abundant use of the lists of vocalizations made by the Mission Scientifique. In spite of all this, the summary is not entirely clear on all points, the manner is much too complicated for this.

I should like to permit myself two brief remarks. I go further than others in giving the scope of the designations, since this is

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61 127 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

60 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

60 192 The Indians call themselves yámana.

yamana-ŏwa, man	yamana-ŏ-tĭipa, woman
yamalĭm, people in the plural	yamanalamalim, human beings
ŏ-alamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)	kip-alamalim, women (23, 49. 10; 24, 22)

[09] Strangers are clearly separated: aglyatŏa, one, mŏomŏa, the first being meant as European, the last as native stranger.

ŏa, human being, man, also ulu (23, 2. 4. 14. 18); ŏa in Luke (1, 21) used as "not" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ŏa, ulu, human being, man	tĭipa, woman, wife, also tĭipăit pa, the same in the eastern part of Magle Channel

For the latter word tĭipa-ălla, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gĭlĭngŏa (12, 42), "sovereign, aristocracy," tesŭlĭngala (21, 12), in the singular tesŭlĭna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tesŭmŏla, "the highest" (18, 10), whereas thŏlŏ mŏkŏthe mouth "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 38).

mŏgala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).

ma-gĭlĭg-ŏa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38. 12, 36).

ushŏkyŏghŭin, male servants (7, 3).	ushŏghŏipiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 46).

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There are several words to express the relationship of friends, which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

ilgaldil, friend (14, 10. 12. 11, 6)	dilinaka, female friend (pregnancy 1, 30)
hunilgala, friends (15, 6)	hunilhindelan, female friends (15, 9)
	ilgalilgalelemalim, bad women (pregnancy 15, 30).

/787/ The word "relative" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. milidil, "connected together like relatives," in the dual milidilgal, in the plural milidilgalelim, magilu, "blood relatives," dual magilugal. dimmakilu, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousins." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

bil (sg. bilu, grandfather	gililena, grandmother
hen bilal, hen bilalgal, 1. du.	hena gililenan, 1. du.
ha bilalu, 2. du.	ha gililalan, 2. du.
ni bilan, 3. du.	hina gililenan, 2. du.
ni bilan, 3. du.	ni'in gililenan, 3. du.
ni bilalu, 3. du.	hinginia gililenan, 3. du.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used for the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows. "great uncle" is called gilisiklu, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

60/103 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example, hi-heiemaklinen, "the land of my grandmother," more accurately with hi which means "land"; thus, hi-heiemilinen-hi, and hi-heiemilu-la, male, hi-heiemilun-a-lipa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." hi-heiemilun-lipal means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hemmaimalim, my countryman	hemma-lipaimalim, du., f., sing.
hemgala, du. m.	hemma-lipa, du. f.

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601 Contemptuously one speaks of hannūwa, "my countrymen." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: winni-ŭalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": dāsinakaiamalim and tūkūtūrū. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, tūkū(n), tūkun (8, 3; 18, 29), or ākin'ha, "my husband, my wife." kī-tūku-n, "his wife, her husband." kōtū-pai tuku kōnjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: paua-tuku-āki, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called uidāg(āki), called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. dārā-kĭp-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more
192 exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matūkūpai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matūkwĭamalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, tūmūšānuĭyāgū, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. gōr-tūkū, to marry a woman when one has no right to her. gāligū, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). gāligūmūtū, to cause to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wōhyākin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Yamalūwāna (sēapōna, sēipōna) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. tūtux-gāmata, to give someone in marriage in

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601 192 place of someone else. tuxkōna, to marry on the boat. tuxlōssa, to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana, to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tstuxyellāki, a woman who was abandoned or sent away by a former husband. twīamalūwana, twīamalūwazgāligū, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. tūmūušārišin tūkūpei, to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). tstūkūōkandaulum, of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 36). kōtūsōššudē kīpa, they courted (17, 27). kōtūmūgāligūsindē kīpa, women given in marriage (17, 27). kōtuxmūtudē ūa, one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makurūa, the beloved woman, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). matunan-ūniāgūa, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

601 Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

īmū, imū, īmūn, father (11, 2.13; 12, 30)
īmundeian, fathers (21, 16)
īmūalan, fathers (23, 26)

hau īmun, 1. do.
sin īmun, 2. do.
kōnjimin īmun, 3. do.
kič imun, 3. do. (15, 28)
kič īmun, 3. do.
kōtaasāki, do., old man, elderly man
kōtaas (fam.) kōtas(in), do.

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dārūuōn, elder, old man, do.

dāruākin, dārūuākin, do. (12, 53; 15, 22)

dābi(n), mother (1, 43; 4, 38)
ūāgönnux, mother of sons only
dābindeian, mothers (21, 16)
hī-dābē(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
hī-dābin, 1. do.
dābeia, 2. do. (8, 20)
sin(a) dābin, 2. do.
kōnjimin dābin, 3. do.
kī dābin 3. do. (8, 19)

kōtaas-kīp-āki, mother, old woman
kōt(a)as-kīpa, do.

dārākīpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
darakīpa, dārāpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

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601 dābua, your father (15, 27)
dābūa(n), 2. do.
hĭ dābua(n), 1. do.
hĭ dābūan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)ŏŭma(n), older man
tānūwa, my father, my old husband (fam.)
taninua, 2. do.
(haua) tūmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fam. and friendly on the part of younger people)
yauaua, my father (local in the east)

dara-winni, dāra-inni, do., do.
tānūwa-kīpa, my mother, my old wife (fam.)
pasanāpa, mother
haua pasanāpa, 1. do.

601 192 A few further supplementary items. dapŏš, dāpŏš (11, 27; 23, 29) tömmuša (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapōla "to suck"; gaiaši, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gönnux, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mēamasa, maiamasa, "pregnant." yembōna, "to have a small child." yembōnākīpa, "mother of a small child." yellāmāgū, "to be confined before another woman." tūmūtulŏšša, "to have children or descendants." tūsilana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." aalatīa, "embryo," amagōna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," māgū, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mūātsikōri, "to come forth, to come into the world." tūčikīpinana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tūmāgönnaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, childless, sterile." jākul, "sterile, not having offspring." māgönnaka, "not to have (borne) a child." mātūmāgūpai, "to have two children." wēna, "fruit of the womb," kičin uēnan, 3. do.; hau aalatīa, 1. do. wēnanaa, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 31), köuēnanudē, "she became pregnant" (1, 24). māgasĭn, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tūmāgūaūa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 31). šŏmušyāgū, "embryo," šŏmušyāgū-dābi, hasauasa kīpa, "a pregnant woman." jōkāluf, "afterbirth, navel cord." gūpū, "navel," gūpul, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: šag-aala, alox-aala, höllŏx, "testicles," höllŏxkai-illadūtū, "kidneys." This is associated with höllŏgaina,

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601 192 a favorite game in which this word is repeated. hallōčˇi, "penis." matūmāgōnnakūwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmāgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūlōša, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmāgūpikin-dē kaiūala ūmōlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembōnūwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkatega (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ siaman(ī)a, "to have sexual intercourse." lōššaiella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

iŋgāge, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." šun, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpātaki, "the adulterer." kīpatākin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpōšlōmbi, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gör ʕgaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmāgū maala, "my birthday."

šūpūn-ūa, widower, bachelor
ōlātakāki, do.
ōlātaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; magaišupunanākīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gātāt ūpōna, "to die in childbed."

šūpūn kīpa, widow
ōlātakākīka, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)

makū, mākun, mākūn, son
mākū, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)
kōmbei mākū, two do. (15, 11)

māk-kīpa, mā-kīpa, daughter
mā-kīpa-n, do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
makīpeiamalim, daughters (23, 28)

haua mākun, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 35)
sa mākun, 2. do. (15, 30)
kī mākun, 3. do. (20, 44)
uōlēua, ualewa, do. (1, 13. 57)

haua mākīpan, 1. do.
kī mā(kī)pan, 3. do.
inni, ínia, do.
uinia, my daughter! (8, 48)
haua uei-kipa-n, 1. daughter
tūmāgū ini, daughter (illeg.)
kīpa kaiīūala, child (f.)

tūmāgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)
kaiīūala, child (especially male)
kei-yūala, do. (2, 40; 43)
kaigūala, do.

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yārūmatīa, small baby (m.)

yārū-kīpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yārumūa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yārumūāki, the son

jakauīya, ūjakauīya, baby (m.)

ūjakauīyākīpa, baby (f.)

šatukumara, child (m.), do.

šatukumarakīpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mōtakaiyin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." keiiūalaiamalim, "children" (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ōsūuākin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kūpaspāki(n), kaguspa, kaguspaki, kōčiyella, "the last-born," aiannaaiamamāgūa, kiūeiamunyaeiama-magyūwa, "first-born," keiyaeiamana mūgudē wōlēwa, "she bore her first-born" (2, 7). šōla (usually šela), "young," šōl-āki, "little innocent child," šōladāra, "the world of childhood." amapīta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yekākin, "small child" (2, 12. 16). yekaalēwa, "a small boy." yakauiyanda, "a little (huge) fellow." maalēwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mīakanakausa, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uidāga, "a youth, male, male sex" [human beings and animals].

yōaiamana, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yōaiamānūwa, first-born

yōaiamanākīpa, oldest daughter

yāčikaiāki, oldest, first-born

yāčikaiākīpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother

yātūwaikīpa, do., sister

šamaraačin haanaa, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpaï, "the two eldest brothers." uaana, "a man who is not yet a yékamus, a non-initiate." tāmōm, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kína discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kína rites." yōnmamāgūa, "first-born." yarumaala, "young people." dāraalēwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." dārūaala, dārūwa, "old people, an old man." dārūwāki, "the old man." mašūpunāpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried," mōtūōnata, "to grow to full manhood."

šuganikīpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbul(l)ux, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yeka-šuganikīpa, "a little girl." tūwaikīpa, "the eldest or first-born

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601 192 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," turi, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa kōnjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamōkus kōndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers." maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

aniffali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūāki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy
yōšōla, an orphaned child
pilluš sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl
yōšōlakīpa, a double orphan
pilluškīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwākīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

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tōpōr(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and [627] sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." mēaŭōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans." hikapilluš, hikōška, "a boy whose father or mother drowned." [103] ūsiluswa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

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ūsiluswōnji(z?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called ūsiluswōnji(z?); if the person is a woman, ūsiluswōnji(z?)-kīpa. ūsitōpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-ūlūuf, "my deceased relatives." mā̆meiākindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

auakōsa kīpaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kīpaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamākūtasākīpan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manōkus-kīpa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamōkus-kīpāpai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamōkus-kīpaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamākīpa, mamākīpāpai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamākīpaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwīnan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." mōxyella, "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). mōxyellāki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." kōspix-kīpa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ūāruxyellādātū, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ūātōlliyellādātū, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiūasana, "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tūmāgūdārūwa(n), stepfather
tūmāgūdārūa, do.
tūmāgūdāruōn, do.
kī tumāgūdārūwan, 3. do.
tūmāgun, stepson
tūmāgu (kaiiūala), do.
kī tumāgun, 3. do.
tūnāgun, do.

tūmāgūdārakīpan, stepmother
tūmāgūdārakīpa, do.
tūmayakīpa, do.
kī tumāgūdārakīpan, 3. do.
tūmākīpan, stepdaughter
tūmāgū'in(n)i, do.
kī tumākīpan, 3. do.

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[597] tūmākīpana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

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tūmāgū (kaiiūala), tūnāgun, "to adopt or become a father to children by taking their mother as a wife, or to become a mother by marrying their father."

mākusin, brother (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28)	mākus-kīpa, sister (10, 39)
haua makus, 1. do.	
haua mōkus, 1. do.	haua makuskīpan, 1. do.
ki mākusin, 3. do.	kī makuskipaalanči, 3. pl. acc. (14, 26)
makusyamalim, brothers (16, 28)	makuskīpaala, sisters (14, 26)
makusaala, do. (8, 19. 20, 21)	
haua makusaala, my brothers (8, 2)	
sin makusaalun, 2. do. (8, 20)	
kī makusaalan, 3. (do. (8, 19)	
mamakusualim, brothers (20, 29)	
magaiiamalim, brothers to one another	magaiambaa-kīpaiamalim, sisters to one another
sin ōšūuōnči, "of your brother" (6, 42)	
kī-t-ōšūuōn, his brother /acc./ (6, 14)	
waimua, eldest son, brother, cousin	wai-kīpa (2), older sister, first cousin
haua waim, 1. do.	
waiamun, do., do.	haua wai-kīpan, 1. do., do.
eiamun, do., do	sin uai-kīpan, 2. do., do.
k'ūaiamun, 3. do., do.	sin uai-kīpa, 2. do., do.
k-aiūaiamun, 3. do., do.	kai-ūai-kīpan, 3. do., do.
k-aiūaiamōlan, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikipalan, 3. do., do.
k-aiuamundaian, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikipandaian, 3. do., do.
kūk-aaim siūan, the eldest brother	winni, my daughter, my older sister, my wife, my niece, my cousin, first, second, and third degree
maaempai, two older brothers together	maaekipapai, two women, older sisters of a family together

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ąalan, my oldest brother (fam.)

ąala, my oldest son

ąalandaian, my oldest brother (respectful friendly expression of younger ones toward strangers)

ašowa, ōšūwa, younger brother — ōškīpa, younger sister

ōšūwō(ri)n, ōskūāki, do. — ōškīpōrin, your do.

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ōšuīkeia, 2. dative, do. — ōškipāki, the youngest of two or more sisters.

ōšuwāki, the younger, youngest brother

hau ōšuwan, 1. do., do. — heia ōškīpōra, 1. do.

hau ōškīpan, 1. do.

kī-t-ōšuwan, 3. do., do. — sin ōškīpan, 2. do.

ki-t-ōšuwōn, 3. do., do., dative — kīt ōškīpan, 3. do.

mōkus, do., male cousin, female cousin (through an uncle who is younger than one's father or mother — mōkuskīpa, do.

makūsin, younger brother

haua mōkus, 1. do. — haua mōkuskīpa, 1. do.

haua makus, 1. do. — haua makuskīpan, 1. do.

aua makusin, 1. do.

sin makusin, 2. do. — sin makuskīpan, 2. do.

šin makūsin, 2. do. — šin makūskīpan, 2. do.

kī mōkusin, 3. do. — kī mōkuskīpan, 2. do.

kī makusin, 3. do. — kī makuskīpan, 2. do.

kičin makūsin, 3. do. — kičin makūskīpan, 2. do.

haua mōkuspai, 1. do., dual — mōkuswini, do.

haua mōkusyamalim, 1. do., pl. — haua mōkuswini, 1. do.

ōmbaa, do. — (hau) ōmbaakīpa, (1). next do.

kušana, my younger brother, my male cousin, my child, my nephew (fam.) (from kuš, "nest") — kušana-kīpa, my younger sister my female cousin (first degree), my daughter, my niece (fam.)

60 /794 cont./

mākūtasa, grandson	mākūtasā-kīpan, granddaughter
mākūtesan, do.	mākūtesā-kīpan, do.
	haua mūkātasā(!)-kīpan, 1. do.
kī mākūtesan, 3. do.	kī mākūtesa-kīpan, 3. do.
indārūwa, father's brother	dāmāpu, father's sister
hau indārūwan, 1. do.	dāmāpū, do.
dārū(w)an, do.	dāmāpūa, (2.) do.
hau indārū an, 1. do.	hī dāmāpūan, 1. do.
haua dārūwan, 1. do.	hī dāmapūōn, 1. do.
hau endaropun, 1. do.	haua dāmāpun, 1. do.
šin dārūōn, 2. do.	
sin dārū(w)an, 2. do.	
sin dārūuan, 2. do.	
s(in) indārūwan, 2. do.	
kičin dārūwan 3. do.	kī dāmāpun, 3. do.
kičin dārūuan, 3. do.	kī dāmāpūōn, 3. do.
kičin dārūōn, 3. do.	
imman(an), (2.) mother's brother	ieka-dābeia, mother's sister
/795/	
	yeka-dābaia, 2. do.
	yeka-dabi, do.
hau' immanan, 1. do.	yaka-dabéén, do.
	hau yeka-dabin, 1. do.
šin immanan, 1. do.	haua yeka-dābin, 1. do.
sin imman, 1. do.	hī eka-dābin, 1. do.
kič imanan, 3. do.	kī eka-dābin, 3. do.
kōnjimin imanan, 3. do.	
dapāšun (better dapōs, "mother's breast"), do.(fam.)	
wāturū, nephew, sister's son	kīpaturū, niece
uartrū, sister's son	
haua uaturun, 1. do.	hī kīpaaturun, 1. do.
h- uotrūn, 1. do.	hī kīpatrun, 1. do.
hi- ūāturun, 1. do.	hī kīpartru, 1. do.
sin uotrū, 2. do.	sa kīpatrun, 2. do.
sin uāturun, 2. do.	sa kīpaaturun, 2. do.
sin wāturū, 2. do.	

601 /795 cont./

ki- ōotrun, 3. do.	kī kipatrun, 3. do.
ki- ūāturun, 3. do.	kī kipaaturun, 3. do.
ki- ūaturun, 3. do.	
kī- pāturū, 3. do.	
amapīta, do. (fam.)	amapītākīpa, do. (fam.)
lōmāmaka, great-nephew	lōmākīpa, great-niece
dāranaka, male cousin	dāranākīpa, female cousin
darunaka, do.	darunakakīpa, do.
dāšinaka, do.	dāšinakākīpa(n), do.
haua dāršinaka, 1. do.	dāršinakākīpan, do.
sa dāšinakan, 2. do.	
šin dāršinakan, 2. do.	
kī dāršinākan, 3. do.	
kī dāšināka, 3. do.	

dāšunaka is put down as a "special expression," and indeed it is used for other relatives, as above under "woman friend" and "parents."

yamanamāku, nephew, brother's son	yamanamākīpa, niece, brother's daughter
haua iamanāmākun, do., do.	hau (i)amanākīpan, 1. brother's daughter
sin iamanāmākun, 2. do., do.	haua iamanāmākīpan, 1. do.
sa iamanāmākun, 2. do.	
kī iamanāmākun, 3. do.	kī amanāmākīpan, 3. do.
kī amanamākun, 3. do.	kī amanamākīpan, 3. do.
kī amanakoan, 3. do.	
mesāgun, father-in-law	mesākīpan, mother-in-law
/796/	
mesāgūn, do.	mösākīpa, do.
masāgū, do.	mösākīpan, do. (12, 53)
haua masāgun, 1. do.	masākīpa, do.
	haua masākīpan, 1. do.
sa masāgun, 2. do.	sa masākīpan, 2. do.
kī masāgun, 3. do.	kī masākīpan, 3. do.
unnusiūwa, do. (not common)	unnusiūkipa, do. (not common)
hau unnusiūwa, 1. do.	
tellālōpata, do. (fam.)	tellālōpatākīpa, do. (fam.)
tūmāgūdārūwōn, do.	tūmāgūdārākīpan (-pau?), do.
	tūkunčī dābin, do. (4, 38)

/796 cont./

601 If the last word reminds one strongly of a European translation, perhaps because of its occurrence in the Bible, the penultimate pair of words is linked with tūmāgū, "to give birth." It would, of course, also be easy to proceed etymologically in other instances and explain words with respect to their origin and construction, but we must leave the rest to linguists for special research.

tūmāgūkaiyū(a)ala, son-in-law

alum, brother-in-law
ālum, do.
haua alamun, 1. do.
hau alūmūn, 1. do.
sin alamun, 2. do.
sin ālamun, 2. do.
sin alūmun, 2. do.
kī-t-alamun, 3. do.
kī-t-alamūn, 3. do.
kī-t-ālamun, 3. do.
kī-t-alamaun, 3. do.
tūgūturū, do.

tūmāgū-inni, daughter-in-law
mösāgū-inni, do.
mosāgū-inni, do.
mösagu-inni, do.
kipālum, sister-in-law
haua kipalumun, 1. do.
haua kipalamun, 1. do.
hī kipālamun, 1. do.
sina kipalamun, 2. do. (female cousins-in-law are also included)
kī kipalamun, 3. do.

The last word again stands by itself, that is to say, without a corresponding feminine form, and this is also true of mēam matūkū, "husband or sister of the wife" or "husband of the husband's sister." The same is true of aiamasa, "relatives-in-law," if the man or woman representing the connection is deceased. Thus:

hau' aiamasa, my father-in-law or my brother-in-law in the above

aiamasa-kipa, a female relative-in-law under the same circumstances.

tūmūmasāgū, "to be or become son-in-law or father-in-law of someone through marriage." tūmūtūmāgū, "to acquire a son-in-law or daughter-in-law or to become one." mamasākipāpai, /797/ "two who are mother-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to each other."

mamasāgūpai, "two who are father-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to one another." tūmūatāgū, "to cause someone

/797 cont./

601 to become related to any person as son-in-law or father-in-law through marriage." mötākinaka, "to receive or bring from the west any gift, or to come and do any kind of service for a father-in-law for his daughter." kīsē, a term of respect used by persons related through marriage to direct questions or requests to one another, for example, son-in-law and daughter-in-law to each other or fathers and mothers to their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and vice versa. It has no other special meaning. kiūē, kiūēla, verbal prefix used between persons related through marriage to about the same extent as kise above and in the same situation (227). This concludes the present summary.

227. In BD Yamana words lack an accent mark for stress. Hence it was not added to the above-mentioned words. See Gusinde (hh):181.

b. Tribal Society

619 Fuegian tribal society does not represent a closely knit, internally linked social structure. Actually it is only a loose juxtaposition of individual families. Each of the latter, however, is definite and well articulated.

All fellow tribesmen who can make themselves intelligible to one another by means of a common language are, for this reason, aware of being united to a certain extent and conscious of their homogeneity. All together they constitute a single people and are differentiated from other peoples in many external respects, as well as through spiritual assets and their own propensities. Not only do the individuals describe themselves in terms of these positive realities, but far beyond that, they value and praise what they regard as their uniqueness. Indeed, with justifiable national pride, they regard themselves as superior to neighboring peoples and to other human societies. They make no effort to determine or even to question whether they are not perhaps surpassed in many respects by other peoples. Their strongly developed self-awareness and self-satisfaction reject from the start all such comparisons.

/797 cont./

619 An attribute of this mental attitude and trend of thought of the Yamana is their pronounced consciousness of homeland. They know the exact boundaries that separate their territory from their neighbors, and they regard this territory as exclusively theirs; every stranger in it is an intruder. They are intimately attached to their homeland and particularly deeply rooted in their narrower local region. /798/ They praise its beauty and advantages, without, however, indulging in extravagant enthusiasm; they are thinking only of the material goods that it furnishes them. They feel a strong impulse to come back to it after they have been far away to trade or hunt or to attend festivals. In their opinion, complete happiness flourishes only on one's native soil. A Yamana who must live outside his local homeland, that is to say, outside his so-called local group, feels like someone living in a bleak, alien land. He misses the many things it offered him, or at any rate he imagines he does, and he yearns to go back.

186 In the case of Nelly Lawrence her love for her home often came out very strongly. An important contributory factor was her very different form of life by the side of her European husband on the farm in Punta Remolino. When she began telling about her beloved West from where she came, this quiet, taciturn woman who was almost too timid to speak became unbelievably lively and talkative. Then she would praise the beauty of the landscape with its many glaciers and meandering waterways, the steep peaks with their eternal snow, and the sheltered safety of the many calm bays. She would extol the fresh green of the dense beech forests of that rainy zone and the quiet ways of its animal kingdom. Finally, she would put her own countrymen above all praise. She presented everything as a special advantage, chiefly in contrast to the feared neighbors of the western Yamana, the Halakwulup. She never let an opportunity go by to emphasize strongly in front of others that the lovely pasána song is native to her region, that a story from there spread to the east, that at the large secret gatherings this or that special form is customary there, and so forth. Truly, the Fuegian, too, loves his home with a whole and warm heart. This one example is convincing proof.

1: Gusinde--629 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 591 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

•228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

619 /789 cont./
found in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested
637 in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom
prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller
groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local
areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one an-
other. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect
groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same
region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and
this small region as their immediate home. They take their
common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water
channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (I):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Puuthnoaya yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

> 229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (I):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ĕkĕ^{x}], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /by/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

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621 634 571 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 634 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (*f*):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

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> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Addavia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/901 cont./

571 612 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

> 232. Hyades (g) 35 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncommonlible urge for independence does not let the Fuegians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a) 64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

571 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fuegians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kindreds (233).

> 233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (b) 205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their friends and neighbors keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

/911 cont./

S1f help might be indispensable to them.

Formerly, when whales often showed up in the channels of the Cape Horn realm, the natives from all regions flocked together more often, camped together on the same spot, and became better acquainted. Intermarriage followed and with it repeated visits of parents when a young married woman followed her new husband into his home district. It is true that existing boundaries were universally respected, especially those of the dialect groups. Moreover, people assumed the right /911/ to roam them undisturbed, but they did not misuse this right by roaming about aimlessly for any length of time in the strange region.

Local conditions themselves explain why the three northern dialect groups can associate more frequently with one another than with the two dialect groups farther south (p. 199 /continued/).

2. Its Leadership

623 What can be read between the lines in the above section must finally be clothed in definite words, namely, that our Tamans do not recognize any person as having the authority to rule either the whole society or the larger groups within it, no matter what names are applied to such persons in higher social organizations. This by no means strange phenomenon is confirmed not only by the independent position of the individual family and its freedom to settle anywhere, but also by the definite testimony of many observers. Despard (b):146 asserts: "They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or committed right of rule. They have no council of state" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 repeats the same thing: "The Fuegians do not have chiefs, and they are opposed to any idea of superiority and authority" /translated from French/ (224). Thus there is no

224. Only in this sense is Bove's (e):158 assertion valid: "The expression 'authority' is a dead word." Compare Alvarez:145, Bove (g):224, Cooper:177, Fitz-Roy (e):178, Lothrop (b):169, Lovisato (b):156, and others.

/902 cont./

single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the headman of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34, 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /903/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the grossest feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (230). Thus

230. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiámuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemál of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiámuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiámuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

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554 571 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 881 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony, the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 626 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

183 /804 cont./
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

577 Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

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As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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Y881 and as though it were obliged to add to them, an institution has been created which obviously proves to be a prolongation of parental efforts and which continues, without a break, the training within the narrower family circle. It is of decisive significance in this connection that the child, at puberty, is taken from the care of its parents and subjected to a leadership created accidently, so to speak, from the assemblage of many families.

All children without exception are required to take part in this so-called youth initiation and no parents have the right to remove their children for any reason whatever. A sup[illegible]r power asserts itself in this universal obligation, and this is none other than the invisible power of the state. Specific positions of authority are lacking in this Indian society (p. 634), but these people, too, are guided by definite, all-embracing laws, and everyone willingly yields to them. One of their laws, which is regarded with great seriousness and which the public guards with scrupulous care, is the periodic repetition of the youth initiation, in which is expressed the actually existing power of the state, the incomplete development of which was described in the preceding section (p. 635).

Precisely because the initiation of youth is arranged by one or another part of the tribal society and because it represents an undertaking of legal standing independent of the individual family and outside of it, the following detailed description of it is added to the description of the social structure of the Yamana tribe.

X881 171 It is known that the neighboring Selk'nam also have a secret ceremony, called klóketen (Vol. I, 808). Only boys are admitted to it, which shows that it is very different from the ʸcíexaus. Aside from that, outstanding characteristics and a unidirectional aim show that it, too, is an actual youth initiation. As such, the klóketen strives for the same principal goal, namely, adequate instruction and forceful teaching, as well as repeated practice to achieve manual dexterity and skill in the daily tasks of adults. The chief purpose, therefore, is to train and instruct the young person in his tasks as a self-sufficient independent human being. With no obvious foreign element from matriarchal cultural conditions, as can be shown in the great ceremony of the klóketen (Vol. I, 1077), /807/ the ʸcíexaus pursues a very definite educational task aimed at physical fitness for the required skills and

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Y881 171 moral-spiritual training in such measure that the one does not seem to be favored above the other.

In the course of the discussion, this important basic direction will be clearly brought out. It is referred to here in order to intercept from the start an unjustifiable assumption. The elaborate accompaniment to the initiation serves neither exclusively nor primarily to train those young people so that they later will be proficient in obtaining food. Much attention is certainly paid to this need, but it is neither the only nor the most important goal (238).

> 238. Most recently Felix Speiser:254 laid sole stress on this supplementary goal. On the subject of initiations in Australia and New Guinea he concludes: "All kinds of motives have hitherto been given as reasons for the initiations...All these motives are present in the initiations, but do not form their central feature which, as we have tried to prove, is to guarantee the food supply. If this realization is at first somewhat surprising, it becomes comprehensible if we clearly understand how very important the assurance of obtaining food is for man in general...In ethnology, amid the many, often interesting aspects in the life of primitive people, we often forget how great must be the concern for their daily food." Speiser's reference to the oppressive worry for daily subsistence which torments primitive man deserves acknowledgment. In Tierra del Fuego, too, young people are trained to meet it effectively, but it is not the most important task of the initiation to which every young person is pledged before his marriage.

A much loftier and more universal goal can be seen in certain secondary aspects that surround this ceremony.

Y881 The Ciexaus ceremony is made up of a great many individual parts; a rich store of ideas from the spiritual treasure of the Yamana

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is revealed in the course of the ceremony. The basic features of their social order shine forth everywhere and their entire economic life is rehearsed in the richness of its details. In this respect the initiation appears as a mirrored reflection of the entire culture of our natives; within this framework the coherence of many parts is evident, and one is explained by the other. Beyond that, however, the Čiéxaus has so many and such important characteristics that there would be a very great gap in the description of the Fuegian cultural heritage if this institution were not clearly portrayed in its basic features and its many secondary aspects. We have long known how very revealing it is with respect to the processes of the external and inner life of primitive peoples if a European obtains an insight into their secret ceremonies. I, too, had an essentially different opinion of the Yamana after I was permitted to take part in this secret ceremony. Its portrayal throws light on almost all parts of the extensive cultural heritage of our Fuegians. The present description will forgo comparisons with their neighbors and with other primitive peoples (239).

239. The secret ceremonies of the Selk'nam were described in Volume I, 808. The essential features of the youth initiation performed by the Halakwulup are given in Gusinde (o):541. A comparison of this ceremony among the three tribes of Tierra del Fuego is to be found in Gusinde (bb):354. See also Schmidt (d):993.

/808/ a. Investigations by Europeans

In general primitive peoples regard the secret ceremonies they conduct as something sacred which they carefully and anxiously guard from any kind of desecration. They avoid any disturbance even by their own people, and to this end they seek hidden, undiscoverable places where they carry out their ceremonies. They conceal their secret still more anxiously from strangers and regard it as improper to divulge even a few words about it. The natives

X881 /808 cont./
know exactly what a rich store of details and what significant things are combined in such a performance. If they exposed them, they would lay themselves bare and disclose the core of their secrets.

It is only in the most recent times that our attention has been drawn to the wide distribution of secret ceremonies among primitive peoples. As soon as the social structure of a tribe is accurately known, modern ethnology is able to determine the probable existence of such ceremonies, as well as their individual basic features, on the basis of comparisons alone. Nothing has thereby been gained, however, for an analysis of a given people, since there may have been intermingling and changes in the original form, as, for example, in the klóketen of the Selk'nam, and despite certain uniform basic features, a great many special forms determine the uniqueness of such an institution.

We shall not be guilty of exaggeration if we point out that for a European who has gained some insight into the ˀčiéˀxaus our Yamana move into an incomparably favorable light, as though they were raised from the depths of scorn to imposing heights. Such genuine humanity and verified wisdom in training techniques, such sound morality and deep religiosity are expressed in this ceremony that one would at first scarcely believe a people like the Yamana, with their penurious external living conditions, to be capable of all this. The conclusion that one knows a primitive people insufficiently until he has experienced their secret gatherings in all their details is, therefore, indeed justified.

For a European investigator it is extremely difficult to find out about such secret ceremonies. Among the great majority of native tribes he never succeeds in experiencing them through direct participation. A favorable coincidence or a particularly fortunate personal aptitude usually helps him to first find out about it. Everyone can put it down as an unusual /809/ achievement to have actually participated in a ceremony in which all the depths and recesses of the soul of these people were revealed to him. On account of the unusual significance attached to the secret gatherings of adults among primitive peoples, every investigator must apply all his knowledge and leave no stone unturned to penetrate the mystery.

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1. The First Observations

X881 114 The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X881 797 114 After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the čiéxaus pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X881 114 Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, čiéxaus, and the very different men's ceremony, kína. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

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X981 114 kínas spirits, and what he says in his essays about the schooling of young people actually fits the latter institution much better /810/ than the čiéxaus. Today, when both ceremonies are familiar to us with respect to their entire procedure and their principal aim, it is easy to assign with certainty the material we find in Bridges either to one or the other. Hence we shall now gather together from his written accounts everything that pertains to the youth initiation.

In his first longer essay (240) of 1866, Bridges (a):204 gives

> 240. It is entitled: "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders." Above all it contains reports about family life and the rearing of children. On February 7, 1866, Bridges introduced it with the words: "A short account of the Firelanders of the Yahgon /sic/ Tribe, inhabiting the shores of Southeast Fireland, compiled from what I have heard from the Indians themselves, during three and a half year's constant converse with them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 181; 1866).

some facts: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching, which generally begins in the spring. This is done to make them quiet and good. The discipline of the girls is easy and brief, conducted in the common wigwam by her parents... They call the discipline of the girls Tóori (241), that of the boys Ooshwáula. The lads of about

> 241. Clearly this interpolated sentence and what follows refers to the special customs in connection with the girls' menarche (p. 567).

thirteen years of age are considered fit for this discipline" /cited in English/. In the sentences following he mentions certain details that take place in a special hut! "it is called Ceena" /cited in English/. In other words, he still confuses the two ceremonies. What now follows refers largely to the youth initiation, and the admonitions in particular are almost exactly the same as those we

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X881 114 noted: "When the lads become thirteen years old they are then subjected to a sort of teaching and discipline. They are by their near male relatives for some days wholly taken from their female relatives, are not allowed to eat this and that kind of food, are forced to be very abstemious, are made to work hard in gathering fuel and making fires on the eminences around; whenever they go abroad a guard goes with them to see that they do not indulge themselves. When they are sufficiently humbled they receive such instructions as the following from their sires: 'You must not be passionate, and kill people, else you will make enemies and be yourself soon killed. You must not take another man's wife by force, else you will suffer for it. You must not be stingy, but share with others any treasure you may find. You must not be idle, but assist to supply the house with fuel'; and many other such-like precepts, all which the young fellow is supposed to assent unto. Secrecy is strictly enjoined, at the peril of his life, of the secrets and the cheats he has been made privy to. And for several years the youths are to abstain from the use of certain kinds of fish and shell-fish, and of certain well-defined parts of whales, etc. Sometimes the fasting is so severe and of long continuance that the youths become very emaciated and weak" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the following 20 years Bridges scarcely learned anything further about this /811/ ceremony; he (h):208 has only the following to say: "The adolescents of both sexes are subjected to a period of discipline which consists of fasting, extremely vigorous at times, and moral instruction" /translated from Spanish/. This opinion is also expressed in a final reference (k):240 seven years later: "At a certain age adolescent boys were subjected to severe discipline under the tutelage of their uncles or other close relatives; they fasted and performed hard labor to inculcate on them great humility, honesty, chastity, patience, industry, and respect for truth. While they were under this discipline and instruction, they were called ushwoala" /translated from Spanish/. Certain details are pointed out by Bridges (i):17 in a manuscript which probably dates from February 2, 1878. Again he assigns to the kína certain parts which belong to the čiéxaus (242). He does not

242. "The initiation of the boys and girls took

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> place when they were between fourteen and sixteen years old...Abstinence from food was exacted from both; and the fasting of the lads was often severe resulting in many instances in leanness and debility. Both sexes received, after a longer or shorter season of abstinence, good moral precepts with reasons for observing them, whereby their friends honestly thought to fit them for their future life. For example, stealing and lying were forbidden because they brought suffering and trouble, diligence, generosity and faithfulness in marriage were enjoined because they ensured peace and happiness..." /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:17).

mention anywhere that for the latter ceremony boys and girls together gather in the same Great Hut. Many of the precepts and restrictions for the candidates of the čiéxaus are repeated for those of the kína.

If we now consider the fact that in the large Yamana Dictionary there is no particular distinction made between the two ceremonies, it seems very probable that Bridges was under the false impression that there was a single secret ceremony, namely, kína, for he mentions many spirits of the latter, whereas there are only two definite references to the čiéxaus. BD:276 gives the word jákaus, "the singing and mode of rites peculiar to the murana drama" /cited in English/; furthermore, BD:203 gives (ja)-kaus, "the rites and ceremonies (being superstitious, lying, obscure, dramatic and semireligious plays) in connection with the Murana or Sacred wigwam in which these scenes were enacted" /cited in English/. The word mentioned twice undoubtedly corresponds to the čiéxaus, which in our presence, too, was occasionally pronounced jiéxaus, jéxaus, and čékaus. In any case, Bridges certainly did not grasp the meaning and significance of the youth initiation and in all probability overlooked the fact that it is separate from the kína.

It is well known that in modern times travelers have drawn very profitably on the observations and experiences of this missionary among the Yamana. Since he himself did not have

/811 cont./

X881 114 accurate information about the youth initiation, it is by no means strange that there is absolutely no reference to it in the latest writings. Hyades (q):376 mentions "the custom of submitting boys who have reached the age of adolescence to a kind of initiation" /translated from French/. His subsequent statements, however, are an almost verbatim repetition of what /812/ Bridges (i):17 gives and of what applies largely to the kina (243). Beyond

> 243. We need not exclude the possibility that the members of the Mission Scientifique vaguely had their attention called to it. Thus Martial: 221 writes that the natives "have some entertainments in which we have not taken part" /translated from French/. In any case, what Cooper: 156 assumes is inaccurate: "By the time of the French expedition in 1882-83, and even before, the boy initiations had fallen into desuetude among the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Certainly, "they still preserved a simpler puberty rite, including fasting and moral instruction also has since then been repeated, as I have shown above.

that, up to the time of my last journey, no one made even the slightest reference to the youth initiation. Several months after my last trip Lothrop (b):165 came to Tierra del Fuego. He did not do any independent research on this, and in his account he refers to our conclusions (244), but he did obtain the objects used

> 244. He (b):165 writes: "Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject" /cited in English/.

in the ceremonies. Even recently Spencer:111 succumbs to the mistake of confusing the two secret ceremonies, and the facts which

/812 cont./

X881 114 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the čiéxaus and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are as strictly, silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [195] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the čiéxaus. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/813 cont./

X881 881 123

part in the čiéxaus in Mejillones, in other words, that I had become acquainted with this ceremony a second time. He was sincerely happy about my success and told me quite frankly that he had never made an effort to gain the confidence of the natives to such an extent that he could take part in their secret rites. Thus, the facts are convincing enough that the Yamana conceal the čiéxaus in strict silence even from one of their own people.

When I began my investigations among these people, there was only a handful of older persons left who could tell me with some certainty about the uncorrupted practices and customs of earlier times and answer my questions. The final moment had come to rescue valuable cultural possessions from total oblivion! I was fully aware of this and felt the weight of my responsibility. It will now be understandable why I seized the opportunity to take part in the čiéxaus with steadfast determination, and with indefatigable tenacity I worked with the natives until the entire contents of the ceremony was saved for scientific study. Even the greatest exertion on my part, however, would not have led me to my goal if I had not had the all-surmounting help of kind Nelly Lawrence. In the final analysis it was her decisive influence on her countrymen that made them decide in January, 1920, to put on an initiation ceremony and let me take part in it as an actual candidate.

a. My First Youth Initiation

After a general survey of the possibilities for research among the Fuegians, which I obtained on my first journey (p. 164 /untranslated/), I decided to begin my work with the Yamana. At the end of December, 1919, I was again in Punta Remolino where, shortly before, several Indian families had gathered (p. 175 /untranslated/). During the day the men were busy on the farm, and it was only in the evening and during rainy weather that they formed a circle around the hut fire of a venerable old man in order to talk. I was never absent on these occasions. Even after the first week of my stay there, we had grown accustomed to one another, they told me many things, and they were soon so friendly

X 651 181 123 /813 cont./ that without embarrassment they began to speak of their myths.

/814/ One evening I noticed that a few men to whom old Alfredo had secretly given a hint sent the boys and girls out of the hut. Their excuse was that it was getting late and the children should go to bed. It was not until the adults were alone that Alfredo told two stories. Obviously the children were not supposed to know about them. Then I realized that on the previous evening and the evening before an oppressive embarrassment had hung over the adults and the really uninhibited flow of talk had not begun until all the youngsters had been removed. On one of the following evenings I asked them directly: "Why do you not tell these stories when a child is present here in the hut?" A younger man was ready, almost too ready, with the answer: "Only those who have been in the Kina are permitted to know all that!" These words had an extremely embarrassing effect on all the men -- there did not happen to be any women present. They tried to cover it up by summoning all their self-control, but I was aware of it. I felt only too clearly that the man had been somewhat hasty and blurted out something which he should have held in strict secrecy. Dead silence! Minutes passed and no one dared to pick up the thread of the story. When some dogs outside suddenly broke the deadly stillness of the night by starting a fight, all the men, as though released from a spell, started up with exaggerated eagerness and rushed out of the hut. They soon dispersed and disappeared into their dwellings. There was nothing for me to do but to seek my bed also. I could not sleep, however, because of the excitement of having found a clue to a noteworthy matter (p. 177 /untranslated/).

The next morning I tried in vain even with well-meaning Chris to find out something more specific about the strange words that had been spoken the night before. On this evening the men were unmistakably slow-witted when I strongly suggested that we assemble around old Alfredo's hut fire as on the previous evenings. After much urging most of them finally sat down together again and we spoke of this and that. Scarcely had the children retired when, with recognizable firmness I put the question: "Exactly what does Kinaxa, which I heard last night, mean?" They obviously did not like this demand, and one of them cut me off with

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/814 cont./ the brief remark: "One does not speak about that!" Well, at least I knew that there must be something significant connected with this word and that I would learn nothing more about it from the men.

I could not let this strange matter rest. I promised myself some enlightenment from good old Nelly, and she did not disappoint me. From her I got the first intimation that the Yamana have an actual, well-developed youth initiation. /815/ After that I gave her no peace until one day she assured me that this ceremony would be carried out by her countrymen when their farm work was over and that I might take part in it (245).

245. On pages 179 and 184 /both untranslated/ I described how I influenced her and her husband Fred Lawrence and what in addition she herself did independently. Compare also Gusinde (b):149.

From now on I occasionally ventured to drop a remark about it to the old people; I plainly expressed to them my happiness at soon being permitted to see their beautiful ceremony. At first, however, nothing in the world would make them accept the idea, and they simply could not grasp the notion that a European should enter the sacredness of their čiéxaus. One evening, at the instigation of his wife, Fred Lawrence called all the men together. He told them point-blank of Nelly's wish and emphatically demanded that they begin this ceremony. He referred to all the help and assistance that both of them had always given them. Since I was a beloved guest of the Lawrence family and also a desirable comrade of the Yamana, they must not deny me admission along with Nelly. In spite of stubborn objections on the part of a few men, Fred firmly persisted in his demand. As though for spite, they, in turn, made it a condition that I must conduct myself exactly like the actual candidates, uswála, just as ancient custom demands of each of their children who is first introduced into the Great Hut. As soon as Fred informed me of this and I had, of course, agreed (246), the men calmed down somewhat,

246. In spite of my advanced age, this demand

1: Gusinde--653 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

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X881 123

was not unusual. Particularly in recent times it has occasionally happened that a Yamana did not have an opportunity to be initiated until early manhood. For example, one of the candidates who entered when I did was 27 years old. They do not bother about age, but they do demand actual participation sooner or later.

but still struggled for a long time with the monstrous idea that a European should experience the Kina (247). Meanwhile Nelly

247. In Volume I, 814, I described the serious difficulties I was obliged to overcome before the Selk'nam admitted me to their men's secret rites.

inspired the old women with enthusiasm for her plan, and with them, particularly, she had the desired success.

While the men finished their work on the farm, I arranged with Fred Lawrence to provide food for all participants. We had promised them that we would be responsible for the needs of everyone during the ceremony so that no one would be impeded by food-seeking and we would thus be assured of a smooth running of the affair. He was kind enough to provide the necessary sheep; I bought flour, legumes, coffee, and sugar, besides a few little things. In their leisure hours the old men discussed the plan in detail among themselves. Quite voluntarily they gathered around Alfredo as the one with the most experience and yielded to his decisions. The women prepared the small ornaments that are necessary and /816/ gradually put themselves into the serious mood of this ceremony. Nelly felt an indescribably great satisfaction as her longed-for Kina approached. Meanwhile I personally was with the men a good deal and showed obvious willingness to meet all the demands that would be put upon me.

X881 346

It was agreed to erect the Great Hut close to the farm buildings in Punta Remolino, out of consideration for Nelly who could not be separated from her family for a longer period and who wanted her three grown daughters to take part in the concluding ceremony. Round about lay the huts and the smaller dwellings

/816 cont./

of the Indians. Hence it was not necessary for them to move. Even before the farm work was finished, Alfredo, who was the actual leader of the festival, had appointed four men as watchmen. It was their duty to keep a strict watch so that no one should approach who was not invited or who would cause any kind of disturbance and particularly that all the children left behind in the camp would be scrupulously quiet. Hardly was everyone free when the younger men went into the woods and cut suitable small beech trunks which were shaped and prepared on the festival site. Meanwhile old Alfredo, along with other men, built the framework, and the watchmen attended to their duty whenever a few inquisitive children came too close. Each time they uttered the same strange cry, which everyone knows and fears. Within three days the Great Hut stood there, covered and finished. It was 12 meters long on the ground, with a maximum width of 2.60 meters in the center and a maximum height, also in the center, of 2.60 meters. It was long, with an almost uniform slope, and had a long elliptical outline. After that the fire was lighted inside.

Slowly all the men and the older women assembled. After making a quick selection, they squatted down in a place which they retained the whole time thereafter. Then they considered which young people were to be introduced as candidates. The bitter realization of their sad destiny now struck these people in the Great Hut with full force when they saw how few candidates there were left. At first it looked as though there were no young people who could be chosen for initiation, for this or that family had only very small children. They agreed on 17-year-old Homemead and on Clement who was already 27 years old, but had never before been initiated in this ceremony. I was the third candidate.

While these deliberations were going, the rest of the adults who wanted to experience the whole procedure arrived. Their attitude was as reserved as though they were going to a religious ceremony. For more than an hour they maintained the deepest silence and strongest composure. Then Alfredo started singing a monotonous, sad song which a few others softly accompanied. They all sat there solemnly and thoughtfully and continued singing. This was the opening of the ceremony. In the late

/916 cont./

/Plate I appears here/ /917/ afternoon, upon a signal from the leader, the four watchmen, equipped with leather straps, crept out of the Great Hut. They caught first me, then Clemente, and finally Hammond. They brought each of us to the hut separately. I could, therefore, quietly observe the strange ghastly scene which was repeated, as it had been for me, as each of the other two candidates was pushed in through the entrance.

After that each of the three of us was constantly under the care of his sponsor. This service was performed in my case by Chris and Gertie. Later I learned that they had specifically asked to do it because they had no children. I now followed the proceedings of the entire ceremony day and night. The burdensome compulsory posture for long hours was indescribably agonizing. I nearly missed sleep and physical movement, and hunger made me very weak, but the serious leader, Alfredo, remained adamant concerning all the requirements and spared neither me nor the other two candidates. I was only exempted from bathing at night in the cold water of Beagle Channel (p.711). I found the strict prohibition against taking notes and asking any kind of questions incomparably more difficult, however, than the purely external rigors. The weakness from which my entire body suffered was transmitted to my memory and power of perception. Many details, since they were not explained, escaped my attention. Nevertheless, I was content, since my being in this Great Hut was in itself rare good fortune.

Everything served to discipline the candidate's will-power and self-control, to teach and admonish him, and to make him physically and practically efficient. The basic principles of the Tribe became clearly illuminated, and its high moral value became apparent from the golden rules of life that a special master teacher, this time old Whalm, recited to us almost every evening. Under the guidance of a capable man, I often had to go out with the other two candidates for all kinds of tasks and hunting, which are the man's life work. Occasionally stories were told, some of which I had already learned confidentially, but anything concerning the Yahgan /a family of culture heroes/ can be repeated only in the sacred hut. Here for the first time I became acquainted with the names and the various songs and dances. From day to

1: Gusinde--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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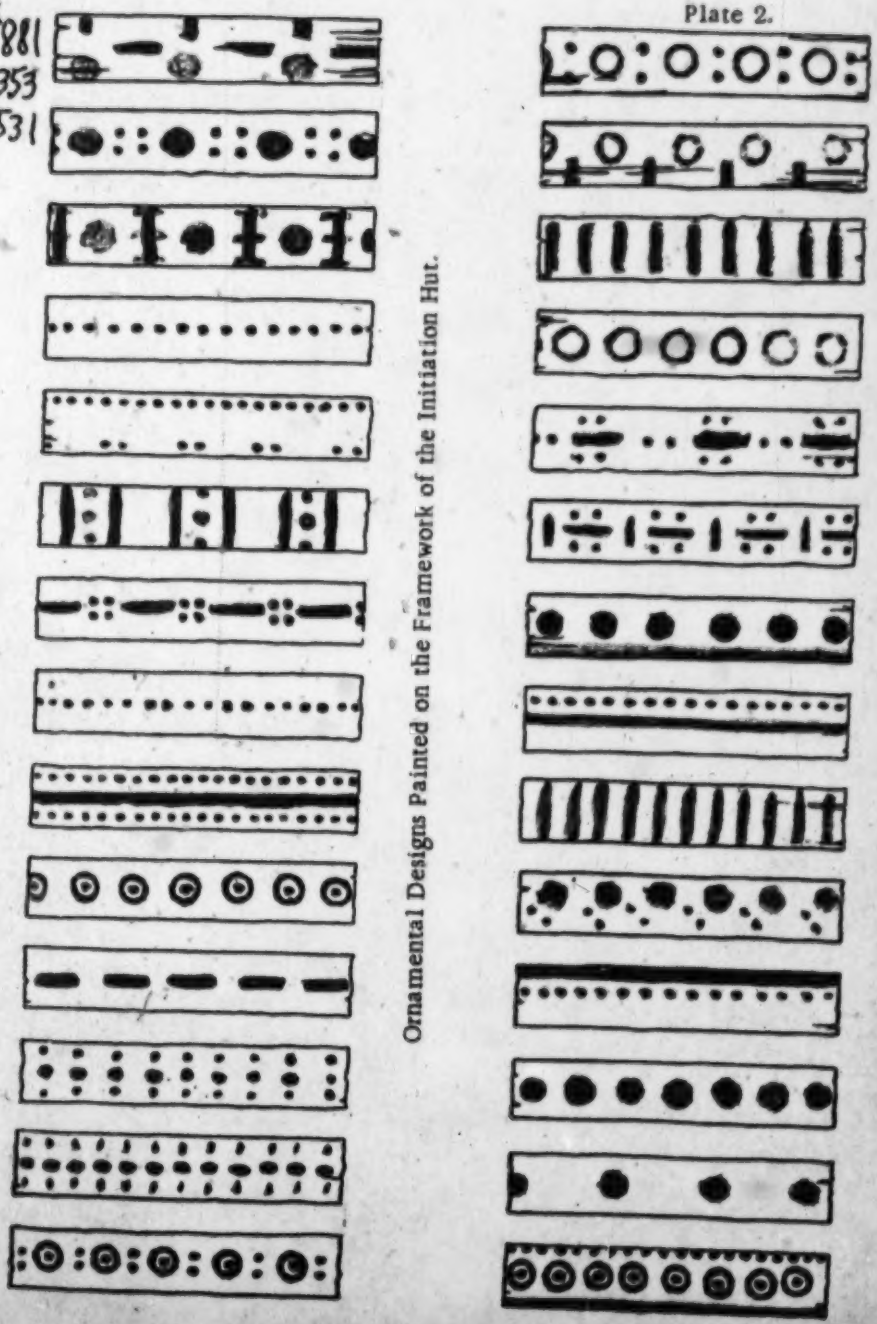
Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.

X881 123

/817 cont./ day my observations and experiences were augmented. Everything pleased me very much, in spite of considerable deprivation and physical weakness.

The diversified schedule of the festival proceeded without interruption; all the participants were in the best mood and showed the greatest seriousness. Several times a day Nelly also entered the Great Hut. She took part in everything so conscientiously and enthusiastically that she inspired the other adults by her example. After ten days the conclusion of the ceremonies was agreed upon by the old people. For this particularly festive occasion Nelly had also brought her three grown daughters into the Great Hut. Altogether we were only 24 persons, but everyone was very eager /818/ during the spirited, lively concluding festivities. Every face showed complete contentment and great satisfaction with the success of this ceremony. During the last common meal everyone was happy and gay. The older men expressed their gratification at my great willingness in the face of all the rigors which I, too, could not be spared. One of them whispered in my ear: "Come again next summer; then we shall repeat this festival and afterwards you may enter the kína!" Later it was explained to me that kína is the name for the men's secret ceremony and that every man is obliged to be uswáala twice in the čiéxaus before he is admitted to it. During the course of this final meal the good mood of the people was so intensified that they cried out often and loudly: "This was the best čiéxaus. We'll repeat it next summer!" Since they urged me, I gladly promised to come back then, for in my mind I already had visions of the kína which I wanted to become acquainted with also.

Wanderlust was beginning to take hold of these people. By the second day after the čiéxaus ended, the last of them had left Punta Remolino. I entered the many experiences in my diary from memory, and soon after I, too, took leave of that beloved place. In the comprehensive account below the experiences of my first initiation will be evaluated (248).

248. In Gusinde (b):150 there is a somewhat more detailed description of my first initiation ceremony, which I experienced in Punta Remolino in February, 1920 (p. 179 /untranslated/).

/818 cont./

β. My Second Youth Initiation

X881 In January, 1922, I returned to the territory of the Yamana
123 for the third time and with the special purpose of seeing the kína (p. 184 /untranslated/). Since the preliminary condition for this was that one had to be tested twice in the čiéxaus, I naturally counted on a repetition of the latter. This time more families had gathered in Punto Remolino than two years before. To my regret, old Alfredo and his wife were missing, both of whom had been remarkably useful and helpful to me on my earlier visit. I was told they were far out around the southernmost Wollaston Islands where the woman's home was.

The people were easily won over to our plan, and scarcely had I returned to Punta Remolino with my companion, Father Koppers, from a short visit among the Selk'nam when our preparations and theirs began. This time we wanted to be completely undisturbed and quite free. Hence everyone agreed to go to Puerto Mejillones. Most of them have a little wooden house there, had left behind all kinds of implements, and felt much more comfortable in that favorite spot than here under the eyes of certain Europeans. I bought quite a number of food supplies and naturally also /819/ a goodly number of fat sheep. The Indians effortlessly packed together their few belongings. Nelly did not conceal her regret at not being able to join us immediately and promised to visit us occasionally. The work on the farm this summer had been delayed unusually long. When it was finally finished in the last few days of February, Fred Lawrence willingly put his cutter "Garibaldi" at our disposal for the crossing. Everything was loaded, we went aboard, and in the early forenoon of March 1, 1922, we crossed Beagle Channel due south (p. 185 /untranslated/).

When they arrived in Puerto Mejillones, each family without delay hastened to their dwelling and again comfortably installed themselves. We had no other choice but the little house of Santiago, for this time he had to take over the leadership of the čiéxaus. He had beforehand reserved the sponsorship of Koppers for himself and his wife; this was reason enough for us to associate more closely with him. My sponsors were, as two years previously Chris and Gertie. Soon there was a general discussion among the

/819 cont./

X881 123 men to dispel from the start any doubt and uncertainty about our plans. This time the situation was much more difficult than two years ago when Nelly was behind everything and was able to exert effective pressure. Since I had had some experience in handling these people, we soon came to an agreement.

X881 123 346 The next day, which was ushered in by wonderful sunlight from a cloudless sky, a few men began with the erection of the Great Hut. Actually it was not necessary to start from the ground up, for the year before a Great Hut had been built which was now put in shape again. As a matter of fact, the people had celebrated a čiéxaus here among themselves. The hut was barely 12 meters long. A favorable site had been chosen at the edge of the forest, far enough from the dwellings so that there would be no disturbances from the children. Many hands fell to work, and on the very next day the hut was standing and was well equipped. I had to whip up their enthusiasm constantly, but the abundant food and all kinds of tasty bits had a stimulating effect.

X881 Meanwhile two more families arrived late, among them old Pedro. The office of overseer fell to him quite naturally, for he was the best informed on tribal customs. Around noon on March 3, 1922, a few people had already taken their seats in the Great Hut; the start of the festival was planned for this day. They felt it necessary to sit there silently and compose themselves. The majority of the adults was still busy with all kinds of other work in their own huts. One person after another inconspicuously carried to the Great Hut what he needed for his bed. Thus there was quiet but constant traffic to and fro between the dwellings and the Great Hut, a sign that the ceremony would soon begin.

Toward five in the afternoon the last people arrived and we with them. /820/ As was customary, the participants squatted in two rows, to the right and left of the center aisle. Each of us kept his appointed place; the Indians had already distributed themselves at random. The place one chose had to be retained thereafter. When it began to grow dark outside, Santiago finally began a soft humming which gradually increased to a loud singing. The other people joined in and continued it. On the first evening there were already a few dances. Everyone maintained the mood that is necessary for this ceremony.

/820 cont./

X881 The many details of this ceremony will not yet be given. I have already indicated that the number of active participants was somewhat greater than two years before, namely, 24. The candidates, besides Koppers and myself, were Manuel, who was already 35 years old, 14-year-old Kines, 12-year-old Walter II, 14-year-old Elisa, daughter of Santiago and Adelheid, and finally Julia from the tribe of the Halakwulup, who was about 18 years old. There were thus seven uš̌wáala, which seems a goodly number considering the decimated population at that time, but three of them were not Yamana. It is noteworthy that Santiago, who, according to the general custom, carried out his duties independently of Pedro, the overseer, was extraordinarily lenient and incapable of holding the reins for strict order. For us this leniency was very much desired; it made possible cautious questions, kept us fresher, and assured a better understanding of the individual events. Nevertheless, all the candidates, without exception, were sufficiently aware of the seriousness of this ceremony. The adults, too, took a very animated part and gave all their attention to it. By way of comparison, I can say that my first initiation was dominated by deep seriousness and the strictest adherence to the order of the day, whereas this time there was more variety and livelier participation.

On the third and fourth day the oldest men inconspicuously made plans for the kína festival. When the middle-aged men got an inkling of this, the čiexaus began to bore them, and they let it be known how welcome an early end of the ceremonies would be for them. It was agreed, therefore, to leave the Great Hut on the evening of March 6th. During those five days I had learned enough, indeed a great deal, about the youth initiation. Although I was not consulted about ending it, they counted on my assent. After all, I did not want to miss the kína. The latter took place during the few days from the sixth of March to noon of the eleventh. Shortly before, the general wish was expressed that we should again move over to the čiexaus hut, and this came about as though by itself. Soon we were all in the right mood. Gravity and composure were written on all the faces, and the entire program was punctiliously carried out. On the forenoon of March 12th the meeting finally broke up, after old Whaits had

/820 cont./

X881 once again addressed a long exhortation to the candidates. Everyone wrapped his things in a bundle /821/ and returned with it to actual camp. After that the Great Hut stood deserted. Later we often passed it, and the memories aroused at this time deepened the lasting impressions (249).

249. In this connection see Koppers (a):51; he describes everything that happened each day in the Great Hut. Compare also Gusinde (c):425 and the brief accounts below.

Much pleased over the success of the main project for this year's journey, we spent the next few days completing our observations and returned to Punta Remolino on March 17th. From there we set out on the 7th of April for the return journey to Punta Arenas (p. 186 /untranslated/).

Not until this Fuegian tribe was threatened with extinction was I favored by fortune to be the first European to experience the incomparably valuable and rich ceremony of its initiation. What a loss it would be for our knowledge of older primitive peoples, in view of all that we now know of what the Kiexaus ceremony means and contains, if this so valuable institution had been completely lost with the last representatives of this race, if the richness of its highly significant details had remained unknown and forever inaccessible for scientific and practical evaluation.

b. Preparation for the Ceremony

X881 126 In the following account we shall summarize in a clearly organized recital (250) our own experiences based on two initiation

250. In the organization of this account I have consciously, as far as possible, adhered to the arrangement I used in describing the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam. This will markedly facilitate a comparison of the two ceremonies. The account given below of the kína celebration must also be consulted where necessary.

/821 cont./

X881 [126] ceremonies and many individual reports of the Yamana. This will bring out the value and significance of each individual part of the very extensive, complicated ceremony more distinctly and better than would a detailed description of the events of each day in chronological order. Now, in the declining years of this race [178] and with the small number of survivors, not everything can be carried out with the same detail and accuracy as formerly. The Indians of today do not even have the undisturbed quiet and protracted time of which earlier generations were assured during this festival. Nevertheless, they still come together for the čiéxaus because it must be offered to the boys and girls; besides, it is a great satisfaction for all the adults as well to experience once more the good things of olden times in this imaginative ceremony. At its conclusion we can always see clearly how the čiéxaus stirs up all their thoughts and feelings, how it enriches and exalts them. This is evident when, in their enthusiasm, they loudly praise each performance as the best and most beautiful they have attended, /822/ when they regret that it is over so quickly, when they urgently insist that they must assemble again soon for another festival and make it a long one.

The traditional procedure and the many detailed requirements are still carried out as far as possible; the Yamana have merely somewhat relaxed the relentless austerity and rigidity of former times. Alfredo and Santiago led the performance very differently; the former was completely dominated by the earnest spirit of earlier times, whereas the latter was far too ready to make allowances for the disrupting influence of European civilization. Even this fact is valuable, however; it shows that in former times, too, the personality of each overseer or leader determined the emphasis during the ceremony. Although the many details and minor aspects that make up each day belong to the ceremonial program, nevertheless the order and frequency of repetition, the preference for one thing and the emphasis placed on another are variations for which there are no fixed rules. They are brought about by the character of the overseer, the mood of influential participants, the humor and inclination of the public, and finally by purely external influences. Such insignificant variations in one or another performance are sometimes very noticeable and, as a result, are always stimulating.

/822 cont./

X881 The chief goal of the čiẽxaus is to influence the training of boys and girls at puberty. Anything that serves this end is provided for in the main part of the ceremonial program, in fact, the program is almost exclusively for the sake of the candidates. Beyond this it is clearly also a performance for adults insofar as it takes into account their need for social life after the long period of solitude that economic conditions impose on each individual family. These two purposes of the čiẽxaus, basically so different and seemingly opposed to each other, are nevertheless happily interwoven; they are impartially considered and completely fulfilled as though there were but a single goal. In the following account the aspects dealing with the candidates are given the most space, for obvious reasons. The part dealing with the entertainment and enjoyment of adults is often repeated in one form or another and is largely taken into the Great Hut from their daily life, for example, the dancing games and songs. Certain details remain doubtful and an adequate explanation is lacking for some aspects. This should not be surprising, for the younger generation took this institution from the older one as an established practice and did not think of giving an interpretation or a reason for every detail. Perhaps it is only in recent times that connections have been lost and gaps have appeared in the succession of ideas. /823/ By and large, however, the following portrayal offers a complete picture of the secret youth initiation as it has been held since ancient times.

As we have often pointed out, this is now generally known among our natives under the name of čiẽxaus. One also often hears the alternative stress, čiexãus, especially when it is shouted in a loud voice, as well as the somewhat different čẽxaus, and even the softer jiẽxaus and jẽxaus. The latter form is obviously similar to jãkaus in BD:276. This word implies the entire performance itself. To call it a youth initiation is justified insofar as it chiefly and almost exclusively serves the education and training of young people of both sexes at puberty. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a čiẽxaus is conducted in which only boys or only girls are candidates, because in some years there are not enough young people of the other sex. There are no age limits.

/823 cont./

1. Occasion and Duration

X881 182 The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's: 255 observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits, "that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear at a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the čiéxaus. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

X881 182 571 Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. It is only within the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 336). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

/824 cont./

X881 182 571 the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the čiẍaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the čiẍaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the čiẍaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

X881 /825 cont./
182 families will remain together for a longer time, especially if
571 favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

X981 From this account we can easily see how the many circum-
182 stances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the dura-
tion of a čiéxaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uswáala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uswáala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important čiéxaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new čiéxaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kína celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

X881 /825 cont./
182 Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

X881 All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

X881 Every participant retains his absolute property rights over
422 the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut. Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

X881 In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

/826 cont./
have been faithfully handed down in their present form from earlier and ancient generations to all the successive ones.

a. The Participants

An initiation does not, of course, take place -- assuming all the external conditions -- unless a certain number of participants decide on it. With regard to the candidates, we shall discuss the prevailing custom below. Every adult has an absolute right to enter any čiẽxaus hut if he has twice submitted to the initiation as uswãala. He is treated very strictly the first time; the second is regarded as a much less strict re-examination (251).

> 251. We may mention briefly that the younger chaps are required to have attended the initiation twice as candidates before they are admitted to the men's secret ceremony.

The geographical restrictions that hold for general traffic are lifted as soon as /827/ one or another local group decides to have a čiẽxaus celebration. The very fact that individual families from every region may assemble around a stranded whale also gives them the right to remain there during the initiation held in connection with it. There is no pressure put upon them either to enter the Great Hut in the first place or to remain there from beginning to end. Actually, no one would miss the opportunity to enjoy this beautiful ceremony if it were held within reach and if he were not prevented by an insurmountable obstacle.

In the course of the ceremony the number present fluctuates constantly, for some families come and others depart quite unpredictably, according to mood and inclination. Formerly the average number of participants for the entire ceremony was high, 50 to 80 I was told. Sometimes, especially before the end, it increased, whereas in the beginning it was always less. The more the word was passed about the ceremony's being held, the more people hastened to it. From the beginning, however, the number of participants was decisively influenced by the external circumstance that occasioned it, by whether or not this circumstance of

/827 cont./

X881 itself brought together a large number, as well as by the size of the local group within whose boundaries the festival took place. My informants agreed that it was all the more lively and stimulating the more adults and candidates took part in it.

If an event of major importance for the general public, for example, a large funeral ceremony or the stranding of a mighty school of herring, brought many families together in one spot, there was a general desire for social games and the exchange of ideas within a large company. If a vague inclination for the Y/4 čiexaus was felt, which gradually became the subject of conversation among the adults, it was usually only a short step to a preliminary agreement. The wish of many culminated in the firm decision of all. They would discuss this or that circumstance, make suggestions, weigh the present situation, and come to a more and more definite final plan. Sometimes this was a gradual process, but occasionally it happened very quickly and almost automatically. Probably a certain amount of enthusiasm for the Y/4 čiexaus was almost never lacking, having been aroused by the very fact that many families from several local groups flocked together.

β. The Candidates

When the decision has been reached to conduct another initiation, the Yamana immediately consider which children can become candidates. The strict law of custom demands that all of them, after attaining physical maturity, /828/ submit to this secret ceremony at least once. It is the duty of parents, of the smaller circle of near kinsmen, and chiefly of the general public to see to it that no one misses this trial period. Actually, the adults give particular attention to each and every one of their fellow tribesmen with regard to his obligation as Y/4 uiwiala. They note very carefully and over a period of many years when and where everyone passed his Y/4 čiexaus, who his sponsors and his instructor were on this occasion, and anything else connected with it. It is therefore absolutely impossible for a single one of them to dodge this obligation unnoticed by his immediate neighborhood. We refer, for example, to Clemente who had his first initiation at the same time I did, although he was 27 years old (p. 654). The

/828 cont./
fact that he had not gone through it was known by many of his countrymen.

Ordinarily the candidates have passed their fourteenth year, but less attention is given to age and physical development than to a certain mental maturity. Mental qualification is the most important preliminary condition. Children must be equipped with the necessary judgment, some ability to think independently, and some power of self-control if the desired result is to be achieved. In the final analysis, the degree of mental maturity of a child determines whether he is to be admitted this time or whether he must wait for the next occasion. The adults carefully avoid introducing the child into the Great Hut too early, for they know that in that case all effort on both sides would bring about insufficient results for the candidate.

Formerly this ceremony was held often. Hence, it made no difference if this or that young person was obliged to wait until the next time. It is known as "youth initiation," which clearly means that both sexes, boys as well as girls, take part in it simultaneously. As we have just pointed out, it is a coincidence if on occasion only boys or only girls sit in the Great Hut as uwíala. A girl is never admitted to the xálaxan before her menarche (p. 567).

In rejecting candidates, the judgment of close relatives and acquaintances is primarily decisive, not that of the child's own parents. The latter never raise any objection if their child is held back for the next opportunity, although as a rule they like to see him become an uwíala, the sooner the better. The view of others is therefore decisive.

γ. Leader and Overseer

At the preparatory discussions it becomes clear which older men with their families have decided to conduct the initiation. As though automatically, the man who comes to the fore as leader is the best qualified person and the one the others agreed on in their discussion. /829/ He is called the ulaíguwa. He is still robust and active, has great influence among his neighbors, is well acquainted with the program of the ceremony, and knows how to

/829 cont./

make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulastakuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

/829 cont./

It is easy to recognize the overseer who stands out officially when he addresses the customary admonitions to the candidates assembled about him. This is also his duty; he must at least see to it that these admonitions are given the candidates by other persons, whether men or women. The precepts become much more emphatic if they are given in this altogether formal manner. The admonitions that every adult repeatedly gives any one of the candidates is entirely an individual matter.

The Yamana always see to it that both offices, that of leader and that of overseer, are filled. External necessity makes it imperative, quite apart from the above-mentioned subjective reason. The leader more than the overseer might be prevented on a given day from fulfilling the duty incumbent upon him. It does not matter if one /830/ of them temporarily drops out, for the other one will replace him without much ado, and the ceremony continues uninterruptedly. The organization of these two offices rests on a great deal of experience; a man in his best years will first learn to take over the leadership under the supervision of a practiced, dedicated old man who is alert to the preservation of ancient tradition.

At my first initiation old Alfredo was the leader, and Whaim, who was still older, was the overseer; afterwards Santiago filled the former office and Pedro the latter. As a result of this sharing of offices, there is never a lack of men who are capable of filling one or the other.

♂. The Place of Assembly

Frequently the external circumstance that causes many families to come together also determines the place where the initiation is held. If they are not otherwise influenced, the people of a local group will decide on the spot where they previously held their ceremony. In the two successive years 1921 and 1922 the Yamana went to Puerto Mejillones for the Kina, and they used the same Great Hut both times. Thus they are not absolutely dependent on a particular region, nor can they be, since the dialect groups at least prefer to celebrate this festival within their own

1; Gunindo--673 E-5 (1918-1964) 1937 0288 Yahgan 1016

/930 cont./

territory. Thus they isolate themselves from one another to a certain extent, and slight differences and local peculiarities of this ceremony have arisen in one region or another.

Although the geographical location does not matter, the place must fulfill certain conditions. Today, and sometimes formerly, the Great Hut is hidden from the eyes of the curious. Europeans especially are regarded as such, as well as the neighboring Halakwulup and Selk'nam. They like to choose an island or an inlet that is seldom visited. The Great Hut is built at the edge of the forest or near a wall of rock, so that it is inconspicuous and, in addition, blends into the landscape. The ground on which it is placed must be as dry as possible, that is, it must be gravel or shingle, for clayey earth, with all the people walking on it, would become a morass beyond all description. Furthermore, the place must be well protected against the buffeting of heavy winds and rain. If rain leaked in at too many spots or smoke blew around inside as a result of repeated gusts of wind, many of the people would find it impossible to protect themselves. The Great Hut is always crowded, and disturbances of the strict proceedings must be avoided.

Moreover, the Yamana have a few other unavoidable requirements for the site of the Great Hut. Firewood must be available nearby, and there must be quantities of it, for during the long ceremony /931/ the numerous participants use a great deal. There must be a brook not too far off, for the Indians drink a great deal of water and it would be burdensome to go a long way for it. Finally, whatever else the place may offer the coasts of the vicinity must be provided with quantities of mussels because these are needed every day.

There is a great deal of preliminary calculation and recommitering before the men in charge decide on a particular place of assembly. Aside from the work required to build a new Great Hut, a move is always regarded as disturbing and uncomfortable and is avoided from the outset, if possible. If they have a completely free choice, they assemble in a place that has already proved suitable in former years. It is taken for granted that the availability of food is always a decisive factor; half a hundred persons

I: Gwinde--474 8-6 (1919-1924) 1937 USE Tshgan USE

/USE cont./

or more need very considerable amounts for a period of several weeks. They are also looking for a certain amount of comfort, and the adults wish to relax a bit from all their exertions and restrictions.

The long-range preparation is, as we see, an important matter requiring long discussions and much prudence. Yet, faster than one would think possible, the Tawasa come to agreement about their significant youth initiation. The younger people listen to the older ones submissively and with respect; the latter have had so much experience that, under the circumstances, their decision could hardly be better.

2. More Immediate Preparation

Assuming that many families have gathered in one place for a particular purpose and that the place is suitable for the /dewe/ ceremony, it is not necessary for the entire camp to move. The situation is different if the families must gather at a suitable place. Then the leader determines the move, and he and his family are usually the first to go there so that the others will follow his example.

Almost always the leader also sends some messenger to his circle of kinsmen and the members of the local group to call attention to the beginning of the performance and also to extend a particularly cordial invitation to certain families. It is a matter of pride for the leader to have a "full house," hence his effort beforehand, and also later, to assemble as many people as possible.

Consideration is given also to the space that must be provided for the number of participants who have announced their coming or may be expected. After all, it must not be too crowded in the Great Hut because that would hinder certain games and dances. One cannot, of course, count on a prior acceptance by some families, and the overseer does not know definitely how many participants will come until all of them /USE/ have actually set up their huts nearby. Frequently the individual families must come from different directions, and in spite of their best intentions, they are only too often and too long delayed by bad weather.

Everyone arrives in good humor and a suitable frame of mind. The /dewe/ offers so much stimulation for every aspect of the inner

I: Gusinde--675 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5106 Yahgan 5106

/835 cont./

221 info that each participant is confident from the start that his hopes and expectations will be fulfilled. A considerable power of attraction is sometimes exerted by the personality of the leader. One person will have an excellent manner for providing strict order, a variety of activity, good suggestions, and a refreshing arrangement of everyday details, whereas another can present the old legends in an incomparably enjoyable way or offer the precepts and admonitions to the candidates with cordial sincerity. I remember specifically the comments of women and men in February, 1920, when it became known in Punta Remolino that Alfredo would take over the leadership of the Yámana. One person praised this virtue, another praised that one which particularly recommended him for this office. Truly, there was a great difference between the way he held the reins of such a complex performance and the manner in which Santiago, whom I had a chance to observe two years later, did it.

All the people who assemble in one place for the initiation arrive with the intention of taking part from beginning to end, but this is no indication of how long they will actually stay, just as one cannot say anything definite at the beginning about the duration of the ceremony itself. There are a great many external influences which assert themselves and all kinds of other determining factors, above all the personality of the leader has a decisive effect. Although nothing is known beforehand about the duration of the ceremony and nothing is definitely decided, no participant is on that account in any way influenced in his plans. Anyone who is uncomfortable or who is bored and deriving no further stimulation from the meeting simply departs without interference. All of them come with the eager hope that the Yámana celebration will be a very long one. If, however, after a certain time it no longer has much attraction, everyone votes for a prompt adjournment, and then, when they actually separate, someone will say: "Too bad that it's over!" We see, therefore, that the Yamana, too, are altogether human everywhere and in every situation of life.

/832 cont./

a. Construction of the Great Hut

X 881 346

Whether the families have assembled in one place for some extraneous reason or at the invitation of the chosen leader, several men survey the locality carefully to see which spot is most suitable for the construction of the Great Hut. We have just mentioned (p. 673) what is required of the place. Above all the earth must /833/ be dry and the adjoining area must furnish good protection. The distance to the nearest huts must not be more than 150 meters since every adult participant returns more or less frequently to his dwelling and does not want to go too long a distance. The women's concern about their small children does not permit them to be too far away. All these things are considered in the choice of the site for the Great Hut.

From the start the leader makes sure of a few younger men who prove to be active and willing to work. Hesitation and delay would have a paralyzing effect on the families; hence he promptly begins the construction of the Great Hut. If the place for it has been definitely determined, he sends his men into the woods where they cut long, thin beech trunks and bring them to the site. The number required depends on their plans for the size of the structure. At least 80 small trunks of different thicknesses and medium length are required.

They choose a smooth spot on the ground, measure the circumference with the naked eye, and remove any protruding stones. At the same time the leader estimates the length that he wants the entire structure to have. At one end two of the stronger trunks are rammed into the earth scarcely more than 50 centimeters apart at the bottom. They flank the entrance and are known as wéfia tŭawina. They are set at an angle of about 45 degrees. The same thing is done with two more trunks exactly opposite them, which flank the exit and are called ušélun tŭawina. The ends of these two pairs are fastened together. If these poles prove to be too short because a long hut is planned, pieces are inserted between them. The pair of poles does not serve as special support like pillars, nor is this necessary, but it does represent a kind of main rib for the entire vault, with reference to which all the other small poles are arranged.

After that the so-called transverse arches are set up, one after another and at right angles to the above-mentioned pair of poles.

/833 cont./ The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the evergreen Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

X881 346 354

/834 cont./ and no one was bothered very much by smoke. Formerly everyone felt the smoke, sometimes disagreeably, because the open fire extended the length of the hut.

hut framework above the fire is loosely arranged so that the smoke can get out quickly and easily.

X881 346

The length of the hut depends, of course, on the number of participants; all the other measurements are just about the same for a long or short structure. The Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones is 11.30 meters long and has a maximum width on the ground of 3.60 meters and a perpendicular height in the exact center of 2.35 meters.

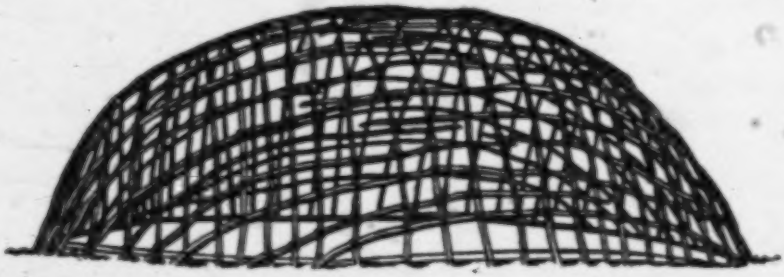


Fig. 81. Framework of the Great Hut.

The entrance is 0.46 meters wide on the ground and has a vertical height of 1.05 meters. The exit has a lower width of 0.40 meters and a vertical height of 0.90 meters. The exit is purposely kept lower /835/ and narrower. The two small openings are a little narrower on top because the two main trunks are not exactly parallel. Throughout Yamana territory the čiẽxaus hut is erected according to the design just described (255) which is the only kind that furnishes

255. Lothrop (b):166 writes: "The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona" /cited in English/. This statement is contrary to my experience. Old Water, who came from the east, often assured me that his countrymen, too, had exclusively built the same elongated, dome-shaped hut that is used in other parts of the region for the initiation.

/835 cont./
comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain construction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside. They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood. Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yēxalapáteg ikamanáki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their yēxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X881 346 352 531

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881 346 There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumêci, almost exclusively, whereas the úiwjala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úiatumêci (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'uma,' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in English/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

[77]

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

/836 cont./

X 881 346 [177]

sailcloth which is also drawn over the entire framework as a covering. Very large pieces prevent the rain from dripping in annoyingly. The Fuegians appreciate this, and in February, 1920, they borrowed a wide tent canvas from Fred Lawrence for the Great Hut in Punta Remolino.

that hangs in front of it. It prevents the wind from beating in and also keeps anyone from looking into the room lighted by the fire. Sometimes a guard will pre-empt the seat near the tumečí, although he does not have any particular right to it. Everyone is content to take a seat, mičí, to the right or left of the fire, in the middle or on the sides, as chance would have it. The entire interior is called "alá̂in" (260), but this designation is almost

260. This word originally meant "rock cave at the surface of the water where sea lions gather." Just as these animals assemble in their rock cave, so have the Yamana assembled in their play in the Great Hut. The further symbolic significance of this word and the meaning of the dance staff and forehead decoration are given in detail on p. 713

always used only for the little space near the narrower entrance at the rear.

The entire dome, despite its great flexibility, is stable enough because the individual poles forming the framework are tied and plaited together and also driven into the earth a short distance. The dome needs firmness, for sometimes it must withstand strong buffeting by the wind on its long side. During the dances /837/ held inside, the framework sometimes suffers heavy blows when a dance group falls against it. Moreover, it is customary, in order to ward off the influence of evil spirits, to shake it often so that it vibrates in all its parts. Individual persons will seize it with such force that one fears they will tear the whole weave apart. Finally, the watchmen climb up to the highest

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of ǰiéxaus participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (o):541.

/837 cont./

X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalíku kípa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kípa ẽkẽrź, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 244 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

γ. Guard Duty

X881 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

/838 cont./
activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē·a. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. As a headdress the winefkē·a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yēkamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxēl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

The particular duty of the winefkē·a is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./
X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiexaus hut. Moreover, the winefkēʷa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiexaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkēʷa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uiwaala are sitting in the čiexaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkēʷa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./

881 625 302 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxḗl, but they are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkḗ·a. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

881 625 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uš·wā́ala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkḗ·a himself should never be too far away from it.

881 625 283 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and 12 to 15 meters long. This úkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

881 625 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row thrown the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this úkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uš·wā́ala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

/841 cont./
leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs, and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alāin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkéxa, have a definite call, familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiéxaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/842 cont./

X881 86 example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The čiéxaus need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (262).

262. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the uš̌wā̆la and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

X881 86 The čiéxaus celebration is so popular for adults and always strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because fortunately this affair to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as may be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to revive the old customs (263), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

263. Here we may definitely state that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

X881 867 /842 cont./ Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Yamana." Our Fuegians have a natural tendency X881 toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos. 517 /843/ In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and stories, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this affair solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the Kéxaus.

X881 The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Yamana so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Yamana do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation varies and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such affair, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the Kéxaus celebration in March, 1922, will follow this long discussion.

I. The Adult Assembly

Following the example of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult readies his forehead decoration and his dance staff, both of which must always

/843 cont./

X 881 be newly made. Certain things that need protection are carefully packed away, and they arrange for a more or less long absence from their dwellings.

From this point onward the women in particular note the progress of the work on the čiexaus hut, for when it is almost finished, the start of the festival is not far off. It remains for the leader to choose a few men as guard and guard assistants (p. 683), as well as a few women to work in the cookhut (p. 682). Sometimes it is not until then that a few authoritative men meet and consider which young people are to become ulwala.

Therefore, a few days elapse after arrival at the čiexaus site before the leader states in plain words: "This evening our čiexaus will begin!" As soon as his decision has been made, a few men notify all the inhabitants of the camp who immediately prepare themselves for it. Should anyone be detained, for instance, if he should be caring for a sick person or on account of a small child /844/ or physical infirmity, he may remain in his dwelling undisturbed. All the little children who may not as yet be admitted to the Great Hut and who cannot be left unsupervised are put in charge of two to five older women, depending on the number of families taking part. Each of these women gathers several children around her during the day, invites them into her own hut for the night, and sees that they are fed. Women with a nursing baby sometimes take it with them into the čiexaus hut. These arrangements in the dwellings, as well as in the Great Hut, are attended to quite calmly, without the least fuss.

If the leader, for example, has announced the beginning of the celebration for that evening, one adult after another will move over to the Great Hut as early as noontime. Everyone takes with him the little that he needs for his bed and the frequently renewed body painting. There, on the brush covering the ground, he spreads out his pieces of skin, largely replaced nowadays by cloth covers (264), and places the other small items in

λ 881 177

264. Many other European articles to which the Yamana are now accustomed are also brought along, for example, soap, combs, stearin candles, etc. They do not regard it

X88 [17]

/844 cont./

as a desecration of the sacred hut to unpack and use these foreign objects there.

the interstices of the hut framework. There are no particular rules for seating. The leader chooses his place approximately in the center, so that without effort he can announce his instructions to all the participants. The rest of the people sit here or there, as chance would have it and as they freely congregate. Sometimes close relatives and good friends stay together, and occasionally the leader calls a young man to his side so that he will be at his disposal (265). Many wineh[illegible] prefer the place next to the main

265. The complete lack of form is surprisingly different from the seating rules in the men's Great Hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1008).

entrance. If new guests arrive in the course of the celebration, they squeeze into the left or right row wherever suits them. Everyone, however, must keep his chosen place from the beginning to the end of the proceedings. Each candidate, of course, sits beside one of his sponsors.

As a rule the occupants form a row on either side of the hearth which extends from one entrance to the other. If there are many people from the start and additional guests unexpectedly join them, there is some crowding, and many a person must squeeze in between the participants squatting in their places and the wall of the framework. Such discomforts happen only to young people, of course. Each of the women who come into the Great Hut from the cooking squeezes into the place the first chose in the row of people and likewise adjusts to the general rule.

In March, 1922, we sat in the following order. On one side /845/ of the secondary entrance in the direction of the main entrance were Richard and his wife Mary who was the sponsor of Elisa, the latter's mother Adelheid, whose husband Santiago was sponsor for Father Koppers, old Pedro who was the overseer of the entire gathering, Whaim, and Charlie. On the other side, beginning at the main entrance, were Calderon, myself, my sponsor Chris and his wife Gertie, Manuel who was the sponsor of Kines,

/845 cont./

Emilia, the young Halakwulup girl Julia as uǐwáala beside her sponsor Luisa who was the wife of Walter, and finally, beside Walter, his own son Walter II (Fig. 83),

Every adult is bound by the general and strict cíexaus rule to be as quiet as possible. /Fig. 83 appears here./ Loud conversation is not at all tolerated, and all communication is carried on in a muted whisper. No one may move in such a way that he disturbs others. Everyone conducts himself in all his actions as inconspicuously as possible. The older people,

Fig. 83. Seating Arrangement at the Youth Initiation, 1922.

naturally, sit very quietly. Younger men who have not developed as much self-control must sometimes force themselves not to offend against the rule for general quiet. We shall speak more of this in connection with the daily program.

This brief reference was necessary here, since the individual participants gather beforehand in the Great Hut and prepare themselves for the actual start of the rite by prolonged meditation. One after another they approach the cíexaus hut very quietly and inconspicuously. It is not customary for two or three to go together and talk on the way. Everyone goes the short distance by himself, without accompaniment, and begins, even outside, to shake off all distraction. He pushes gently into the entrance, looks around briefly, and chooses a convenient place which he will occupy the entire time. /846/ He squats down, places his few utensils behind him or sticks them into the hut framework above his back, and gives himself up to his thoughts in deepest silence. It does not

1: Guinde--693 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 3198 Yalgu 3198

/846 cont./

X 881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the Eleusis rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (s):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X 881 292 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the peritoneum of the small albatross, dólelux (Diomedea melanophrys), [825] or of the male Molina goose, Hiux (Chloéphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. On either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapanñi as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the hánel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 218).

/946 cont./

In former times when the Tamara were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (360) which they /947/ wound

> 360. To this day the Malakwalap have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the men's secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gonnabe (56).

with cordons and braided. They were known as kwapwakwani. The kapapili was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The kapapili has no significance other than as ornamentation.

The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb; toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Tamara hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the overseer or another man gives the customary instructions to the ulwala, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

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X 301 293

/547 cont./

It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Tewanto puts it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hat framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone treats his dance staff carefully and often removes the painting on it.

X 301 533

After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hó sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being self-determined, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /560/ singers of the Great Hat. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this state finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Even their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the following celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

/945 cont./
It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The Tidzaye truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

When darkness falls, the Tidzaye but shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortunately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /949/ - without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (387).

387. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

/849 cont./

X881 177 264

of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

X881

Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkeʔa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uswʔala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 685). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, ʔikeʔa, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkeʔa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uswʔala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guard's assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uswʔala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where there

/849 cont./

X881 are children. The adults intend this to be the case, whether the children are about to be fetched or are still too young. All the children now know that these men have been appointed as guards who do not understand fun and will tolerate no disturbance. As a result, the small children stay away from the čiéxaus hut because they are afraid (268).

> 268. The older women who remain in the camp to take care of the small children expressly tell them about the arrival of the guards and their dragging away the candidates. They also tell them about "Yetaita" /a spirit/ so that fear and terror will have a prolonged effect.

/850/ When the frightened candidate has been brought to the main entrance, his bonds are loosed. He must squat down on all fours. The moment a man slightly raises the entrance covering outside, another pushes the chap from behind through the entrance and into the Great Hut. Inside he is received by another man who immediately throws a large piece of leather over his head, so that he cannot see what is going on. Thus covered and crawling on hands and feet, he is pushed forward until he reaches the place beside the sponsor selected for him. Here he may straighten up and, with his legs crossed under him, squats in expectation of what soon follows.

β. Reception in the Great Hut

The candidate is still unable to see anything because his face remains covered. From the moment he is pushed in, all the occupants start an indescribable yelling and howling; they drum on the smooth ground with their fists and violently shake the entire framework. The helpless chap is in an awful state, for he has a foreboding of dreadful things and knows that he is completely defenseless.

X881 Long before, at the direction of the leader, several of the
302 men very stealthily prepared for the appearance of Yetáita. In

/850 cont./

X 881 302 the underbrush near the Great Hut a younger man has taken off his clothing and smeared his whole body with white paint on which he then evenly arranges short vertical lines five centimeters long and as wide as a finger. His face is covered with thick red paint, and many delicate white lines, like rays, extend in all directions from both corners of his mouth. From one shoulder to the other, forming an arc across his chest, hangs a feather ornament made exactly like the forehead decoration of a yĕkamuĭ. This man does not wear an ornament on his head; instead, he ruffles up his hair and rubs ĭmi powder into it. Two other men usually help him make up.

The man who plays the part of Yetĭjta usually appears with a companion. The latter wears a headband of leafless twigs. The lower part of his face up to the nostrils is painted white, the upper part black; isolated parts of his body are rubbed with fine powdered charcoal (269).

269. This figure resembles the so-called "Hase" in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 925).

X 881 When the candidate who has just been introduced has been shoved into his place, they motion to the man who represents the "evil spirit." Sometimes he has been kept hidden behind a curtain near the secondary entrance. Imperceptibly he moves toward the uĭwĭala. At the moment /851/ the scrap of leather is removed from the face of the uĭwĭala, Yetĭjta leaps in front of him. Two other men have stirred up the embers in such a way that it looks as though the "evil spirit" had risen up out of the flames. Immediately the struggle begins. Yetĭjta very energetically puts his arms around the frightened chap, shakes him vigorously, bends him angrily from side to side, presses him against the ground, and tortures him until beads of cold sweat appear on the boy's body. Yetĭjta does not say a word; he is careful to turn his head so that it is impossible for the boy to recognize his face. Meanwhile the yelling and howling of the inmates has increased, as well as their drumming and stamping upon the ground. The struggle with the "evil spirit" lasts about ten minutes. In desperate helplessness and

/851 cont./

utter exhaustion, the boy is unable to offer the slightest resistance. Powerlessly he lets himself be thrown down, lifted up, shoved, and dragged about.

Suddenly the dreadful yelling ceases. At the same moment one man, usually the leader, leans forward, puts his mouth against his cupped hand which rests upright on the ground, and bellows out a hollow-sounding, deep, long drawn-out hff against the ground. This means: "Yetáita is now dead!" At the same time the "evil spirit" ceases his wild commotion and crouches motionless in front of the candidate whom he has so mercilessly tormented. The latter gets up on his knees at the direction of another man who squats beside him. The boy must now look his tormentor full in the face, and then he recognizes him! The man beside him says to the boy: "Look closely, that is your kinsman (270), not Yetáita! The true Yetáita looks like your kinsman here, who is painted like Yetáita. Watch out for Yetáita! Pay careful attention to what will be demanded of you here in the téxaus. Do not leave this Great Hut on your own. Never look over at the camp and never let the children over there see you. Keep strict silence among other people about what you will experience here. Now you know that Yetáita is much rougher than your kinsman. This man is not Yetáita himself, but you should know now to watch out for him!"

While these words are being spoken, the agitation of the ulwála subsides somewhat as more and more clearly he recognizes the man as his kinsman. The latter immediately sits down beside him, for in this celebration he will be his sponsor. The sole purpose of this so-called apparition is to frighten the young chap thoroughly and to compel him to give scrupulous attention to the precepts that are emphasized here (271).

270. He says specifically: "That is your uncle, that is your father..." Following the general custom of the Yamana, he does not mention his given name.

271. In comparison we refer to the struggle which the candidates in the secret hut of the

/851 cont./

Selk'nam men's ceremony must undergo with a so-called spirit. The latter conducts himself much more wildly, and the men shout to the candidate that he should defend himself with all his might against this spirit. There, too, the masked man, after struggling with the candidate, discloses himself as his kinsman. The whole performance is likewise supposed to put awesome fear into the chap who enters this sacred place for the first time (Vol. I, 851).

/852/ In former times each candidate separately experienced the same kind of introduction into the Great Hut. When there were many candidates, three or four men played the role of the spirit and took turns. Each man painted himself and, as Yetášta, struggled with the particular chap whom he was to sponsor in this Kóyang celebration, insofar as this was possible. In the case of girls this struggle is omitted. They are led to the Great Hut and shoved through the main entrance in the same manner as was described above. They are left crouching in their places with faces covered until a boy who has been subsequently led in is obliged to begin the struggle with Yetášta. At this moment the piece of leather is removed from the girl's face, and she can now watch, without recognizing the man. She is amply frightened and terrified.

Sometimes the spectral appearance is made more simply. A younger man paints himself behind the curtain near the secondary entrance, his companion doing the same. Here both remain hidden until all the ufwála are led into the hut at once with their faces covered. The adults begin drumming against the ground, howling and screaming alarmingly. As the cover is removed from the faces of the candidates, the curtain is also drawn aside. The leader or some other man calls to them: "Yetášta is sitting there beside the second entrance; he is squatting on the ground, his companion beside him!" The candidates are led near him so that they become very frightened. Some of them must touch the wad of twigs which the companion has tied around his forehead. Afterwards

/852 cont./

when the curtain once more hides the figure of Yetā́ita, each pupil is asked: "Whom did you see?" Timidly he replies: "Yetā́ita!" Then they say: "That was not Yetā́ita himself; he is much more dangerous!"

In most recent times this apparition is often omitted for the sake of convenience; the old people view this as a sad indication of laxity in the čiéxaus program, which formerly was seriously carried out. At my first initiation the Yamana let the so-called Yetā́ita appear out of consideration for me, and that is when I observed this performance. I did not see it again later.

γ. The Sponsors

In quick succession all the candidates are brought to the Great Hut on the same evening. After their reception each of them carries the fear of Yetā́ita deep in his very bones. He is constantly reminded of it, for the person who first appeared to him in this form now sits next to him as his "sponsor." How else is one to designate the position and task of the man or woman to whom each uš̌wā́ala is entrusted? /853/ Their task is to watch him continuously and never move from his side, day or night. In order that they may also pursue their other duties and participate in special performances in the Great Hut, they are regularly assigned in pairs to one uš̌wā́ala. Thus it is possible for them to take turns in this service. A boy is given either two men or a man and a woman, a girl, on the other hand, almost always two women as sponsors (272). At my first and second initiation Chris

272. Lothrop (b):168 reports inaccurately about this arrangement when he writes: "Each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex." I never heard of three godparents for a candidate. Usually they are satisfied with a single sponsor for each candidate. Compare the list of participants on p. 692.

X881
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/853 cont./
and Gertie performed this service for me; Koppers had Santiago and his wife Adelheid as sponsors.

The uŝwā́ala does not sit between his two sponsors (273), but

273. This principle can be very clearly seen in Fig. 83. I also observed this practice during my first initiation.

next to the one who is his chief sponsor. We have already mentioned that their task is to take particular care of their protégé. In this respect they replace, as it were, his or her parents (274)

274. We must point out that upon entry into the Great Hut parental influence on the children is interrupted (p. 640), and training by the community now takes its place.

with whom they are either related or well acquainted. They call their protégé an adopted or foster child, hétakuxéolan, also hétakumákuxéolan. Soon after the struggle with the so-called Yetáita, the sponsor begins his duties. He says to his protégé: "Sit right!" Immediately the latter assumes the sitting position prescribed for uŝwā́ala. Then he says: "Always sit still, do not look around, do not talk, never laugh, remain composed," and so forth.

As soon as his word has achieved the external posture and bearing, he begins teaching him the goals of this celebration and threatens stern measures should he offend against the prevailing form. Finally he talks to him severely about vices, character faults, bad behavior, and negligence, which were recently observed in him or in some way attracted attention.

The sponsor also carefully supervises the handwork and exercises the uŝwā́ala must do. Two or three times a day he paints the face of the latter and also concerns himself with his physical well-being, daily serving him small amounts of food and drink. For each sponsor it is a serious duty, and more than that, a matter of deep feeling, to observe his protégé so carefully and to influence him so decidedly that this initiation will be as fruitful as possible for him.

/853 cont./

According to the ideas of our Yamana, this intimate contact between sponsor and candidate during the long weeks in the Great Hut brings about a kind of kinship connection between the two. It is /854/ most clearly expressed in the fact that the two may not marry. Let us imagine that a male uwúala occasionally has a female sponsor (275). For many years after the youth initiation

275. Besides a male sponsor, Koppers had a female sponsor and so did I, even twice, his was Adelheid, mine Gertie. That was by no means regarded as an exception.

every sponsor, male or female, not only has the right but also the duty to supervise closely the further conduct of his hétakuxéolan and, if necessary, remind him of the principles of that probationary period. Even the natural parents do not dare attempt such interference in the personal freedom of an adult, much less other people. The sponsor has a right to do it. The two are therefore intimately united throughout their lifetimes in a spiritual kinship they are attentive to each other, visit each other, and give each other gifts.

Above all, a female sponsor concerns herself with maternal care for her protégé and attentively follows his later career. When I met my sponsor Gertie in Punta Remolino two years after my first initiation, she embraced me, beaming happily, and gave me a loud kiss on my forehead in the presence of the Indians and Whites who were standing around. To be concerned about one's aged and needy sponsors is a duty, just as much as it is for children toward their own parents.

The reception of the candidates and their assignment to their sponsors could also come under the heading of the more immediate preparations. In any case, everything is now taken care of so that the regular program of this long ceremony can begin.

3. Daily Program for the Candidates

The long čiéxaus celebration proceeds according to unwritten laws. The old people faithfully preserve them in memory and each

/854 cont./

X 881 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be
X 881 all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the an-
609 cestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p. 644).

X 881 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been
128 put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, supplemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /855/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1008).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X 881 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved
177 down to our own day in this Čiéxaus celebration, for it has been proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X 881 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

/855 cont./

Y881 arrangement. Each initiation has a definitely emphasized individual note, which is given to it by the personality, character, and mental traits of its overseer. One overseer will be stricter than another; this one will put more emphasis on physical exertion, that one on the teachings; one will devote more attention to the candidates, another to the adults. We might say that even the greater or lesser number of participants perceptibly influences the mood and spirit.

These and other unpredictable circumstances give each initiation a certain uniqueness and create a more or less different picture from one time to the next. It is difficult to put into words this individual note, which, according to external influences or the personality of the leader, dominates the entire celebration. Nevertheless, the opinion and statements of the Indians taking part now and then express it clearly enough (277).

277. I have pointed out several times the very different way in which each of the two initiations I experienced was conducted.

C. External Measures

In the initiation, our Yamana treat the young person as a whole, thus by no means neglecting to train him physically. In this connection they are chiefly concerned with great ability in self-control, which even young persons must attain. "Everyone must have his whole body and each of his limbs under control. If he has learned that, he has been a good umaala in the ciexaus!" This was clearly and definitely pointed out to me at the very beginning as an important goal by Alfredo, the leader of my first initiation. The Indians are guided by the surely justifiable idea that whoever /856/ is able to control his physical self is also master of his mental powers! The entire procedure makes it obligatory for the umaala to exercise self-control.

In everything the candidates must show blind obedience, which rests almost entirely upon respect for ancient tradition. Ancient custom is sacred and imperative; to follow it unconditionally

/856 cont./

X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidats are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uš̌wä́ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hᵾtaluxé̯olan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut each candi-
516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on
866 his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

[71] 278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows trained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uš̌wä́ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uš̌wä́ala with repeated
866 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

X 881 866

/856 cont./

twitches a muscle! Sometimes smoke whirls up from the long fire in the Great Hut. The others stretch out flat or turn their heads away; the candidate must remain motionless, even if thick smoke from the green wood envelopes him and irritates his eyes. Since his eyes usually begin to water, the helpless chap simply cannot avoid blinking, but even for that /857/ the older people call him to account with gruff reproaches, demanding that he control even reflex motions. When wood is placed on the fire, a man will purposely but inconspicuously poke about in the embers directly in front of the candidate to make the sparks fly. The candidate may neither turn aside nor brush off those that fall on him. I once saw rain come in through a rather large leak and drip directly on the right shoulder of an uŭwĭala. They purposely let this go on for a whole day, whereas any adult in such a situation would have immediately sought relief.

Along with this motionless, compulsory posture, the Yamana also demand that the candidate to a certain extent assume a serious expression. He must maintain it and not brighten up, even if something nearby should give him reason to do so. A candidate would have to pay dearly for smiling or laughing. Even during the games and dances to which they, too, are invited, the candidates may not give up their serious composure, but are to act as though they were completely withdrawn. The adults provide special tests. Sometimes they tell amusing experiences and droll stories; some of them burst out laughing and others shake with laughter. Woe to the uŭwĭala who so much as moves his lips or smiles!

The strict educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with this, however. They insist on an extreme curtailment of freedom for their candidates. The latter may not, except for a justifiable purpose, give up their squatting position, in other words, they may not stand up or leave the Great Hut to relieve themselves outside. Formerly they were permitted to attend quickly to natural functions only twice a day. Even these unpredictable demands of nature must be adapted to the strict rules during the kĭexam celebration!

X 881

Nevertheless, the much underrated Fuegians are good observers and understand human nature thoroughly. When the

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X881 compulsory position became almost unbearable and I did not know what else to do, I told my sponsor that I had to relieve myself. He nodded permission. An hour later I repeated my request. Outside I stretched my twisted limbs to my heart's desire each time, but quickly returned to the Great Hut. When, however, after a considerable time I repeated the same request, I was point-blank denied permission with a light shake of the head, and Chris merely said: "You don't have to relieve yourself that often!" The candidate who has been busy at something in the Great Hut or outside must return to his seat without delay and resume the squatting position exactly as before.

X881 785 866 2. Meager Nourishment. For every candidate his stay in the Great Hut is an uninterrupted hunger trial. During the first four or six days he is given only a single mussel in the late afternoon and, at the same time, a good swallow of water. He is served both these things by his /858/ sponsor. The uǐwi̯ala sucks the water out of the mussel shell with a small tube-shaped bird bone which the sponsor holds in one hand while he places his other hand on the throat of his protégé and presses slightly, as though to prevent the latter from drinking too much. The sponsor himself makes the small bone tube, ɛ́mbalim, hands it to his protégé each time he sucks water, and leaves him this article as a souvenir at the end of the čiɛ́xaus celebration. After the first few days the uǐwi̯ala gets a larger amount of food, even twice a day, at the same time that food is brought to the adults from the cookhut. It is the sponsor's duty to determine the amount that he wants the uǐwi̯ala to have each time. He takes into consideration the candidate's physical condition, but arranges everything so that he really suffers hunger. Later, drinking water is permitted several times a day, and the candidate asks his sponsor for it each time.

The young people are very much tormented by hunger, but in spite of it, they are made to eat very slowly. When small bits are distributed, perhaps berries and fungi gathered by the girls or roasted pieces of meat from a bird killed by the boys, the uǐwi̯ala may eat only after all the adults have been served. It is the duty of the sponsor to watch over these details. With all the strictness, however, he will not let matters go so far as to have his protégé collapse from exhaustion and become incapable

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of going on with the rest of the Kina celebration.

In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the ulwala are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X 881 866

3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a program for the Kina celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the ulwala. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the Kina lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. But until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

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279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

/859 cont./

themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male olwalo were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the /olwop but in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yesuta and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three olwalo were driven down to the water twice in the dead of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

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Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the olwalo for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the olwalo a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /[illegible]/ brought me to the point of despair. One

L: Cambridge--TIZ S-S (1910-1954) 1937 ONE Telegram 916

/Will cont./

morning when old Alfreda noticed my combined name, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the course, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat cautiously crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the Palmyra." If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his protégé every spouse is almost unfeeling.

The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

4. Body Decoration. The Yemana quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The adults commonly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The spouse himself regularly paints these designs on his protégé--As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a mussel shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines up and down the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. It is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the adults consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

/860 cont./

X 881 302 the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the ulwáia. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X 881 292 The adult participants really should always wear their hapayél, the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapayél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /861/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X 881 293 Besides the hapayél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X 881 292 293 /862/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681) that the t'éyaxa hut, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapayél symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the t'éyaxa constantly wear the hapayél and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.--Analyst]

1: Gumbo--714 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 Gift Tolgan Hill

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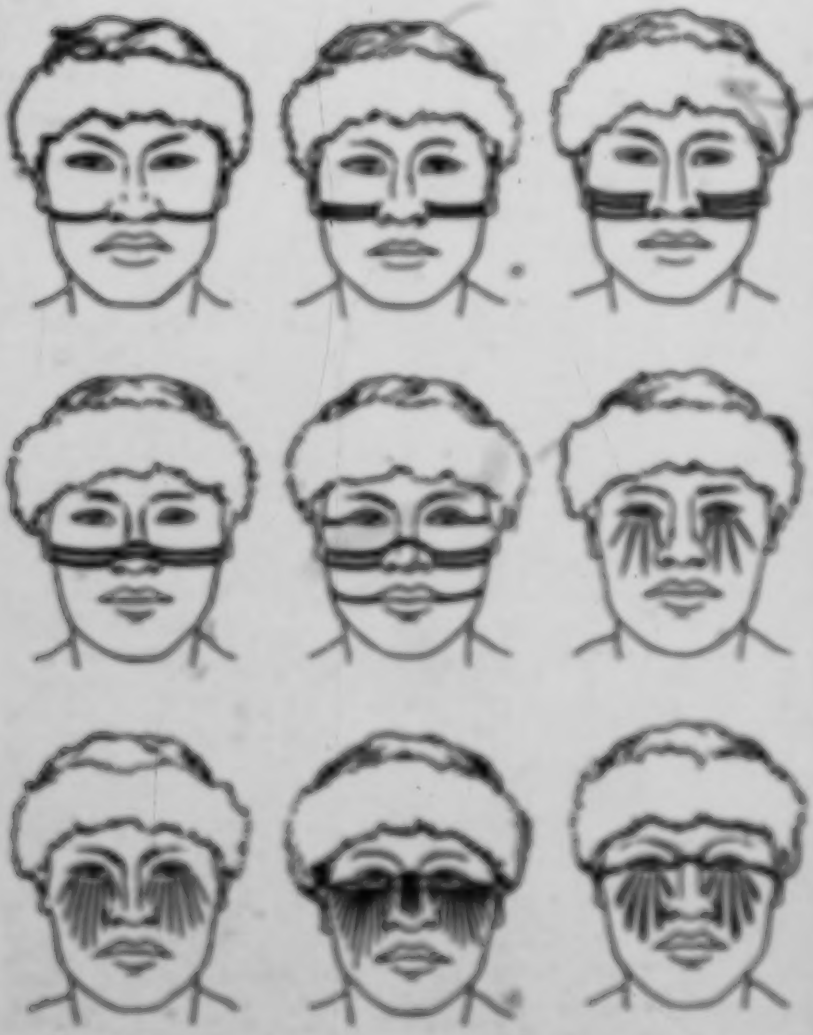

Fig. 86. Facial Painting of the Caribbean.

/not cen./

Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fuegians, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Tamans living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (181). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

181. Several men, as well as Nelly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Whaim. The latter is the oldest surviving Taman, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the missionaries with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the members of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the outer circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

/Nil cont./
for the men (182). The wintkûpe calls a warning over to the

> 181. I cannot avoid the impression that this play is possibly an imitation, in weakened form, of the so-called phallus dance which the Nelk have perform in front of the women at the beginning of the men's ceremony (Vol. I, 1918).

camp that old and /Nil/ young should hide in the huts and not let their glances stray, for no one may watch the return of these two groups who then hasten back to the Great Hut.

Here the tattooing of the ahwûle of both sexes begins immediately. Expert men and women smear a thick, white band of lime across the candidates' chests and both upper arms to the back, so that only an area as wide as a hand over the spinal column remains bare. In the middle of the body this ring of color dips slightly. Within the band small vertical lines five to eight millimeters long and close together are scratched into the skin with a sharp enamel shell. They are careful to make the small lines very ornamently and as even as possible. Soon after a few short incisions have been made, red pigment is smeared into them on the skin. It takes several hours to make this decoration, but it is not painful. After a short time the very shallow cuts are healed, but the pigment shines through the skin as a light blue line.

The ahwûle now wears on his body the visible sign of his first oath. Usually on that same evening, but at least within the next few days, all the adults of the camp are invited to the Great Hut and shown this marking on the candidates. The adults admire it and are pleased with it.

Within a few days all the occupants of the hut go down to the water to bathe a second and a third time, just as before. Afterwards a second and third row of small lines are tattooed on each candidate, directly underneath the first lines. This is his sign of having satisfied the demands of the Tsûnye requirements. It is also a sign of his maturity. Asked about the meaning of the tattooing, the Indians themselves give no further information than to say: "It looks beautiful!" At any rate, it is proof for

/963 cont./
them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as ulw-ʃala in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the Yahgan hut is subjected are really designed to batter his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each ulw-ʃala amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Yahgan.

/964/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Yahgan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaits had all the ulw-ʃala sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/864 cont./
way of rules for living and that for them even today is the backbone of a model way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Fuegians also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the parental hut as well as those in the čiéxaus hut. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Yamana (283)!" The adults steer straight toward this

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283. We should like to emphasize that this expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Selk'nam conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1020). The complete unanimity of the two tribes in this significant matter is not surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Selk'nam.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it tenaciously.

In the čiéxaus hut the general rules of life that are valid for the Yamana and dominate their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the uíwiala early in the parental hut, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /865/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Fuegians agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

/865 cont./

X881 867 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his countrymen and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uĭwǯala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 867 888 534 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uĭwǯala kiná·na, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uĭwǯala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 867 888 537 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of innermost conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont./

X881 warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with paternal anxiety for the
867 future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole
868 tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen
537 in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

X881 Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent
867 each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful uǐwčala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were uǐwčala. Again these Fuegians prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

X881 Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the uǐwčala two
867 or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he
537 speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turns with the venerable Whaits, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the čiexaus was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you uǐwčala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

> 284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaits took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The uǐwčala are

> 285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

/866 cont./

supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

In the common instruction the candidates are, of course, offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding. The people are not content with this in the Xiexaus, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the uŭwĭala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the uŭwĭala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an uŭwĭala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

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One understands the difficult position of many an ulwáala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the ulwáala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

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286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

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for a wife." During the subsequent years I completely forgot this promise which, to begin with, was not meant to be taken seriously.

I did not see Alfredo again until my fourth journey (p. 187 /untranslated/). One day, within a circle of men, I passed around many photographs which I had taken the year before and gave a few explanations about them. The Yamana also made comments. Finally Alfredo turned to me and asked in so many words: "Didn't you also bring a photograph of your young wife?" I was not prepared for this question. The old man looked me sternly in the eye, and I stammered, half instinctively, half embarrassed: "Oh, well now, I completely forgot to get married!" The gentle features of the good old man suddenly changed, and after a short pause which was embarrassing to me, he exposed me in front of those present in a reproachful tone: "Here we let you enter the Great Hut, gave you good instruction, and you pay no attention to it!... Who gets your food for you?" I replied: "My father." He: "From whom do you get your clothing?" I: "From my mother." He: "Where do you live?" I: "With my parents." He continued with the forceful admonition: "Shame on you! Your parents have been working for you so many years already, and you are still a burden to them. They have certainly done enough for you!... Isn't there any girl among your people who likes you and would like to marry you?" I pretended to be very much ashamed, and I loudly assured the well-meaning old man: "This time when I get home, I shall really get married immediately and be very nice to my parents!" He calmed down after these words. All who were present took sides with him against me.

/868/ All those who on this occasion and unofficially trouble themselves about one of the candidates here in the Cíexaus are motivated by the best intentions for his personal good and for the good of the tribal community. We cannot give figures for how often they give their instructions and how long these continue; it depends on the prevailing circumstances or necessity. This strict individual training does, however, form an important part of the entire training program.

2. Essence of the Teaching. I am unfortunately not in a position to reproduce the exact wording of the exhortations which during my first initiation were repeatedly impressed upon each Indian uwšala personally by one or another adult. Therefore much that is valuable in the art of education and the life experience of those simple people of Tierra del Fuego will escape us. A substitute is afforded by the teachings which a few of the adults were able to repeat verbatim from their initiations. They all assured me that these principles were only a part of everything that they learned as uwšala (287). Each teaching serves the one clearly defined

287. It is true, however, that one rule of conduct or another was held up to them several times in the same words on different days. Hence the account probably contains the essentials.

goal of making the candidate "a good and useful human being."

At my request my sponsor repeated the teachings that she received as an uwšala in 1907, that is, about 25 years ago. I shall set them down here as she gave them to me, without change.

/869/ "You will soon get married and then you will have your husband; do not quarrel with him.

"If other women speak injuriously about you, if they want to quarrel with you, keep silent and do not talk; that would only lead to a quarrel. Go quietly about your business so that the others will not see you. Finally they will be obliged to say: 'She is, after all, an industrious and quiet woman!'

"If at night your husband creeps stealthily away from his bed (288) because he thinks you are asleep, do not say anything

288. The implication is that he is going to

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seek another woman for illicit intercourse.

and let him go.

"You may not deprive other women of drinking water; that is something you must fetch for yourself.

"Get up betimes in the morning. Even if several men are in the hut, you must always get up early (289).

289. That is to say: "Sometimes men permit themselves somewhat more rest in the morning because they have hard work to do or because they are still very tired from a strenuous hunt. You may not take this as an excuse to be lazy yourself."

"If a visitor stays in your hut a long time, do not crossly find fault with him because he does not leave.

"If your father is already dead and you see an older man who needs something, give him what he lacks. Do not say: 'That man does not concern me, he is not my father.'

"If you have children, be happy over each one. Do not perhaps kill one or neglect it. Care for all of them and be fond of them. Other people will then praise you and say: 'She is a good mother, she loves her children very much!'

"If old women come to your hut who are weak and very infirm, do not become indignant and do not drive them out. Receive them pleasantly. Say to them: 'Sit down here by the fire. I'll get you something to eat immediately!' Fetch what you have and offer it to them.

"If you have gathered fruit or mussels, invite other people in and let them share what you have brought home.

"If several women are sitting together intimately and if they talk about all kinds of things, do not start gossiping and do not tell unfavorable things about other women.

"If your husband should associate with other women and you notice this, be quiet and do not say anything.

"Do not quarrel with your husband about every little thing, otherwise he will become irritated and discontent. If your husband has really made a mistake some time, you should not immediately

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shout and make a great fun about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Watagin[illegible]we /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the [illegible]ém said in the morning here in the [illegible] but when they got up early and stepped out: '[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (291)!' That is what [illegible] (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are now candidates, come out!"

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

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present it has been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the thrush sees a sleepy-head or a sluggard, it calls him with its "wet, wet," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the thrush in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "wet, wet," in order to put the onus of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick busily and noisily to convince the thrush that he is active and industrious.

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"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher told us repeatedly: 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even those will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Nelly Lawrence carefully noted the following sayings from her days as [illegible] and willingly repeated them.

"You will probably soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [on a visit] and helps himself to the mussels or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting at your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/871/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him; he will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

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"If you find a dog [that is lost], take him into your canoe and bring him to his master. Perhaps that man is looking for him. If you bring his dog back to him, he will be pleased and very content. He will tell other people and say about you: 'The one there is a good woman!'

"Never take anything away from other people. A person who steals is liked by no one, and everyone avoids him.

"Begin your day's work very early in the morning. Watąųinę́ǫwa observes every sluggard. Watąųinę́ǫwa will [as punishment] soon [i.e., permanently] cause you to die if you are a lazy lie-abed.

"Always be willing to fetch water and wood and to tend the fire. Also keep an eye open to be of service to aged men and women when they need something.

"Do not flare up about every little thing.

"Do not immediately gossip about something you have heard about others, for in that way you could easily stir up quarrels and discord.

"When you are walking along by yourself, do not look inquisitively at everything, but keep your eyes strictly in front of you on the ground and keep your head slightly bowed.

"I was told many other things in the Ɂíɛ́xaus. At that time my own father happened to be the overseer. I earnestly assured him: 'I shall strictly observe all your instructions!' I faithfully followed those and the other admonitions. That is the way our Tsetsêhese like to have it."

Chris also repeated the teachings and the advice that he received on the occasion of his initiation in 1896.

"My old ehéhaio hóotoo [mother] and also my sponsor of those days are both dead.

"After Yeníse had departed (193), the piece of hide with

193. After the two of them had wrestled with each other directly after Chris had been brought into the Great Hut. See the description of this struggle on p. 838.

which my face had been covered (194) was removed. Immediately

194. He is referring to the following custom:

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the piece of leather that is thrown completely over the head of the candidate as he enters the hut is sometimes partially removed during the struggle with the "evil spirit," so that the candidate can glimpse the figure of the "evil spirit."

my sponsor placed himself before me and regarded me seriously. I trembled with fear. He said: 'Now I shall tell you how you must sit here in the Great Hut! Your eyes should always be cast on the ground, on the place where my feet are (295). Stay the

295. This means directly in front of the crossed legs of the squatting candidate.

way you are squatting here now, /872/ and keep your arms crossed over your chest. Do not shift back and forth. Do not lean to one side. Sit still and do not move. Don't let your eyes roam about the whole hut, and don't look at the entrance when someone comes in. Keep your inquisitive eyes in check and sit still!'

"Immediately my sponsor squatted down beside me and asked: 'Did you see that one there who leaped out of the fire?' I answered: 'Yes!' He continued: 'And do you know who it was?' Softly and full of terror I replied: 'He rose up out of the earth!' Then he assured me: 'Yes, indeed, that was Yetáxa who lives down in the earth. He came here!' Again I was seized with terror (296).

296. With this false assertion he wants to make the candidate believe that the apparition had really come out of the interior of the earth. By doing so, he intends to fill him with terror. Once he has achieved his goal, he finally tells the candidate the truth.

"After a time my sponsor again asked me: 'Do you believe that this was really Yetáxa?' Completely terrified, I replied:

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'Yes!' Then he smiled and said: 'It was I myself! I behaved just like Tetäita who lives down in the earth. Watch out for him! He keeps a sharp eye on whether you are scrupulously living up to everything that you are told here. But not everything that goes on here in this Great Hut is an illusion!'...After that my sponsor was constantly by my side.

"After a time he again emphasized to me: 'Pay attention to all the rules that apply to this Great Hut, follow every injunction carefully! You noticed how silent and motionless every candidate was when Tetäita appeared. Here contradiction is not permitted! The ówäla quietly listen to what is told them; they willingly obey every command. Do not look all around. Sit still without stretching. I, your sponsor, am observing you closely! Remain [in the position] in which you are now sitting. you are not permitted to shift your position constantly or to stretch your arms and legs. Keep your arms crossed [over your chest] and your legs crossed under you (297)!' If an ówäla

> 297. Thus, gradually, he gets the candidate into the exact squatting position that is prescribed (p. 707).

restlessly moves, his sponsor immediately says to him: 'What, you don't intend to obey? A person who does not follow the rules will later turn into a bad man. So sit still!'

"Later my godfather warned me: 'Never forget the instructions which you will soon hear [from the ówäla kínthus]. The person who fixes them in his mind and adjusts to them will become a good man. Do not talk in the dwellings about what goes on here. All this is very serious and secret. Outside you must be silent about it. But you will quietly think about it by yourself. Talking a great deal about these things will cause you to die prematurely. Know that not everything that takes place in this house is an illusion! /873/ Think of him who lives down here in the earth. Above you is the sun. Both of these see you and watch you closely. So be on your guard!'

"The next day all the ówäla went into the woods, each

1: Gunnde--731 E-5 (1913-1914) 1937 5006 Tubgan 1958

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accompanied by his sponsor. Mine said to me: "We are now in the woods. You must not think that these trunks here are wood! No, these are other people who in the great upheaval long ago turned into trunks; since then they have been residing here (298).

298. He is alluding to the myth of the great upheaval, which tells of the founding of the men's ceremony. Compare Gunnde (MS) 337 and the rest of this myth below in the section, "The Kina Celebration."

They can all see how you behave. Now tell them: "I am an *alwajia*." This I did. I stood before one tree and another and said to it: "I am an *alwajia*!" The other boys did the same thing. Thereupon my sponsor said to me: "When the overseer sends you into the woods to fetch wood, work diligently. If you should lazily sit down or gather berries and mushrooms in order to eat them, be assured that these people here [the trunks] are watching you closely! If you do not properly arrange the little trunks that you have gathered, the pile (299) will collapse. If

299. He is referring to the Tamana practice of leaning the sticks and small trunks that have been gathered in the woods against a large tree. The obvious purpose is to keep the wood off the soaked ground and to dry it somewhat by exposing it to currents of air (p. 47).

these pieces fall over, you will never have any luck in life, for these people here see everything (300)!"

300. This means: "They will revenge themselves for the disrespect and lack of considerate-ness with which you have treated them in the guise of tree trunks!" This reference, too, thus serves as a warning to the candidates never to behave as though they were undisturbed, but to observe carefully all the precepts.

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"'Afterwards when you northward the Great Hat, do not walk crookedly through the woods. Also do not play with other children, do not keep guilty past the tree trunks, but maintain a serious, quiet attitude and take a straight path. Do not look to right or left. Always believe properly!' This was what my spouse said.

"Toward noon we returned to the village hut. In the late afternoon an aged man called us children together. We sat down [in a semicircle] on the ground in front of him. He talked to us in the following manner.

"'You must always think about what you see and hear in this place. Never forget it. Keep it [secret] to yourself and never talk about it in the dwellings, otherwise dire punishment will be inflicted. An evil child who afterwards blurts out everything will soon die.

"'Show great respect to old people. If several of them are gathered together, keep quiet and do not interrupt their conversation. Don't any of you gossip about what you have heard from others to any of the men.

"'If you hear something disparaging about someone, do not use it to go into a long discussion with others, for that makes bad blood. Sooner or /974/ later after all others will judge you and will say of you: "He is a bad person, he gossips about what is unpleasant for others."

"'You may have many friends. But if you should start to gossip about anything and everything, they will soon learn about it. They will think: "He is a bad man!" Gradually they will withdraw from you. No matter how numerous your family is, no one will then support you and help you.

"'If you bring back rich booty from the hunt and if some of your special friends is in the camp, but rather a large number of other people, share everything with them. They will remember it well and everyone will praise you. If later on you should happen to come to their territory, they, too, will willingly help you. When you are sharing your booty, your relatives should cause less. Other people are watching you, they will say of you: "What a good man!" Even if you have but three animals, give them to others.

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* If you have become a good hunter, you will often return home with a good kill. Share it all [with the neighbors]. Some day you are sure to come to a place where you will not be all by yourself. Then you may consume everything that you have obtained [as hunt] all by yourself. But if other people are in the vicinity, you must invite all of them who are staying near you.

* If your wife comes from another region where you do not know anyone and if you visit them, those people will look up your wife and talk with her a great deal, whereas they will scarcely exchange a word with you. Do not become excited about this and do not show your displeasure openly, speak about it only to your wife. Instead of making a big fuss and getting excited about your wife, instead of threatening to kill her, it is more advisable to let her go. This decision is much more advantageous for you, for your wife, and for both your families. Rather let her go, this solves everything at once.

* You must never kill anyone. This is always better in any kind of quarrel[s] for you and for all the others.

* Think constantly of this, my teaching and advice, and you will live a quiet life.

* I repeat again to you: Never you will think of me! No matter what happens to you in life, you will immediately think of me! Then you will realize at once how you should conduct yourself and how you should decide. In this way you will guard yourself against hasty actions and this will be better for yourself and others. You will often be reminded of me!

* If people have realized that you have no one and a evil-minded person comes along who would like to hurt you, direct every shaman to/ /97B/ and take your side; you yourself need not make any effort but specifically ask your well-meaning neighbors for help.

* If an old woman should begin to chew and bring up being women that go her [her] and no longer interest anyone, do not leave the hut out of boredom, sit still and listen to it anyway. You will surely hear something good or a story that may beneficial to you. Wait, therefore, until the old woman has finished. If you yourself, when you are old, should on occasion relate something and then notice how one person after another avoids you and creeps out of the hut while you are talking or that a few people

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are meanwhile talking among themselves about something else, you will be very much annoyed by it. It will be extremely unpleasant for you to be left sitting alone [while you are talking]. Therefore always be attentive to others.

" 'Do not torture animals, least of all your dog. And do not mistreat other people's animals.

" 'Do not steal, it will not be advantageous for you. You don't like it either if someone takes your things. Protect things that belong to other people, treat them as though they were your own. If you need something, go into any hut and ask for it; it will be given to you there. Hence you do not need to steal at all.

" 'If you have fallen in love with the wife of another man, you would like to take her for yourself. This can end badly and her kinsmen could even murder you. You wouldn't like it either if someone took away your wife. Never lose respect for the wife of another man.

" 'Remember this advice and think of the teachings that I give you here.

" 'If an old man asks you -- it will probably not happen -- "Bring me some wood," then do it. If you are standing close to a man and he says softly, as though to himself, but so that you hear it: "Oh dear, I did not succeed today in getting enough wood for the night!" -- go immediately into the forest and fetch wood. The old man will be very pleased about it. He wanted to avoid coming out openly [in so many words] with his request.

" 'If you are near a woman who is apparently mumbling to herself: "It's too bad, I forgot to fetch water for myself today!" -- immediately pick up your bucket and carry the water to her hut. The other people will be pleased with you, they will say: "That is a nice boy!" The next day the woman will provide for herself in time. Help everyone. Then the old people will be pleased, because they did the same thing in their youth.

" 'If you have achieved great manual dexterity so that everyone values the things you make, give away first of all the things that have turned out best. Do not keep the nicest pieces for yourself and get rid of the inferior ones. /876/ If you give others only inferior things as a present, those people will think: "Why did he give me this poorly made object? The thing won't be any

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187 good to me anyway!" They will accept it [the object], but
X 181 afterwards they will throw it away. Make useful, beautiful
things and give only these to other people. Then they will say:
"This is an excellent harpoon point! That man gave it to me.
He did a clever piece of work which I shall show other people.
I'll take good care of this piece!"

"'Take good care of your father-in-law and be constantly concerned about him. Make all the implements he needs. See what he needs and get him plenty of meat. You must give more attention and care to him than to your own father.

"'If you get into a quarrel with a man and you say to him excitedly, "I shall strangle you!" that is not wise behavior. You will not really kill him anyway; you just say that to make him afraid. Other people won't take your word seriously either. If you are actually planning to murder someone, you will surely not say a word about it to others! Therefore avoid such talk [not seriously meant]. It could even happen that the other one, fearing your threat, might promptly murder you.

"'Above all, never say a word in the dwellings of what you hear here. Otherwise we shall meet the same fate that overtook everyone back in Yíyaiškpa /a place name/ during the great upheaval. At that time two girls were talking outside the Great Hut of what went on inside. They turned into ducks and have since that remained in the lagoon. Now they can no longer talk and no one thinks of them because no one knows them (301).

> 301. Here again there is definite reference to the events that took place at the founding of the men's secret communion, which previous to that were held by the women. See Gusinde (36):320 where these two girls, or ducks, are mentioned.

"'Have a care for this earth [for Yehpa lives under it] and for the rising sun. No matter how weary you are, leap up quickly from your bed as soon as the sun rises, so that it will not find you there. Get up regularly from your bed before the sun appears, otherwise you will soon die.

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*977 867 * "Heed all the advice faithfully. Memorize what I have told you. Be watchful carefully to see whether you will act accordingly.

* "Everywhere and always be respectful toward old people. Do not be forward when you are with them.

* "Always give other people what you have brought back from the hunt.

* "Be industrious in your work. Don't quarrel with others.

* "All these teachings you will surely remember forever. In the various situations of life you will think of me and you will immediately recall how I talked to you here on this occasion. Act accordingly and you will be a happy man!"

*977 /977/ "During the last days of the [illegible] we [illegible] frequently had to go hunting with the men. The girls gathered morels and helped the women fish (302). Finally the big feast was

302. One of the chief reasons for the greater activity of the men and women, accompanied by the candidates, is their concern about obtaining abundant food for the great feast at the conclusion of the youth initiation.

held, in which all the people participated. Every [illegible] distributed meat to all those present, the last piece was for the [illegible] himself. After I had passed around the meat of a sea lion, my sponsor said to me: 'The last piece is for you! Before you eat it go into the forest and say to the tree trunks: "Some time [illegible] (I have distributed [meat to the many participants at the great concluding feast, [illegible] only)!" Then come back here again immediately!' This I did. I went into the woods and addressed the trees: 'I have distributed most of the sea lion among the people!' Later I had to take the meat of birds to each of the many participants, the last piece I kept for myself. Again I went into the woods and addressed the trees: 'At the big feast I have now also distributed the meat of birds among all the people!' Then we [illegible] were also permitted to eat abundantly and we were very happy. Several times I had to address [in the manner described] the trees over there in the forest (303). Finally

303. Later it was explained to me that this

[977 cont.]

address to the town by the candidate is to tell them that from now on he is no longer bound by the previous restrictions, but has ended his period of probation.

my sponsor said to me: "Now it is enough. From now on you may go everywhere and eat anything. Now all the town and all the people know that you have been an *ololiqui* in the *tlalocan*." All this my sponsor taught me (304)."

304. It may seem surprising that Chris, with vivid clearness, repeated from memory the treatment that he had experienced as a candidate in the youth initiation. It is known that he lived among Europeans from his early boyhood, because his Indian parents met untimely deaths. On the occasion of his initiation he came into effective contact with the rich heritage of ideas of his tribe for the first time. The events of that long ceremony were a revelation to him and like a rebirth to a new life. He confessed to me: "There at the initiation I became a Yoreme, and I have been that since then with all my soul!" Nevertheless, the innermost Yaqui world of the spirit never quite became second nature to him.

The following teachings and exhortations come from Calderon who learned them as an *ololiqui* about 10 years ago. His godfather said to him:

"Now you are in the *tlalocan* as an *ololiqui*; you must endure it here until everything is over. You may no longer act and move about freely like one who is outside [outside the Great Hut]. Here you must obey every adult. You must faithfully follow in detail and with great willingness all the advice that we give you. Do this out of inner conviction, not only because it must be. Act accordingly throughout your life until you are old.

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"Keep to yourself what goes on here; do not talk about it everywhere outside in front of others (304).

305. The restriction is primarily against tattling in front of minors who should not prematurely lose their respect and fear of the Great Hut. For further reference to this restriction see also footnote 307 on page 946.

/878/ "Here we tell you: 'Be industrious in your work. Do your work gladly and quickly. Get up early in the morning, then you will always be prepared with everything [that is necessary]!'

"Show respect toward old people. Help orphans. Bring something to eat to the sick who cannot get up. Practice all this in later life also.

"If you meet a blind man on your path, go up to him and ask him: 'Where are you going?' He will tell you. Perhaps you will hear that he has gone astray. Say to him immediately: 'But you have taken the wrong path!' Gratefully he will reply: 'So I have lost my way!' Then ask him: 'Where do you want to go, so that I can lead you?' He will answer you: 'I want to go to my hut!' Then take him by the hand and lead him there. But do not let him go on [without querying him], so that he becomes lost; do not laugh at him. If he should stammer and act clumsily, do not smile to yourself and do not think: 'He doesn't see me anyway!' Rather, take him by the hand immediately and lead him to his hut. Other people will praise you for it and will say: 'That man is good!'

"If an old man is in need of something, give him what you have. Other people will praise you for this.

"If you have many relatives and one of them comes from a distance, take him into your hut without delay. Let him have what he needs. If his children should throw all your things into disorder or break something, do not get excited and do not scold. In any case the parents of the children will see to it that you suffer no loss, and they themselves will disapprove of their children's behavior. It may happen, however, that something of yours is

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damaged. Well, they are children, after all! If, immediately afterwards, you should say in other huts, 'The children of my relative brought great disorder among all my things, they broke all kinds of things!' your talk will certainly one day reach the parents' ears and displease them very much. After that no one will want to stop in your hut.

"You will perhaps visit a hut where a sick man is lying on his bed. He needs something and will be talking to himself thus: 'I'd like that thing hanging there on the wall. If only someone would hand it to me!' Get up immediately and hand the old man what he wants. He did not want to order you about, that is why he expressed himself thus [in that formal way]. Now this man will speak of it everywhere and will say: 'That is a good man!' Afterwards, no matter where you go, the people will say appreciatively of you: 'That is a good man!' They will gladly take you into their hut and care for you.

/879/ "If you have found a girl whom you would like to marry, behave irreproachably toward her. Do not hasten the wedding improperly, but wait until her kinsfolk give the girl to you. Even now, however, be respectful toward the parents of your bride. Do not show impatience if they still hesitate to let you have their daughter.

"Do not gossip throughout the camp about things you have observed.

"If you are married, support your wife in every way. Fetch wood and water. Help her and relieve her in her work, for you are a man and have more strength. Do not listen hither and yon: 'What do other men and women say about me?' And do not unnecessarily try to find out what other people are doing. If you do, then your wife will also try to find out what is going on everywhere. The Yamana do not like such behavior, and it causes bad gossip. If your wife tells you gossip, don't pay any attention to it. Advise your wife thus: 'Be silent and do not meddle in the affairs of others and do not scold about everything! The others will calm down by themselves if you do not join their talk. Then all the men will praise you and the women will like you too!'

"If you go visiting in a hut, be friendly and inconspicuous.

"If many visitors come to your hut and you yourself have but little to give to them, think first of the strangers; afterwards give

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867 your friends and relatives what is left over. The latter will find
X881 it convenient to visit you again and have their fill of food, but
881 not the strange visitors who came from a distant region to visit you. Serve these first and amply.

"If it should happen occasionally that you are sitting alone with your kinsmen, do not complain about your wife if she should not be present. You may never beat her. Your father-in-law will one day hear that you have beaten his daughter. He will say: 'That man took my daughter away from me, went with her to his family, and there he beats her!' Later on, if you should visit your father-in-law, he would not let you enter his hut; he will stay away from you and finally will take his daughter away.

"Do not seek to benefit only yourself, but think of other people also. If you yourself have an abundance, do not say: 'The others do not concern me, I need not bother about them!' If you were lucky in hunting, let others share it. Moreover, show them the favorable spots where there are many sea lions which can be easily slain. Let others have their share too occasionally. If you want to amass everything for yourself, other people will stay away from you and no one will want to be with you. If you should one day fall ill, no one will visit you because, for your part, you did not formerly concern yourself about others.

/880/ "If you come into the region where you were born and you want to set up camp with several other people, give them [the ones who are unfamiliar with the site] the sheltered place. You be content with a less advantageous spot. Do not think: 'What do I care if these strangers lose their canoe!' Rather, take good care of the visiting strangers, for they will return home and there they will praise you.

"If you know of a favorable hunting ground there [where you were born], encourage the visitors and say: 'Go to that place, there you will surely find rich booty!' Point the place out to them exactly so that they also can obtain large amounts of meat to take on their journey.

"Grant other people something also. The Yamana do not like a person who acts selfishly.

"No one likes a perverse, obstinate person; everyone speaks scornfully of him and avoids him.

/880 cont./

"If you and your family enter a hut as visitors and a sleeping place is offered you, remain there. You should, however, help the people in their work and, on your own initiative, lend a hand where there is something to be done. No one will ask you to help. Just open your eyes and you will soon see where you can help! Perhaps there is no water or wood, possibly there is snow in front of the entrance. Lend a hand there! That kind of person is liked everywhere and is willingly taken in by everyone. It is not proper for you to sit down quietly and let others work for you. Soon someone will make a wry face and you will wonder about it, but no one will tell you the real reason. It is best, after all, to help the others in their work; help with everything until the day you travel on.

"In case the man into whose hut you have moved [as a visitor] is having a feud with another, do not interfere. You will perhaps be told a great deal about it and all kinds of things will be explained [one-sidedly]. Listen to everything quietly, but do not take sides against the man toward whom hostility is shown. If later you have an opportunity, talk to him alone. Speak confidentially and tell him all about it, but with good intentions and disinterestedly; he will listen to you. But if he should not let you talk, withdraw quietly. Even though you should be stronger than he, do not start a fight, do not harm him and do not kill him, even if he should be your enemy. This would be a great disadvantage to his family who would take it very seriously. There might even be a fight, and you would have to make amends to the other family. It might also happen that you would later be obliged to hear that those opponents have murdered your father or your mother in revenge because you are a murderer. You won't like that. Hence, avoid that other man, keep away from your enemy as a matter of principle, so that you will not one day be overcome with anger and excitement. In that way no harm can come about.

/881/ "Every day when you wake up in the morning, think of the exhortations which we give you here in the Alexaus; remember them well and never cease practicing them. If today you omit a good habit, in a few days you will skip a second and third, and then a great many other things will soon be forgotten. But if you

1: Gutinde--742 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S916 Yahgan S916

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observe everything faithfully, you will be able to lead a pleasant life.

"If you are in a large group of people, do not slander one or another member of your own family, for that causes conflicts. One must also be skillful in speech and in self-control. Even if you have really quarreled with someone, your mutually strained relationship need not be brought out with your every word. Others listen sharply to your words and will soon notice the undertone. Hence do not speak scornfully of others.

"If evil talk is heaped upon you and you are attacked with wicked words, you will be aroused to brawl and quarrel; it is better to withdraw and not say anything. Later, talk to the man alone when both of you have calmed down.

"Help small children who accidentally have become lost, even if they do not belong to your family. Lead them back to their mother or to their hut. Do not laughingly enjoy the spectacle of a child who has fallen or is lying in the water; lift it up quickly and bring it to its parents. They will thank you [for this deed]. After all, you yourself want your children to get the same kind of help if they need it. If you are indifferent to strange children, other people will not bother about your children either, in case they are crying or have hurt themselves or are lying on the ground; no one will hasten to their aid. Accordingly, be concerned about the children of all the other people, for children do not harm anyone. Even if the children in question should be those of your enemy, help them, for they are not your enemies and have done you no harm. It may be that you have harmed your enemy and that he persecutes you for it, but if he sees how lovingly you treat his children, it may happen that he will forgive you. He will come to you and confess: 'I forgive you the wrong you have done because you have been so good to my children!' Thus it is profitable to help all children indiscriminately and to be kind to them. We Yamana appreciate it extraordinarily if someone is kind to our children.

"When you enter a hut, sit down decently, with your legs crossed under you. Look at everyone [present] pleasantly. Do not pay attention to one person only, and do not turn your back to anyone. If you devote your attention to only one person and concern yourself with him alone, the others will feel offended. Do

1: Gustafe--743 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 5196 Yahgan 5196

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/881 cont./

not go visiting too often.

"In your own hut do not immediately talk about what you have just heard elsewhere. You may communicate important matters, but not /882/ aimless talk. It is much too easy to exaggerate and embroider. Later on people will find out more specifically who the gossip was, then they will find out that you were the guilty one. In fact, one of your enemies can exaggerate and misconstrue many of your words, if he wishes to bring you into ill repute.

"If you are having an argument with someone and even if you are right but the other person does not want to give in, it is better to be silent, for arguments and blows may possibly be precipitated. The other person will one day see that he is wrong.

"Do not take part in the silly talk and gossip of other people. Also do not be too trustful in exposing your secrets. Some day there will be gossip about something you have told a single person in confidence, and you might possibly lose many friends in this way. Be helpful to everyone but always sparing with words.

"Happily resume your work each morning, otherwise Yetúna will overpower you. Save yourself from certain death, for every lazy person soon falls victim to Yetúna. Therefore, get up on time in the morning before the sun rises.

If you have murdered another in a fit of rage, do not flee and do not hide, but give yourself up unafraid to the kinsmen of your victim. Now, too, show yourself strong enough to assume all the consequences of your deed, and do not perchance leave those consequences to your kinfolk. It is your fault alone, hence you must personally set things right again. A person who runs away from his deed will never make peace with himself; he will no longer feel comfortable even in his own hut.

"You must not steal from anyone, least of all from persons who are sick and infirm. If you need something, ask for it from your neighbor. But you have no right to take anything at all. People will soon notice it [the stolen goods in your hands], and after that everyone will learn that you have been stealing.

"If you should find something, do not immediately try to convince yourself: 'That belongs to me now!' For soon the owner [of the object] will appear. If he should see in your hands the

/882 cont./

attacks he has lost, he will point this out to others and say to them: 'That one is a thief!' Possibly the owner will call his friends who will destroy everything you have and break up your canoe. In the end you will have nothing, all because of your stealing. No Yamana can stand a thief.

"Be careful never to forget these exhortations. Live up to them and you will be successful, people will be satisfied with you and will say of you: 'That is a good man!'

"If many people are sitting together in a hut and if some of them are talking so excitedly that a brawl threatens to break out, hold back with your words so that it will not come to that. When the other people have left, you may settle matters alone with your opponent. One must /883/ honor visitors and be considerate of them so that they will be happy to return. If a visitor is not treated well somewhere, he will soon withdraw and say to himself: 'I don't like it in that hut, fights spring up quickly there!'

"If you have given someone a present, you must not expect him soon to bring you a gift in return. Whatever you give away, give it completely voluntarily. Do not immediately afterwards say: 'I gave that person a present, but he did not offer me anything in return!' If you behave that way, no one will take a present from you, but everybody will think: 'That one gives presents only so that he can get presents in return!' If you offer something to others, do it spontaneously, do not talk about it, and do not accept anything for it.

"Remember, others also have a heart with human feelings. If you hurt them, they feel pain, too. Never forget that no one likes it if you speak disparagingly of him.

"If you take a piece of meat from your hut and bring it to another, the people there will invite you to eat with them. But do not consume the largest part. You yourself arrived there with the meat and your belly was full, but those people were perhaps suffering pangs of hunger. So let them have everything that you brought for them.

"Again I impress upon you: never forget these teachings! Every morning when you wake up, remember them and conduct yourself each day according to them!"

/883 cont./

Toward the end of my first initiation, old Alfredo repeated to me the words which he had just stressed to one of the uĭwĭ́ala alone:

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the čĭéxaus, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Watapimĭ́wa] still sees you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (306).

306. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Yamana, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by blind Whaita in the late evening of March 12, 1922. He addressed the uĭwĭ́ala, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful:

"In olden times a man left the čĭéxaus hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /884/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yetĭ́ita!'

"Now I want to tell you uĭwĭ́ala everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the čĭéxaus. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/894 cont./

guarded this secret [the proceedings in this Great Hut] and just as I myself, now an old man, have never talked about it, so you, too, must keep deathly silent; this illusion [as though Yetáita really lived in the earth] is necessary. We must teach the olvéala that there is a Yetáita, so that they will be seized with fear and trembling. But we tell them this only so that they will believe in it. For that [this false belief] is good for them! -- Now you know it [the true situation]! But beware of now saying: 'Everything here [in the ʔiíyaye] is illusion.' If you were to say that, others would take the wrong view and might laugh scornfully and say: 'Everything here [in the ʔiíyaye] is a great fraud. One doesn't have to act according to what one is told there!' Therefore, be absolutely silent about Yetáita (307). But beware of

307. In this explanation the idea is again expressed that this evil spirit does not really live, but is only conjured up as an apparition for the benefit of the candidates. The latter are told about the special purpose of this procedure and are given the whole truth. But in order that this scary device does not lose its efficacy and will have its effect on the children who are later pledged to the initiation, no one may talk about the deception practiced on each candiate. They are very serious about this matter, as we have emphasized in footnote 305.

Watayinéiwa, that is the real Yetáita (308).

308. This means that Watauineiwa threatens and punishes as a truly living spirit, in the way that this is maintained of Yetaita who, however, is only an invention.

"A person wishing to eat may not lie on the ground but must sit up, for Haccélla (309) sees you; he observes everything that

309. The uncommon reference here to this

/884 cont./

Kina spirit is given as a warning in the way they usually refer to Watauineiwa and Yetaita. The meaning behind the whole sentence is that the candidates must never think that they are unobserved.

is given [as rule] here. One who wishes to eat must always have permission. Here you may not eat whatever you wish or desire, but only what is served you. The trees will see you [if you eat something that is against the rule]; they were once human beings and took part in the first kina festival (310).

310. This reference is to the great upheaval in connection with the women assembled for the secret Kina celebration. See Gusinde (6b): 337.

"It is not permissible [for uwǰala] to throw [stones] at birds. If anyone does this, his arm will grow crooked (311). No one may

311. The candidates are in this way forbidden to start roaming about freely or to lose the solemnity of their stiff bearing when they go into the woods or along the beach unsupervised.

drink water /885/ before he is permitted. A person [an uwǰala] going through the woods and hearing a sound should not look around. Even if someone should call him or frighten him, he should not look about, least of all if a boy [who is not uwǰala] tries to lure a girl. Never imitate the akčix (Turdus magellanicus, thrush) [in its chatter], for it carefully observes the uwǰala (p. 726), and because it chatters, it tells everything [that it has heard from you] to the other birds. Anyone going through the woods should be silent and tend to his work along a straight path [without ambling about].

"You must grasp firmly the wood you have gathered so that [in carrying it] nothing falls down. Place it upright near the hut

1 [Errata indicates this should read "yamalatamaná" in place of "kina" — Analyst]

/885 cont./

and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, otherwise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such things happen and it means: the wood that falls over wants to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: 'Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!' If the wife/girl gathers wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: 'I shall fetch you later!' This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the wife/girl says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: 'Why don't you come after me?' And it will threaten him: 'You will soon die!'

"A candidate who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [beech] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

/887/ "From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider our customs (p. 502). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the canoe, you may not throw the left over bones into the water or /886/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During those days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones nor the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

1: Gunindo--789 G-6 (1910-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/SH6 cont./
cripple. Do not eat the meat of the loggerhead duck, álakus (Tachyeres leucocyanus), that you will prevent your child from becoming lazy and slow-witted (312).

> 311. These precepts obviously apply to both parents immediately before and after the birth of each child, particularly and most urgently their first-born. See further details, p. 313.

"Be industrious in your work. As soon as I finish these words, hasten into the woods without delay and do not wait until you are requested to fetch wood. You can see for yourself when the fire-wood is used up."

In his further admonitions old Whaita strongly emphasized the greatest respect for tradition and the prevailing law.

The individual decrees set forth here form the main ideas of the ulwáala teachings. The reason they fill up so much time in the evenings during the long period of the ciéxaus is chiefly because of the way they are presented by the uswáala kinána. He not only speaks slowly, but repeats the same idea several times in succession; he makes long pauses and weaves in frequent references to his own experiences. Frequently he also searches his memory for things he has observed in the candidate with regard to this admonition or that virtue or vice, and he describes with great precision what each one should strive for and how each one must adjust himself. Nevertheless, the fact is that the uswáala kinána sets forth the prevailing principles of conduct strictly dogmatically, without frequent and special consideration of the personal needs of one or another of the candidates. The latter procedure is left to relatives and friends.

The teacher almost never prolongs his address beyond an hour. When he comes to the end, he requests each candidate to go back to his place beside his sponsor. Then each uswáala meditates on the words which he has just heard from the old man, until his sponsor specifically permits him to lie down to sleep (p. 710).

3. The More Important Principles. The educational goal that the parents aim for in the dwelling with their own children and the

/886 cont./

881 867 one that the adults aim to achieve in the Ἐφέβεια but with the ephebia are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X 881 867 156 554 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X 881 867 626 761 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the considerable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person. Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./
X 881 children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in
867 the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment
626 for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been
764 guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully
obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana
from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all
X 881 punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules
867 of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons.
577 Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Every-
one must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others
and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and
favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately ful-
filled by gifts and presents, actions and work are also demanded.
The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their
eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of
service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day.
They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out
of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never
asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own de-
sires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage,
and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should
be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of con-
sideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted
to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in
like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love
shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly
service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously
and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly
belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with
the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praise-
worthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To
[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to in-
vite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is
part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would
like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one ex-
pects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

/888 cont./
They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have enhanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kindreds and friends among themselves, the children are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the children is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors, least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles, ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

1. Gramado--TSO 8-0 (1859-1884) 1987 DNE Tokgan UNS

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them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain measure of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended to us most diverse aspects. The Toronto demand that everyone control his appetites and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and always all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

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P67

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Toronto have been assembled here, many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the ufwala. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fuegian wisdom in education (313).

313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1866 (p. 64).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fuegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the strange hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the ufwala consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

[illegible]

/900 cont./

[illegible] observation and daily criticism. They /900/ are set into the woods alone, where they must take the shortest path and walk along gravely without talking to one another. They are watched from a hiding place. If they have succeeded in capturing an animal or have gathered mussels and fruits, the adults accompanying them sometimes begin eating these things on the way, while the hungry candidates watch this enjoyable repast. In the [illegible] but they must often wait a long time between meals, so that their willfulness is completely crushed. They are purposely left squatting in an unpleasant place on a special burden (p. 908), and adults even put small animals on their backs to force them to attain self-control (p. 767). But until the last one of all those present has been taken care of may they have a little of what they have previously distributed, of which individual persons return something to them.

Our otherwise so simple Yaruma have thought up all kinds of trials of patience for the young people they are trying to educate. For example, a girl who is just having her face painted is intentionally teased by having an adult purposely creep by her quite closely, push her and knock her over. Meanwhile an old man or a [illegible] says to her: "I can see very plainly how angry you are and how you are seething inside, wanting to hit back at the one who is tormenting you. Control yourself! Here you may not give vent to your anger as you would like to do. Do not dare forget yourself, we would thoroughly tame you! Of course you do not care for these words of mine, but you'll just have to listen to them. Just control yourself, there will be many other things you'll have to endure (314)!" It is no less difficult for many sensitive boys

> 314. For these reasons I am indebted to old Black who in general behaved very quietly and was a man of gentle disposition. Other persons who are lively and inclined to vehemence use irritating and scornful words.

and girls to be loudly reprimanded in front of all those present, and this usually only for incidents that must be regarded more as due to childish lack of understanding than as transgressions.

1: Gusinde--755 E-5 (1919-1924) 1937 5966 Yahgan 5966

/890 cont./

Closely connected with practice in self-control is equally frequent practice in unselfishness. In the Yámana hut the ulwáia, in a manner of speaking, loses himself completely. He is unconditionally dependent on the will of the other participants, for he must obey everyone without contradiction. He must perform various tasks, and occasionally the adults wait purposely for unfavorable conditions in which to have these done. Thus, at the bidding of the leader, he must gather and bring in the necessary firewood. He is most likely to be sent into the woods for it when there is a storm outside and it is raining heavily. If there are many people in the Great Hut so that the adults do not have enough room near the fire, the candidates must let themselves be pushed back against the wall of the hut. Here they do not get the radiating warmth from the fire and besides feel more the cold air coming in from outside.

/891/ If the center space of the Great Hut is needed for greater freedom in dancing, the ulwáia are ordered to the exit of the hut where they must crowd together. Even for sleeping at night they are permitted only the space that is required for lying sideways in the crouching position. A candidate who unconsciously stretches himself in his sleep is immediately forced back into the narrow space by his sponsor. The ulwáia is merely told: "Everyone must learn to get along with the least possible space, so that other people will also find a place (315!"

315. The Yamana of most recent times have become very lenient about this demand of old. Neither I nor the other candidates were hindered by the indulgent Santiago from comfortably stretching out. Although the space was small, we could nevertheless partly rest our legs on the outer edge of the wide place where the fire was. Inasmuch as the Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones was a good 11 meters long and there were nine people on one side and 11 on the other, it is easy to calculate how much each of us could stretch out. The fact that the Yamana are small in stature does not make much difference.

1: Gunindo--786 E-5 (1918-1924) 1957 5196 Tsingan 5196

/891 cont./

Two years before, Alfredo, who was a strict leader, did not generally permit laxity with regard to the regulation. He made no exceptions, even for me.

In the matter of eating, the candidates are even more sharply held to the practice of unselfishness. Adults are regularly served their meals first. If it happens that after the food is distributed there is nothing left for some of the uɨwʉ̃ala, the adults do not worry about it, but let them wait until the next opportunity, without comforting or pitying them. Frequently the boys and girls go hunting and gathering to replenish the supply of meat for the many participants. They are required to bring absolutely everything to the Great Hut, or rather, to the cookhut and place it at the disposal of the adults. No matter how hungry they are, they may not eat anything on the way. They would have no opportunity, since they are almost always accompanied by adults. In any case, they are so thoroughly intimidated that they observe the prohibition even when they are alone.

In general there is no preparation of food or roasting of large quantities of meat in the ɨ̃ɨ̃xaxo hut. As soon as the uɨwʉ̃ala have brought in the fruits of their industry, the girls take their filled baskets along the two rows of participants and shake about two handfuls of berries, fungi, or mussels into the lap of each person. When each of the girls has made the rounds, she sits down in her accustomed place. It is only now that one woman or another gets up, goes to the girl, and returns a few small pieces. Now the latter, along with the adults, may roast and eat what was given to her. Outside the Great Hut the boys cut up the birds and sea lions they have caught. Inside each of them goes along the two rows of adults and puts a piece of meat at the feet of each one. After all have been served and the last bits have been distributed, the uɨwʉ̃ala squats down in his place. /892/ Usually his sponsor or even another man lets him have a small portion, as a token of acknowledgment, so to speak, which only now may he eat.

A person requiring something that he does not happen to have simply borrows it from an uɨwʉ̃ala without further ado.

/892 cont./

One evening during my first initiation, Nelly stepped into the Great Hut just as the dancing had begun. Since she wanted to take part, but had no dance staff, she simply took one from the nearest candidate and began swinging it in her hands. The candidate was obliged to remain seated and forgo the dancing. Later I saw an old man who had lost his hapaxēl simply take this article from the head of the candidate sitting opposite him, and he kept it until he lay down to sleep in the evening. Chris explained to me: "An uswáala should feel honored if an adult uses one of his things!" The candidate must be prepared to have taken away from him, without demur, even the pieces of skin with which he covers his own body if an older person needs them.

Moreover, the adults repeatedly give the candidates an opportunity to practice what in general may be called devotion to duty. It is well known that they must squat motionless in their places until their sponsors permit them to lie down to sleep, usually not until after midnight. Sometimes, at a signal from the leader or overseer, all the adults crawl under their covers earlier, and the sponsors, too, pretend they are fast asleep, but for hours they secretly observe their candidates to see whether they are sitting motionless in their painful squatting position.

Our Yamana place particular stress on the exercise of strict, continued silence. Sometimes they send the uswáala, unaccompanied, to a particular place in the forest. Here and there, however, a man in hiding closely observes their conduct. They are intentionally brought up to believe that they are being watched everywhere. A few days before their installation, a man leads them into the woods. Here they must address the trees as though the latter were living persons and introduce themselves with the following call: "uswáala háia hái (I am now a candidate)!" Subsequently they conduct themselves respectfully in the forest and avoid chattering (p. 731). At the conclusion of the čiéxaus celebration they again step up to the trees and announce to them that their trial period is now over (p. 838). Sometimes they find it necessary to say something else, but always this must be done in a low voice and as briefly as possible (306).

306. This rule generally also applies to the adult

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participants, as we shall point out specifically below (p.780), although this obvious duty has already been referred to several times.

The leader and each sponsor expects from the uswãala quick and blind obedience to every order. It would never occur to a boy or girl to contradict or to show indolence. Sometimes strong measures are taken against their defects of character and obstinacy, but they may not show how rebellious they are inwardly /893/ and how their sense of honor has been offended. As a mere exercise in obedience a candidate is sometimes wakened in the middle of the brief period of sleep permitted him, in order to squat in his place for about an hour; afterward he is allowed to sleep again, but in the morning he has no right to rest longer. One or another of them is sent out in rainy weather or in the dark of night; he is left standing for some time under a tree. After he has been brought back into the Great Hut, he must first sit at the entrance before he may compensate for the cold and dampness by sitting beside the fire. Alfredo explained the purpose of these measures to me and said briefly: "By means of such [exercises in obedience], the obstinacy of young people is broken and later on they will more easily follow what is customary among us Yamana!"

This point of view will explain best of all why our Fuegians are remarkably strict about punishment. Minor offenses against the rules and involuntary movements which usually are due merely to carelessness are criticized with terse, serious words and characterized as major transgressions. Sometimes they are punished the very first time. Entreaties or excuses are not allowed. Mercilessly the culprit is sent to a narrow place next to the exit where, for a day or even two days, depending on his offense, he is deprived of every scrap of meat and swallow of water. It is bad enough just to sit there, for the cold air from outside pours in whenever anyone lifts the scrap of leather covering it, and this is repeated often if there is much traffic. Moreover, this is farthest away from the warming hut fire. Some uswãala have their sleep cut down to three hours for several nights, so that they will lose all resistance and become completely exhausted. Even in the cold of winter an uswãala will be put outside for some time in order to

/893 cont./

X881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as uswāla in the čiéxaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

X881 Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures
869 mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference
776 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinéiwa, is of higher moral value as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole čiéxaus institution. Watauinéiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiéxaus is not a Yamana affair (317);

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /894/ Watauinéiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiéxaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinéiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the uswāla sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinéiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiéxaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinéiwa čikāja kalakanāa sakumāsu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

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often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what

> 318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauineiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the ciexaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetájta. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetájta, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

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as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uswáala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetáita is not really this evil spirit. Yetáita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetáita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetáita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the čiéxaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetáita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetáita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetáita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetáita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetaita and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiexaus hut is hailed with a loud call of hó ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetáita!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetáita who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetáita has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the uswáala must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetáita by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetáita in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the uswáala observe all the rules of the čiexaus. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetáita who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as

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869 it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
776 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him. This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiexaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiexaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

> 320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiexaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uswala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
869 said, punished by Yetaita /897/ and taken away by him [through
776 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the
198 teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uswala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetaita makes his voice heard (321). This

> 321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

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against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetájta for the uwájala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

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I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the čičxaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetájta who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

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It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetájta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetájta, when in reality it is Wataŋinčiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Wataŋinčiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetájta. The latter appears in the kina. The participants of the kina celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetájta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Wataŋinčiwa was impressed on the uswála, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetájta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Wataŋinčiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

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pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Watauinéiwa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Watauinéiwa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetáita, as though he were different from Watauinéiwa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the uwíala: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetáita with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the čiéraus for the third time (328).

328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetáita has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetáita will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

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In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā́jta is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā́buan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā́buan is less frequently mentioned in the čié́xaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā́jta. Our men give all the calls that the uswā́ala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā́jta, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā́jta called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

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After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā́jta is not mentioned outside the čié́xaus hut.

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In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yo-ā́lox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

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their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of the Yoúlox siblings was told in more detail as a tort of first introduction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoúlox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswáala adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoúlox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

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same time the uŕwŕala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the číŕxaus, to train the young people.

y. Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uŕwŕala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the číŕxaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uŕwŕala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the číŕxaus!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the číŕxaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uŕwŕala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

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boys and girls are enlisted and forced to take part in all kinds of manual work.

1. Exercises for Boys. Among the Yamana the man's sphere of duty is definitely defined. Since each individual and his family /901/ are completely on their own, they must be capable of supporting themselves. Hence, our Fuegians reason, everyone must have a certain degree of manual skill. They mean by this the considerable dexterity and assurance required to stalk and obtain game animals. In particular it is a matter of surprising seals, getting close to cormorants in their rock cavities, and aiming for the best possible marksmanship in the use of their weapons.

This necessarily also includes an effort to increase fearlessness and courage in the young chaps, for both these qualities are sometimes strained to the utmost in a battle with large sea mammals. Our Yamana have learned through reliable experience that a critically high degree of dependence and timidity, cowardice, and fear persists in many chaps as long as they remain in the parental hut. The čiŋaya should and wants to do away with all this. In each person it usually inculcates enough awareness of self so that he can stand on his own feet, confident of his personal power, as soon as he is dismissed from this training. The remarkably severe pressure on the uwčala for self-control which is engendered by the strict daily procedure (p. 753) is sensitively and consciously tied in with this goal. The person who has himself completely and firmly under control is master of the arsenal of all his powers.

Making the boys more capable is a specific and necessary aim of the training period. They actually do receive useful instruction which is supervised by the ulaščkuwa, or the overseer. There are no definite rules about which men are to be appointed to this task. It is customary for an uncle or an older cousin to devote himself to the uwčala during the entire čiŋaya period in case the sponsor is unable to do so because of advanced age or physical infirmity. Ordinarily the sponsor himself performs this service. He is free to decide how often and at what times he arranges exercises for his protégé. He also decides whether one or another skill must be further developed. Sometimes these men get together and exchange views about individual candidates, at

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the same time agreeing on common undertakings. In these discussions the leader finds out what is being done in the practical training of the ufwʉla and gives his opinion on it. Despite extensive freedom in this area, there is no lack of supervision and control. the young chaps are sufficiently drilled and made proficient all around, and no one is neglected or slighted.

One can quickly and easily describe how this practice is actually carried out. Formerly, when the youth initiation lasted for months, at least two weeks were allowed to elapse during which time the ufwʉla became accustomed to the program in the hut. After that period and after the overseer has been notified, on any day or at any time of the day or night, the spouse summons his protégé, and the two set out /902/ for the beach or a rock where the exercises begin. Whether several men have taken the ufwʉla or only a single one is alone with a boy, the latter must throw the harpoon hurl his sling or shoot his arrow in the presence of his teacher, depending on what has been planned. The teacher provides the weapons and knows how to handle them well. An old basket or a root of the large brown algae serves as a target. Naturally, a place is chosen where women or children would scarcely ever come, and teacher and pupil remain here for several hours. The men compare the achievements of the boys and discuss the progress of the individual. Practice with one weapon or another is repeated until the ufwʉla has learned to handle it skillfully. As a rule the men are more exacting in their judgment than need be.

Only after the candidate has learned to use the weapon properly and easily does the spouse begin to familiarize him with the methods of hunting. Each animal has its peculiarities which the hunter must take into account. The Yamana know this from long experience and they pass this knowledge on for the benefit of the younger generation. Accordingly, in hunting and trapping they not only adopt the most advantageous and the safest method, but this method remains the same throughout the centuries because, under the given circumstances, it cannot be improved (p. 210).

It is difficult for the young chaps to kill the very adroit sea lion in the water, whereas it is easier to overpower it on land.

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It is fascinating for them to climb around on rock walls where they plunder the nests of cormorants. In any case, however, it takes long practice and trained dexterity before each one has acquired adequate proficiency in this or that method of hunting. The older men exercise a great deal of patience with the uwala; and again the candidates must try first one way and then another. They are stimulated and encouraged; some of them are helped with much extra care. Time finally brings progress and ultimate success. I was sufficiently convinced about these details during my first initiation. In view of all this, it no longer seems strange that many a kina celebration lasted for months.

The attempts to rid a cowardly lad of timidity and fear are more serious. He is accompanied into the dense forest at night or taken to a lonely island where he is left by himself and obliged to hold out until he is called for. This procedure, with some changes, is repeated until the uwala promptly goes anywhere he is sent at any time of night (331). It is not customary among

331. This demand is certainly strange, for it is only on rare occasions and for serious reasons that one of these Indians decides to leave his hut at night and go a great distance.

the Yamana to frighten him in any /903/ way out-of-doors. About one thing, however, the men are implacable, and that is to rid a boy of the last remnant of cowardly fear, even if it takes a long time.

2. Exercises for Girls. There are no great differences from what I have just described for boys when the female uwala in the initiation are introduced to the manual work and occupational duties that fall to their sex in the family hut. They only need training here to supplement what they learned and practiced on the occasion of their menarche (p. 567). Moreover, at home they have much more often been called upon by their mother to co-operate fully in the work, in other words, they have been more thoroughly initiated into all manual skills than is the case with boys of the same age. They now take up whatever remains for them to learn.

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One of the girl's closest women relatives who has known her for a long time and is attentively concerned about her, together with her sponsor, gives her the necessary instruction. The leader of the Kina celebration is satisfied to know that no girl lacks the customary practical education. He leaves to these two women the details of how they handle the girl, all the more so since actually he does not in any way interfere with matters pertaining to the female sex. This much is certain, these women are no less serious in their drill of the girls than are the men with the boys; in fact, I had the impression that they are much more petty and insistent than the men.

Actually the exercises for girls are restricted to careful and industrious assistance in the women's work of obtaining food. They get the large mussels that are buried deepest, dive down to the shallow sea-bottom and catch sea urchins, fish with the line and bring up large crabs with the crab fork, get birds' nests in the thickets and on the ground, and gather fungi and berries, all under the direction of the women accompanying them. This work, too, demands dexterity and skill which must be learned but which does not require as much exertion as the hunting exercises of the boys. Instead, the tasks of the women are generally much more annoying, if we think for example, of the protracted wading in cold water. Besides the task of gathering food, the sponsor sometimes gives her candidate the easy manual work of plaiting small baskets and ornamental chains. This, however, may only be done outside the Kina but when in good weather and after the food gathering they permit themselves a little rest and diversion out in the open.

All the instruction is regularly given in few words, very quietly, and, even more, with patient waiting for the result. The ukwala obey their teachers with confidence; contradiction or disobedience would be unthinkable. A slight amount of effort by the sponsors suffices for the girls because they bring all kinds of experience and /904/ skill with them to the Kina hut. They help to provide food all the more efficiently and, together with the boys, make this work easier for the adults. It requires no little effort day by day and without interruption to feed a large number of participants for long weeks in the Great Hut.

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The [illegible] training is designed to enrich the candidates mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the ulwella, since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive harshness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Foreigns has given them very fine and rare results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

Obviously the [illegible] institution is thought of first of all as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge to celebrate the youth initiation once again! This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the [illegible] secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the burrowing principles.

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They zealously see to it that every grown child without exception experiences the spirit and meaning of the initiation, as though the stability of their tribal life would be strongly shaken and the powers of their social life broken up if some young person had no opportunity to do this. They believe that they have done a service to the people as a whole if, from time to time, they loudly demand that this event take place. This is the /305/ deeper meaning behind the cautious urging of old people for the Yahgan celebration, the necessity of it for the adults and for the society itself. It is not exclusively the duty of letting boys and girls experience it. As a result, the participants accept without demur anything in the way of unpleasantness and restrictions of their liberty that happens to them while they enter the Great Hut. All of them are animated by the strong desire to conform exactly with the important obligation handed down from early times. He willingly endure all the physical exercise demanded by the daily program and the curtailment of personal freedom that every participant voluntarily accepts.

It seems to show an insistent spirit of persons that these Yaghans in our day dare not relax any of the rigid formality of the prevailing order. With perverse unreasonableness they pay strict attention to what is important and what is unimportant, so that nothing is diluted or mitigated, nothing is distorted or omitted of all that has been handed down. They have lived and still live in the conviction that only a relentlessly rigid perseverance in the traditional pattern will ensure the continuance of their ethnic unity.

If, nevertheless, in the last two decades many things have been given up or curtailed or changed for the sake of the new spirit of the times, this has occurred as a result of the manifest knowledge of the younger people that their tribe is already in the process of dissolution. Today even the youth initiation could not bring about the firm cohesion of fellow-countrymen on the traditional basis of former times. With deep insight Holly once complained to me: "The former strict order has for some time disappeared from the Yahgan, we Yamana will not last much longer [as an ethnic unit]!" The experience of the vast world of primitive peoples confirms the fact that as soon as obligatory social

L: Gumbs--776 E-5 (1908-1924) 1937 SRS Telgen 5256

arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original ceremony and the ardent spirit of the Tolowa celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1935. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Nintuck, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax conduct, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Tolowa gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/186/ a. General Regulations

It is well known that every female who has twice gone through the Tolowa ceremony as child is may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. She is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as she is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

Inasmuch as the Tolowa is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

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X881 621 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the čiéxaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the čiéxaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the čiéxaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 805 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 788 Throughout the weeks of the čiéxaus a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uswála who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

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X 881 788 the čiéxaus hut immediately begin distributing them. Each one places himself in front of an adult, moves whatever he holds in his hand up and down while uttering a soft hṓhohohohṓ, and hands it to him. He receives it and in doing so repeats the same motions and utterance. Women and men who give something to another person observe a similar formality, as do the kitchen women in distributing the meal. A person coming in with something which is not passed on to others holds the object at shoulder-height in his upraised hands and capers around the room with it two or three times. For example, this is the behavior of women with a bundle of rushes which they have gathered outside and need here for plaiting baskets. Before a person takes the first bite of a piece of meat, he raises this, too, up and down a few times with a soft hṓhohohohṓ. If someone steps into the Great Hut or leaves it, several people sitting near the entrance repeat this hṓhohohohṓ. The singing must never cease completely, not even during meals and during the night's sleep. During the singing everyone must put on his hapaxél and hold his dance staff in his hand; if he goes outside he leaves both articles behind. Before the arrival of one of the customary groups of visitors, all the inmates renew their facial painting. If a few of the men go to the cookhut to visit the women there, they take along something for them, usually a little basket of ashes or glowing charcoal, even a burning stick of wood, for anyone who pays a visit must always bring a present. We shall mention below a few other ritualistic customs.

X 881 626 The deeper reason for the unconditional submissiveness of all participants and for their zeal in faithful service is their great respect for the traditional čiéxaus arrangement and their insight into its universal social significance. They also regard their participation as a real duty, not only as enjoyment or as a good opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas. There are no punishments for adults, for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Everyone knows, in any case, how carefully his way of life and his conduct are everywhere observed and discussed by the people at large. They minutely inspect important and unimportant details in connection with each person. In the čiéxaus hut particularly the individual is subjected to open observation and to the

X881 626 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X881 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

B. Special Formalities

X881 577 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to [177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the ciexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uswáala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

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X881 577 is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

X881 577 524 Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [201] unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly X881 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially 577 serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uswáala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

X881 577 516 As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

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X881 S77 516 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all unnecessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the čiẽxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 S77 201 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his instructions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 S77 513 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite noticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the čiẽxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

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X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may
513 never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

> 333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immedi-
X881 ately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
515 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uswáala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

X 881 [515 177] /911 cont./ the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X 881 264 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X 881 264 869 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiéxaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

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X881 264 869

Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which [415] the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hṓhohohohoʊ̃ in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uš̌wā́ala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetā́ita. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetā́ita himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kēš̌pix̌ [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uš̌wā́ala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetā́ita is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

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X881 264 869 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the uswā́ala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the uswā́ala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetā́ita and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetā́ita.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the uswā́ala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetā́ita!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the čiḗxaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hōxó́x. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hōxó́x is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

[272 262] One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid continuous calls of "hōxó́x" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the čiḗxaus hut where they

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X881 264 were received with a loud hóhohohohó. Immediately the coffee was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the stick bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

X881 264 535 Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regular evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know, they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiéxaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiéxaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetájta is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiéxaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

X881 264 All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetájta alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

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X881 88 244 into the čiexaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō̆ hō̆. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō̆ hō̆. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uswjala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356 4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiexaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/914 cont./
X 881 356 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X 881 301 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiẽxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxẽl, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uswãala. The latter wear a hapaxẽl of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X 881 302 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

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/915 cont./
himself somewhat better during the day; at least he does so in the late afternoon before the group dances begin.

Choosing one's ornamentation is a matter of personal taste and sense of beauty; the inspiration of the moment leads to one choice today and another tomorrow. A few basic patterns are expanded and varied in one way or another. Figure 85 shows the facial painting of women in the three upper heads and that of men in the three lower ones. We present only these few examples. In Drawing a, note a broken red line at the level of the eyes, ten fine red lines under each eye, and five on the nose. This is very much like Drawing b, where seven thin red lines are drawn under each eye and three on the nose. Drawing c is another variation; the whole face is painted red, and the white lines are then applied on this background. The latter ornamentation is generally used by the inmates of the čiéxaus hut when they expect outside visitors. In the next three examples of ornamentation a white background is first applied, upon which red lines are drawn according to the patterns reproduced in Figure 85. /916/ Sometimes the candidates are also decorated in this way. Now and then, in a fit of enthusiasm, someone will crush a little piece of charcoal and rub the fine powder all over his face and over his simple line paintings. Another person may do the same with white chalk powder.

In former times people were not satisfied with this ornamentation, but extended it to body painting for the nightly dances. /Fig. 85 appears here./ It was easily accomplished in these days because the body covering was very scant. Reminiscent of this is the men's present custom of rolling up their sleeves above their elbows and their pants above the knees in order to paint the exposed parts of these limbs. For their part, older women lay bare the entire upper body, including the arms, rub it with white color, and draw thick red lines and red dots in various arrangements upon it. Formerly this decoration was continued on the lower part of the body.

Since the painting must be renewed daily, considerable amounts of red and white pigment, namely, ímí and tumarápu, are used during the long period of the initiation. Everyone provides himself with sufficient amounts ahead of time. A person

/916 cont./

X881 302 who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr, a [824] small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

[301]

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiéxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

1: Gusinde--791 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

X881 302

/917 cont./
floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

X881 533 535

A person who enters the cíʃaxat hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the cíʃaxat hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

X881 533

1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetáʃa, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each úwiala.

/918 cont./

X781 S33

A special order on the part of the leader or a request to particular persons would be unnecessary, for all the people present are never asleep at one time. One or another of the old people prefers to spend the greater part of the night awake in order to abandon himself quite undisturbed to his thoughts, while humming to himself for hours. Thus the singing is never interrupted; as though it were passed mechanically, one person takes it up naturally from another and carries it on until he, too, is replaced without hesitation.

This type of singing is extremely simple, for it consists merely of the constant repetition of a single word with a slight deviation in pitch. Without exception, they utter a low *owí*, which they repeat quickly four to eight times, heavily emphasizing the first *owí*, and letting the subsequent ones diminish gradually until the final *owí* dies away completely. Each person chooses the pitch most agreeable to him, which becomes higher in his enthusiastic excitement. In the forenoon and in the dead of night the singing sounds weaker and softer, and it is loudest in late afternoon, leading into the group singing in the evening.

One must not imagine this vocal rendering as anything like an organized choir; quite the contrary, the individual suits himself in every respect as he sees fit and according to his personal inspiration. Everyone starts and stops and sings louder or softer when and however it suits him; no one pays any attention to the tempo and pitch of anyone else. In this respect the singing is a great hubbub. Nevertheless, the ear is not particularly offended because the individual rendering as such is low and sounds deep and hollow. Since everyone sings in an undertone and for himself alone, as it were, one does not, in any case, expect unison. Sometimes it seemed to me as though these people had no ear at all, since no one accommodated himself to his neighbor. This singing, however, as an expression of spiritual excitement, is strictly personal and hence cannot be in exact accord with that of another. As we have said, each individual changes his voice and the tempo and volume of his singing several times throughout the day, all depending on his inner state.

If one inquires as to the meaning and value of this constant singing, I should like to emphasize above all its psychological necessity. It seems to me to be a means for each individual to

/918 cont./

X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awai, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

1: Gusinde--794 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5198 Yahgan 5198

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S35

/919 cont./

keep the fire going with a few glowing embers, because the center section has had to be cleared, and at times almost the entire group of participants is dancing simultaneously. The dance consists of a quiet, solemn, and yet graceful gliding motion. The body is held upright and is not stretched or distorted; it sways only slightly forward and to either side. The movement and placing of the feet in taking steps and the graceful litheness of the erect body are very important. Some women show an unsuspected grace; other figures are clumsy.

The entire mass of crowded dancers moves more or less uniformly in this direction and that through the Great Hut. Here and there a person moves faster and glides past his neighbors, or one is slower and lets himself be pushed back. Often the sponsor will /920/ lift up his protégé so that he will take part in it. A few aged persons remain seated, but happily take an interest in the lively movement of so many persons. Usually the limited space inside does not permit everyone present to take part in the dancing at the same time. A few of them remain seated and wait until someone leaves the crowded cluster. Even those who remain crouched in their places move their bodies rhythmically in time with the song and with a corresponding rolling motion of their dance staffs up and down.

If there are only a few persons making the short, dance-like steps in the area of the fire, they arrange themselves in single file. The leader goes straight toward one of the exits; when he reaches it, he turns about-face and goes toward the other exit. The short row follows at his heels.

Sometimes the dancers arrange themselves in a compact knot so that each one can hardly take a step a few centimeters long. The space in which he can move is very limited, sometimes only one and a half meters. The entire cluster moves as far as possible from the spot, which inevitably presses it even closer together, and under this increased pressure each person makes a half turn, always in time with the song, followed by a movement in the opposite direction. A person can hardly hold his dance staff horizontally.

Now and then a single woman will place herself opposite a man or a single man opposite two women. Facing each other,

1: Gunnde--791 E-6 (1919-1994) 1937 1986 Yelgen 1998

/926 cont./

they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the ulwéla shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The ulwéla, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the ulwéla, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud wailing began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/933/ Then Gertie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Stepping along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

/Will cont./

The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Then I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the Tsilaxw for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, twice. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great chorus and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the Tsilaxw hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people middling in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /Will/ "That person has been seized by Tsiqid [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the Tsilaxw hut until he is exhausted.

One evening Chimoy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth, hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilie stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the kiowa hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Tomoans explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his belief seizes him!"

It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the tsoyi song, the so-called song of the yihanuf. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the tsoyi song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirit" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the tsoyi song is also intoned at the end of the entire kiowa celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

The particular purpose of the tsoyi song is "to attend to the spirits who have come from afar to the kiowa gathering, to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X 881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the táxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various késpiš assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X 881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the ušwáala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X 881 302 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the ušwáala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/923 cont./

X 881 302 769 152 Since every adult in the čiexaus hut thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

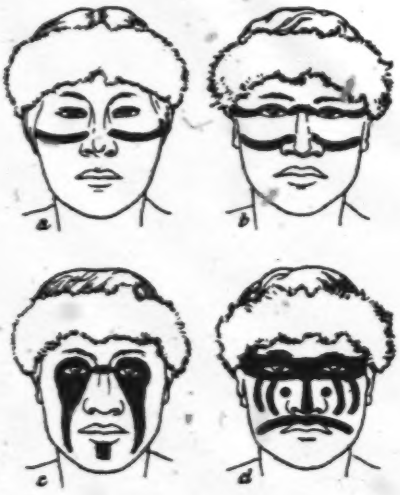

Fig. 86. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /924/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

X 881 302 769 Figure 86 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with ímí powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 86 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

X881 302 769 /924 cont./ drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears the hapaxĕl and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

X881 535 769 With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the deceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding through the entire room. As is the case with these dance movements in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X881 535 769 152 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the čiéxaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the čiéxaus beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the čiéxaus for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152 time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152 Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two Whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533 4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X 881 533 /926 cont./ simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 264 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 264 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 152 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiéxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./
people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puāala [instead of palalāala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiēxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uswāala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont./
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to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

[648]

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiéxaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiéxaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

X881 537 152 609 and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone present.

This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiéxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiéxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiéxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiéxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

X881 537 152 While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again. While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswāla; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewáli [flints] come from the west. The long úkeša [leather straps to capture the

X 881 537 152 /928 cont./ candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

X 881 537 152 609 After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer, I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

1: Gusinde--807 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Plate 3.

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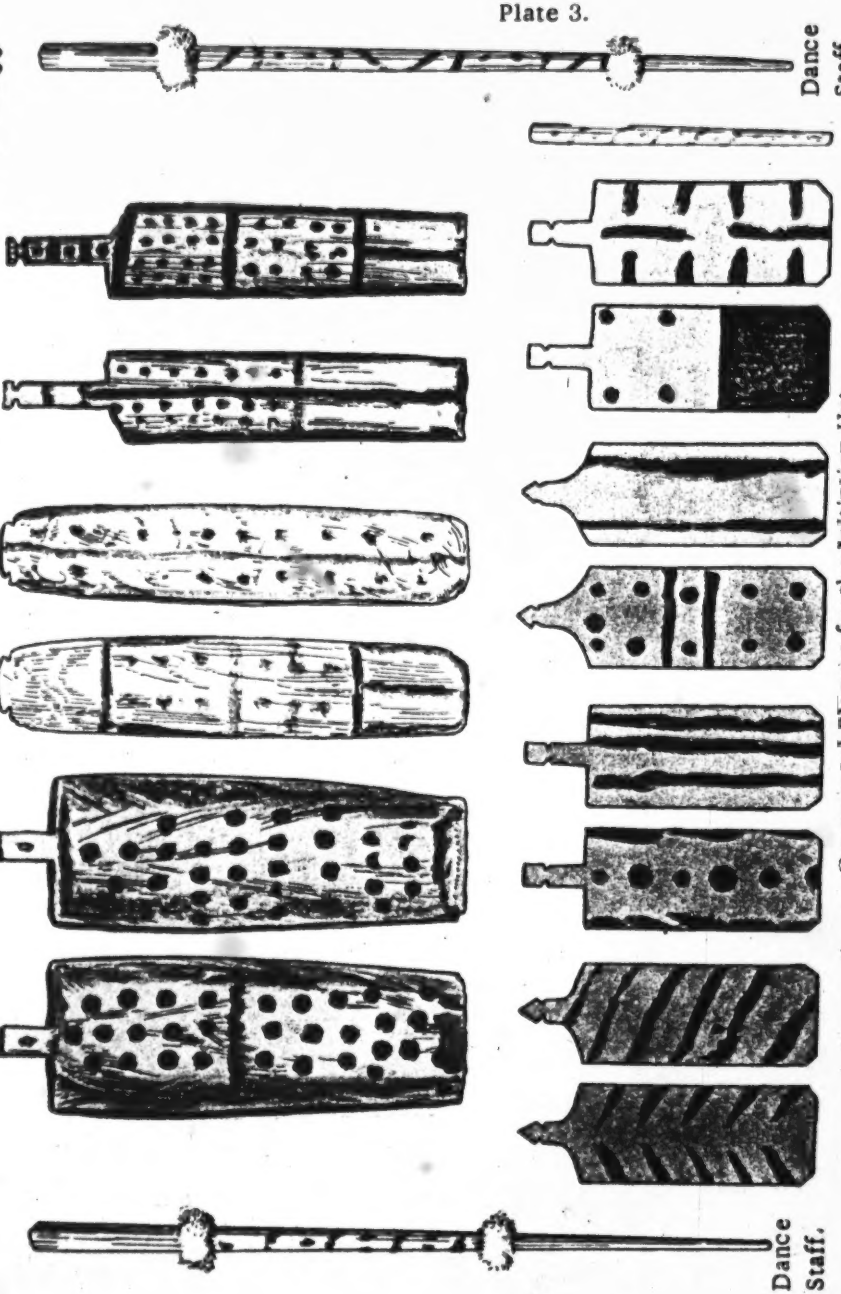

Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

Dance Staff.

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./ the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud X881 and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as 537 giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, 152 as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetáita 533 (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any 535 leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls 152 upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetáita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetáita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetáita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetáita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetáita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetáita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéʷa, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéʷa whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/930 cont./
X881
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the lower part of the nose were painted red; the wreath of feathers was placed on his head in such a way that the feathers pointed downward. He cried in a loud voice so that the women in the cookhut especially could hear it: "I come here from the high seas! I expect to stay only a short time!" A reply came from the cookhut: "awaj (348)!"

348. This word means assent, such as: "Good!"; "So be it!"; "We heard it!"

/931/ Thoughtfully and with measured step the winefkē'a walked back and forth in the Great Hut. Suddenly his voice was heard: "Attention, now!" The answer from across the way was again: "awái!" Immediately he continued: "To me the people in this hut seem dreadful! I don't know any of these people here, for I have just come from the high seas. That is why I am overcome with great fear, because I am alone here among the people [unfamiliar to me]. However, this hut is very beautiful!" After a brief pause the customary "awái" followed.

Robert continued: "I come from a place where there is a great deal of snow and ice (349). It is a bad [unpleasant] place

349. He is referring to the extreme south where there are mighty icebergs floating around.

from whence I come. What kind of folk may this be among whom I have landed? I see two strangers here [Gusinde and Koppers]. I shall devour them! But at the moment I am full and satisfied; a little later I shall devour these two. If I should leave something, you out there [the women in the cookhut] will have some of it, too. -- The people here are very bad and evil; I don't know them, but I am very much afraid of them."

A pre-arranged interruption followed. Two women brought a can of coffee from the cookhut and immediately began pouring it out. The first three or four persons at the secondary exit let their cups be filled and realized with the first swallow that by mistake sea water instead of fresh water had been used for this coffee. They spit out this swallow, amid facial contortions,

/931 cont./
X881
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which many of the others observed. Richard noticed it, too, and cried loudly: "As far as food and drink are concerned, we here are not satisfied with it!" This time there was no answer from the cookhut.

After a brief pause he continued: "It seems to me that something bad will soon happen to these people here! My intention was to seize them all, but I caught only their feathers (350). --

> 350. We must imagine the situation. He believes himself to be a bird who, as such, attacks other birds and in the fight pulls out their feathers; he regards the people in the Great Hut as birds.

I shall prove to them that I am a crafty bird; I'll duck and crouch against the ground, I'll play stupid. Thus [in this position] I shall come on one, grab him, and take him away with me!" Immediately he pounced on old Pedro who was squatting nearest him on the ground. He seized him with both hands and pulled him upright. At the same time he yelled: "I've already caught one, this one I shall devour! One is enough for me. -- But no, I shall not devour him yet, because I am still full and satisfied. I shall save him for later! Those two strangers who are sitting there I shall also save for the end!" The women plaintively responded from outside: "Alas!"

Resolutely Richard seized an uswáala and cried: "Here I have grabbed a fledgling [a young bird, an allusion to the youthful age of the /932/ candidate]. I shall also lay him aside for myself, and shall soon eat him. Now I am still full and satisfied. But after a while it will be his turn!" Frightened, the women cried: "awáa!"

After a brief pause: "Poor folk here, I am truly compassionate! -- I am not in a hurry to leave, I should like to stay in this place for a short time. -- I almost seized them all [these people] and lifted them into the air with me!" From the cookhut the "awáa" was repeatedly heard between his utterances.

Through the main entrance Richard called to the outsiders, telling them what is now going on in the cíexaus hut; he told

/932 cont./

the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with [535] hambś, hambś, hambś (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cook-hut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awĺi." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

/932 cont./
me here!" Response: "Yes, we like you!" He: "Good, if that is true, I shall stay here longer and tell you about everything that goes on here." From outside: "We shall enjoy that." The winefkéwa: "I feel like eating something." Response: "That is good." He: "Well, now these two here (353) are very gentle

353. He is referring quite generally to two persons in the Great Hut.

and quiet, just right to eat!" Meanwhile one of the kitchen women came in and passed around something to drink. Very softly /933/ the general singing continued; most of the people present were resting. All squatted motionlessly in their places, with downcast eyes.

After 20 minutes Chris took up the singing again. The guard walked hastily through the Great Hut and repeatedly cried: "húi, húi!" The group remained in their places in deep concentration and did not even glance up. Loudly the winefkéwa cried: "The singing is beginning anew!" Response: "awíi, awíi!" He: "The people like me very much. -- I do feel like eating those two, but I'll wait and devour them later." The kitchen women repeated their cry.

The leader sent the ušwíala out to fetch firewood, and soon they returned. The group singing continued. Richard cried out: "What goes on here is very solemn!" Response: "awíi!" After a time the candidates were summoned and arranged themselves in a row, while an experienced woman immediately began to lead them in the dance. The ušwíala moved awkwardly and clumsily because they lacked practice. After moving back and forth repeatedly, the line broke up. Again they were sent out for wood. The guard cried out: "Now, you women, be very careful because the ušwíala have gone out [of this číexaus hut]. Restrain yourselves and do not look at them!" Meanwhile the candidates left the room.

Again the winefkéwa began speaking: "Now I am going to change my feathers. I am plucking out the old ones so that the new ones will grow better." Response: "awíi!" Anyone now leaving the číexaus hut is carefully observed to make sure that the

/933 cont./
kitchen women do not go up to the candidates or speak to them. "It seems to me that the people here are very courageous at the moment! -- There is foul air here in this hut; that is not good for the inmates. I wouldn't care to sleep here, just because of the bad air. I am used to the fresh, pure air of the high seas. -- The air in this hut is very foul." The "awi" followed at intervals. "Take care, you out there!" Then the candidates came in with the wood they had gathered. "I am keeping my eyes open and closely watching all the people here. -- Presently I shall stand on top of the hut. From there I can survey everything!" Meanwhile, with the wood they have gathered and led by the man who accompanied them, the ulwala danced through the Great Hut several times; then they put the wood down beside the secondary entrance and went to their places. The group singing concluded with a loud hôhohohohô to which the guard added a strong wîa.

After a few minutes the winefkîya spoke again: "I notice that you [women] are looking at the ulwala there!" He said this only to intimidate the women, hence the answer: "No, that is not true." He: "Lively action is beginning again here!" Two girls had been chopping wood outside and brought it in. They went dancing through the Great Hut with a little bundle. Old Clara joined them and said: "I become very sad when I see these ulwala. They, too, are in a bad state of mind, because they have had to work a lot today." Meanwhile the dance /934/ continued. Peine spoke very animatedly: "Those two [Halakwulup] women came from a region where they even devour people. Why don't they demonstrate for us? We Yamana are not acquainted with such evil customs, but we'd like to have a look at something like that!" She became furious: "Why don't my countrymen get up and join my dancing? This Halakwulup woman is the only one dancing with me (354), and my own countrymen watch me dancing alone!"

> 354. The older Halakwulup woman, named Rosa, had meanwhile resumed her seat, so that only Julia, the other Halakwulup, continued dancing.

After some time their hôhohohohô was heard, and both women

1: Gminde--815 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 1016 Telgon 1018

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squatted down in their places.

Then the guard spoke: "They [these people] almost caught me, but I escaped by climbing up on the hut outside!" Response: "*ewéi!*" After a long pause: "I am still staying in this hut. -- Everyone assembled here feels happy. -- I am looking at all of them. It is to be hoped that they will all, without exception, continue to be happy!" Low singing continued until the *winnitéwo* cried: "I am still here. I hear everything that is said here. -- Pay attention to everything that is about to happen!"

Old Peine stood up and danced very animatedly. Meanwhile her *hapwéli* slipped down a bit and covered her eyes. She said: "The fog almost covered me so that I would have been unable to see my country any longer!" Then came the loud *hhuhhuhhuhhí* of all those present.

Again the guard began: "Soon I am going off, for it is the hour of dawn. Perhaps another will come here who looks at everything and watches over it." The singing continued. "Yes, it is time for me to go. From now I shall leave this hut." The sound of *ewéi* rang out loudly.

Suddenly cries of loud *hhuhú* were heard amidst the general singing. They announced to the kitchen women that in a short time a delegation would come to them to get food. Two men hurried over; they returned immediately with coffee and a large loaf of bread. While these persons were being served, the *winnitéwo* acted conspicuously uneasy. Then he took the long leather strap, *lúgle*, which hung on the framework. Most of the adults stood up and likewise grasped this strap.

In a long row, they moved briskly back and forth through the interior of the hut. The guard shouted: "All you outside there, take care!" Response: "*ewéi, ewéi!*" This dance soon ended, and the long leather strap was again fastened to the hut framework (834). The guard cried: "I am afraid of those people here,

834. It is well known that the guards take the long leather strap down from the wall of the hut when danger threatens from those outside or when a candidate has escaped.

/1096 cont./

I have been frightened by them!" Response: "ee-ē!" Until now Chris in particular had led the general singing. He finished with the words: "Now I should like to stop because I am tired." /1086/ The singing went on, and after about 10 minutes he, too, joined in again. Meanwhile some of the people had quickly eaten, and afterward Chris also took a few bites. Richard in the meantime had gone back to his place and was no longer impersonating winetikpa.

After an hour and a half old Thomas assumed this role. He painted himself and placed the feather crown around his temples, stationed himself inside the main entrance, and cried loudly: "What are you up to here? I am here now. The other one [winetikpa] sent me and told me I must carefully watch over you! -- I am quite full and satisfied. The little bones of the many birds and fish that I consumed on the high seat are heavy in my stomach. -- Be on your guard now!" Response: "ee-ē!" The singing became more animated.

Thomas: "I came here very quickly. I did not even have time on the way to devour the bird that I had just caught. My beak is completely covered with fresh blood. That is how fast I flew here." Response: "ee-ē!" Then he rubbed a thick layer of dirt on his hands. "My feet and claws are dripping with blood. I had no time on the way to devour my booty, for I came here without delay. The other winetikpa sent me to you posthaste!" Response: "ee-ē!"

Meanwhile preparations began to receive the visiting customers into the Great Hat. The winetikpa continued: "I came here to have a look at these people. What I observe I shall tell over to you [over there in the corridor], so that you will know what goes on here. -- I discovered two strangers [Gonzalo and Kuppuni] here whom I have never seen in my life. The other winetikpa told me nothing about them. I am beginning to feel an urge to thrust my claws into them as swiftly as before when I seized that other bird. I have a desire to seize them at once!" A repeated "ee-ē!" followed. After a short pause filled with singing, he continued: "For the moment I am holding back. I shall not yet devour them two, for my stomach is quite full!"

The visitors came to the [illegible] hat and left again. Immediately Thomas began: "The people have stepped on my toes,

/938 cont./
that hurts me. I arrived quite muffled, that is why I could not move fast enough!" Response: "ewé!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

Then he started a song. While he continued the melody, he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let myself be looked at here. -- Those two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "ewé." The winnebago: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /939/ My hearing is good. I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wéé!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Tonga gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hihohohohéé, and the winnebago croaked a loud "hée." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "ewé!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winnebago."

Three old women with beautifully painted faces stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hat. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "ewé." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awáj." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awáj and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefkéwa cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awáj from outside, Walter said: "We began this čiexaus so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetáita of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[Actually, southeast. — Analyst.]

/937 cont./

X 881 625 533 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the čiéxaus!" Animated talk by the others.

Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westeners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkéwa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X 881 [753] Suddenly all the uswála stood up, arousing all the adults. The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X 881 535 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/937 cont./

X881 535 faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilia seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

X881 625 Again the winefkē·a called over to the kitchen women: "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "awā́i."

The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "awā́i." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The winefkē·a was not heard from again.

X881 On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around eight o'clock. All the inmates of the cíexaus hut immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the uswā́ala, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the uswā́ala finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed [535] close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other.

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a winefkē·a and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "awā́i, we heard it!" He meant

/938 cont./

X881 his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "awáji!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the uswáala left the čičxaus hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

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359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

X881 The winefkéwa called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "páf, no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that no one looks!" Response: "awáji!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

X881 While the low singing continued, old Clara spoke: "Nowadays
182 the uswáala are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the uswáala the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

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X881 182 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

X881 625 After a few minutes the winefkéa called one last time: "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the uswáala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the čiéxaus hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkéa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the čiéxaus hut.

X881 524 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program in the čiéxaus hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious čiéxaus celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uswáala.

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The latter in particular are involved in almost every game, whereas the adults are free to take part as they choose. There is another consideration in the case of the candidates, namely, that they get a certain amount of practice in the individual games. The social games repeated during the youth initiation are, throughout the year, played largely by adults; children may watch them, but only now and then take part in them. Although the children immediately begin to imitate the movements by themselves, they hardly attain any proficiency worth mentioning in this or that game. It is different here in the čiéxaus hut where the many movements are explained to the individual uš̌wā́ala and the exact procedure demonstrated, in other words, where he is given an actual introduction to them. It is part of the education of the candidates, so to speak, to acquire a certain proficiency in social games. The adults are unstinting in their praise of a candidate who becomes especially skillful or who is very limber.

The social games, in fact, are meant to relax the mind and to relieve the body. During the game the seriousness of concentration and the rigidity of the program of duties are inevitably relaxed. In order, however, that there be no disruption of the overall procedure of the serious youth initiation, social games are permitted only every second or third day at the most. They are repeated more or less often according to the temperament of the leader, especially if there is a death during the čiéxaus celebration. If the mood is joyous and gay, as, for example, in the immediate vicinity of a stranded whale, the games are played more often and each one lasts longer.

Whatever the mood of those present may be, the final evening hours of the daily routine are left free for social games. This is a time when everyone present feels very exhausted and many of them are already fighting off sleep. Just before this the uš̌wā́ala were given the customary advice, which is regularly followed by a long pause for serious reflection and quiet contemplation. After that it is the purpose of the games to refresh the spirit and limber up the tortured body. Sleep is particularly pleasant afterward.

It depends on the overseer or leader on which day and at what moment the games may take place. A few older people /941/ may occasionally also provide the impetus and stimulate one

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X881 S-4 person or another by specific words. Usually an indefinable expectation on the part of the participants is in the air, as it were, and it needs only a bit of assistance to be realized. Special formalities are not needed.

One cannot be precise about the various kinds of games and their order of succession, for there are neither specific rules nor unalterable regulations. One group of participants has a greater preference for certain games, another group for others. The group that gains a certain predominance will inconspicuously carry out its particular wishes. Usually they rely on the inspiration of the moment, for they do not beforehand make a definite plan of procedure, nor would they stick to it. After all, they want to be relaxed and refreshed by playing a game; hence they give themselves up to it with complete abandon.

In the end it is the leader who brings the people together for the game that he happened to think of or that he personally likes very much. For example, to the thoughtful, silent group he will softly give the gentle summons: "Let us play ămaxel!" Immediately a few people turn their attention to this game; they assume a different attitude and prepare themselves for it. After several minutes two or three women get up and clear the space where the fire is. If there are still a good many embers, they scrape most of them out-of-doors through the two exits, where they are extinguished, or they will make a small pile of glowing sticks of wood near the rear exit where it will be kept going. They sprinkle water over the ashes. The entire interior, except for the sleeping-places on either side, is now at their disposal.

A few persons gather without further urging, and soon others join them. Meanwhile an expert singer will begin the melody suitable for the game they intend to play, and soon all the people present take up the rhythm. Everyone throws himself into the game and goes through all the movements with complete devotion. The enthusiasm of one group will spur the others, so that at times they are all taking part in the game and are squeezed together in one spot. At the very beginning the sponsors lead their protégés into the center, for they are almost never excluded and must even participate longer and without interruption. If one or another of the adults wants to stop for a while and goes to his place to rest,

/941 cont./
X881 524 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 513 533 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uš̌wā̂ala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uš̌wā́ala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 524 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few enwomen will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uš̌wā́ala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

X881 S24 inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

[533] At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ámaxel, the game of the sea-lion áma (Otaria jubata), and then kētēlaxel, the game of the great gerfalcon kētēla (Polyborus tharus), then gërápuxel, the game of the common albatross gërápu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular uspēr^{x}čixel, the game of the oyster-catcher uspēr^{x}či (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hájyekašánaskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kaklēxana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čiéxaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "séskin skája ki-wéla kúpa hawéla mútu nanáa." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

X881 524 /943 cont./
invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

X881 524 789 Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with a loud hō, hō... or hé, hé..., which anyone utters and which is repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetáita (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetaita" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the čiéxaus hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "čiéxaus," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most stirred up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the čiéxaus celebration.

X881 789 751 There is another custom which has the same purpose. Occasionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

/944 cont./

881 this čiéxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yékamuš to
789 "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to
751 ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

881 Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here.
524 Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiéxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

/944 cont./

X 881 524 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observations with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X 881 574 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the čiẽxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiẽxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiẽxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X 881 574 302 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for the people in the čiẽxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone, [301] of course, wears his hapaxẽl. The uswẽala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

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It is much more important, however, to put the Great Hut in order for the visitors. There is already a certain amount of order, and wherever some detail needs attention, everyone will lend a hand from the vantage point of his particular seat, but they are painfully exact about seeing to it that the remains of food and all signs of meals are removed. Nothing is to arouse the suspicion that eating goes on here. Hence everybody is very busy just before the visitors enter: the ground is swept, the fire and ashes tended to, dirt and refuse destroyed in the flames, and at his own place everyone puts his few possessions in order. A visit is always the occasion for an extraordinarily thorough cleaning of the whole interior of the hut. They wish to honor the arrivals with a room that is beyond reproach.

Visitors are not permitted to enter until impeccable cleanliness has been achieved. If someone should actually arrive too soon, that is, at a time when the occupants are still busy tidying up, they head him off in an effective, if impolite, manner. The person who sees the visitor lets out a loud roar and, with a stick, showers ashes and glowing embers through the entrance in his direction, so that he involuntarily /946/ steps back. This gives the occupants enough time to finish cleaning the Great Hut undisturbed.

At the proper moment a man inside will lift the piece of hide from the main entrance, and by doing so he clearly invites in all the visitors who have assembled in front of it. More often the winefkẽ́ɣa steps out in front of the Great Hut through the main opening and invites them in. They follow his bidding and crowd through the entrance. They are received by extraordinarily loud cries of hō, hō... from all the inmates. For their part, they return these cries, and with short, dragging steps they meanwhile move through the interior of the hut in a compact line up to the opposite secondary exit. Here they turn around and go back again to the main entrance. Often the visitors are joined by a few of the regular inmates of the čiẽ́xaus hut, and in time to the everyday singing, the entire group dances over the fire area, lifting their dance staffs with rolling motions of their hands.

After this dance the visitors take their place near the main entrance which has meanwhile been cleared. The formalities are

/946 cont./

X881 574 limited to a stay of about two hours during which time the visitors remain seated, observe the procedure of the čiexaus hut, and take part in group dances and games. At the very beginning the uswāala are all specially introduced to the visitors. The uswāala were assembled beforehand near the secondary entrance and were then painted with special care. For the time being they were hidden from the eyes of the visitors behind a narrow curtain of animal skins which was hung up for this purpose, or they were obliged to crouch behind adults who sit crowded together. At a signal from the leader, every sponsor leads his hētakuxēolan to the visitors. They look at each uswāala for some time, but do not say anything. Thereupon the sponsors accompany their wards back to their regular places. The purpose of this presentation of the uswāala is to give the visitors a chance to see for themselves the candidates' healthy condition and well-being.

It is a particular honor for the inmates of the hut to have the visitors take part in the social games, which are, therefore, always introduced and go on for some time. In spite of all the gaiety and joy that predominate at this time, too, everyone present nevertheless maintains a recognizable well-bred reserve out of respect for the visitors. The latter finally leave without a farewell greeting and without any fuss, after they have had a satisfactory look at the activity in the čiexaus hut. Those left behind now think about the participation of the visitors in their performances, while the visitors who have returned to the dwellings talk about their impressions for a long time. After a visit there is always deep silence in the čiexaus hut; even the monotonous, uninterrupted /947/ singing sounds very soft and weak. There are no definite rules for the frequency of such visits.

X881 With this account we have probably exhausted everything in the way of formalities and duties that are incumbent on the adults during the čiexaus celebration. They have been arranged in this presentation according to unified points of view. They show unequivocally how much the freedom of the adults also is curtailed. They love this restraint, however, and willingly accept it, for in it and by means of it every participant becomes "a genuine, true Yamana again," according to old Alfredo's convincing words.

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d. Conclusion of the Celebration

X881 Chance and many imponderable influences were the decisive factors in bringing about the čiéxaus celebration (p. 664). They are also paramount in concluding this affair. From the very beginning no one commits himself to a definite period for the exercises and social intercourse; without concern the group yields to the circumstances of the moment that may advise termination. This is not a disorderly dispersal of the participants, however, but a regulated formality. Here, too, the Yamana taste for formal control and their appreciation of formality come through strongly. The individual customs that terminate the long youth initiation are just as important to them as the individual features of the daily program, and both are given the same attention. It would be a psychological outrage to assume that the whole group or the majority of participants would forgo the concluding ceremonies.

Even at the end of the long period of being together, the basic idea dominating the čiéxaus clearly and characteristically comes through, namely, that the mature young people should now be introduced into the group of adults as useful members of the tribe and that the individual families form a closed community, united for mutual protection and for the preservation of the tribe as a whole. Every adult and every youthful participant leaves the čiéxaus hut with renewed eagerness to practice the prevailing virtues of the tribe, and the memory of the čiéxaus hut stays with him as an effective guide for future independent action.

1. Reasons for Termination

X881 182 As we have said, our Yamana do not pledge themselves to a definite period of time for the initiation, but they do hold themselves to one positive and by no means unimportant commitment: concern for the success of the candidates' training. It is no mere accident that the Yamana in the čiéxaus, like the Selk'nam in their Kloketen celebration (Vol. I, 1047), /948/ plan to stay until the training goal for the uiwáia seems to have been achieved (363).

363. Some of the external circumstances which

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caused the termination of the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1950) have the same effect in ending the youth initiation among our Yamana. In Tierra del Fuego calamitous natural forces are, after all, stronger than human wishes and desires.

The old people know very well that during the few weeks of training neither the young fellow nor the mature girl will become a wholly adult human being. Up to a certain point, however, they can judge whether the principles of life presented have made a sufficiently strong impression on them and whether they have acquired enough manual dexterity or skill so that with further practice they can achieve the requisite proficiency. External forces, of course, act directly and powerfully on the conclusion, and they can even push aside the consideration mentioned above.

In spite of all the precautions taken at the beginning, it sometimes happens that a serious food shortage develops during the course of the celebration. Even though the adults and the candidates are content with little food, at least this amount must be easily obtainable. If the people have been attracted to a place by a stranded whale, they pay no attention to how much of their customary food is to be found there, and they realize the actual state of affairs only when the huge animal has been cut up and consumed by the many people. If they are obliged to undertake excessively long journeys in their canoes or on treks through the woods and over rocks in order to obtain the required quantities of meat, the daily program cannot be carried on without considerable interruption. They must then either look for a new camping place or break up the meeting.

Sometimes the unfavorableness of the site is recognized only after some time. The change of season, for example, will alter the condition of the ground very considerably, so that floods and the saturation of the earth or piled-up snow will inevocably force them to move the whole camp. Adverse air currents or strong eddies, for example, will so unpleasantly and so frequently hamper canoe trips that food-seeking is impossible for days. It may

/948 cont./

X881 182 even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

[731] It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the čiexaus hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for yamalaŝemójna, the great ceremony of mourning.

X881 In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the čiexaus celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the čiexaus celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the uwála

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Y881 into the adult circle. The yékaxe hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ákaxa, is touched up. everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the wineftáxa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the yékaxe celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxél and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the ulwáala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, [535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the room. Their leader now accompanies one ulwáala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hítakuwálan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The ulwáala is herewith declared a full-fledged member of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with [152] strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also [608] publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hítakuwálan. Occasionally at this time, but [431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

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The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an [illegible] also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called uniyo, uniyoinja, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 530). As a rule the Yanoama avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of hiyoinja or hiyoinjo. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first [illegible]. Now that their hiyoinjoyo is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce the new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Tëmatawëjo (Puerto Ramolino), I was an hiyoinjo for the Yanoama. Thereafter I was called Tëmatawëjo. Kappers was named hurokuëjo after Kurokëtu (Puerto Hecktimmy) where the initiation took place in 1922.

For the other formality which must still be observed, /551/ they regularly choose the last evening in the [illegible] hut. It culminates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as sponsors. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yoshpa who was nearby.

After the women had the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

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Meanwhile the women rested. After about 10 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: Mitschkodolf. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another. Now one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority, then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff as durable height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pressing and pushing lasted about 20 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the centre of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this sham battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the Library hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

[71]

364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Walpurgis" scene in the Elements of the Goth'sem. There, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and there are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 99').

actually /362/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (365).

365. Schmidt (2:35) regards this struggle

1: Gentile--936 E-6 (1910-1954) 1937 5256 Tahgee 5256

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of the two sexes and the victorious superiority of the women "as the first penetration of matriarchy in ancient primitive times, a concession to this new era through the adoption of a matriarchal scene in the otherwise complete parity of the youth initiation of primitive times."

With this single demonstration the final evening of the extended [illegible] celebration definitively ends.

2. The Final Celebration

The leader's speech pertaining to the planned conclusion of the youth initiation does not by any means invalidate the prevailing order of the day, and all the previous rules and regulations remain in force now as then. The speech is a request chiefly to the middle-aged men to bring in larger quantities of meat without delay. Hence they set out on the hunt, accompanied by the ulwalia; the younger element must now take a more active part since abundant quantities of food will increase the general gaiety. For their part, the women and girls engage in gathering food more eagerly than is usual. In two or three days a great deal of meat is brought in, depending on weather conditions and luck in the hunt. Meanwhile the ulwalia bid farewell to the men in the woods (p. 737).

Up to this point there has been no change in the daily program of the Great Hut. The people sit in their places--practically motionless, silent and lost in thought. The monotonous singing never ceases. As soon as considerable quantities of food have been accumulated outside the Great Hut, either in the cookhut or in the branches of nearby trees, the leader waits for clear weather and then orders the kitchen women to prepare the general festive meal. These women, assisted by several helpers, start a large fire where they broil many pieces of meat and cook vast quantities of mussels and crabs in the ashes. When the aroma of roasting meat begins to spread, the leader, along with the overseer, gets up from his place and leaves the Great Hut. He is followed by the wimbaiya and his helpers, as well as the rest of the men and women. Finally

/952 cont./
X881 the uswíala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiéxaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswíala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiéxaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 608 431 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the čiéxaus trial they have successfully led their hétakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to [445] ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone émbalim (ébelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked X881 608 431 515 sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the čiẽxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

/954/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hẽtakuxeolan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

The ward receives these three items as mementos. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiẽxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswẽala shows each

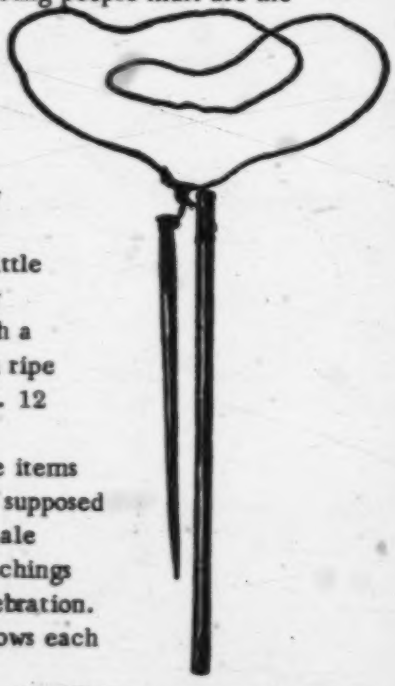

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/954 cont./

X881 524 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiẽxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiẽxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 533 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older person intones the tẽxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tẽxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tẽxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiẽxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 346 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.

X881 346

/955 cont./

Deserted and unprotected, it remains exposed to the raging natural forces; storms work havoc with the roof and finally with the whole framework, and sooner or later it collapses. The decorated sticks and ornamental plaques are also destroyed with it. After a few months only a person's memory can tell him where the čiẽxaus hut recently stood.

X881

Now the place where for weeks many human beings meditated about their own egos and where they adapted themselves to a time of restraint is silent and deserted. The rough wind again bravely shakes the branches through which, shortly before, thin columns of smoke curled up into the treetops. It drives withered leaves over the grassy area on which young and old delighted in lively games.

3. Meaning and Value of the Initiation

No matter how one looks at the čiẽxaus celebration, its individual components work together to achieve the one definite goal of making the maturing young people spiritually and physically competent to fulfill the duties of a grown man or woman independently. It is above all a training of the mind; hence the teachings and exhortations make up a considerable part of the whole affair. In order to make the minds of young people susceptible and receptive, their bodies are forced to become subservient to it through difficult exercises in self-control, including physical immobility, constant silence, curtailed sleep, and considerable fasting. Beyond the self-control to be achieved, the spiritual life of the young uŭwĭala becomes considerably enriched by the myths and legends, some of which are revealed to them here for the first time, as well as by the social games in which they must here, for the first time, publicly test themselves. Added to all this is the training in the required accomplishments and successful methods of work which make every man and every woman capable of obtaining a living as easily as possible for himself and his family.

Actually, the adults achieve this twin goal with their uŭwĭala through a faithful application of the principles esteemed in the čiẽxaus. Convincing proof is furnished by those upright, virtuous

/955 cont./

X881 persons who live according to these principles all their lives and who are an honor to their people, in other words, a shining example for youth. Proper tribal members have little or no regard for adults who have not experienced the initiation because, through unusual circumstances, there was no room for them in previous times. /956/ As a single example we need mention only the two brothers Sarmiento and Balfour, sons of old Peine, each of whom had different Europeans as fathers. They constantly lived on farms and year after year they avoided participation in the youth initiation. The older men are very mistrustful of these two and obviously exclude them from their intimate circle.

Moreover, this long description clearly and unequivocally shows the moral value of the čiéxaus institution. One need only consider the individual instructions, and he will be unable to conceal his astonishment at their superior content. This opinion will be heightened by considering the original derivation of the youth initiation, for the Supreme Being himself is regarded as its founder. The uŭwiala are frankly told: "All that goes on here [the daily program with its details] is not our invention; Hidábuan himself wants everything to be done in this way!" They are admonished: "What we tell you here [in the way of precepts and instructions] originates with 'the-One-up-there'! He wants everyone [Yamana] to adapt himself faithfully to it. Fulfilling all this is your [personal] affair, we cannot force you. But Watauinéiwa always sees you, he will also see it if you secretly evade something that we recommend to you here in the čiéxaus. He himself will punish you for your faulty behavior by an untimely death, or he will let one of your children die. Therefore, observe what we tell you here, for that is the way Watauinéiwa wants it!" During the initiation the candidates are repeatedly told that the teachings and precepts presented come from the Supreme Being who watches over their exact fulfillment and punishes their neglect. If one considers the important place of the čiéxaus in all the educational work of the Yamana, he sees surprisingly clearly how deeply their educational principles are anchored in religion.

X881 113 Although the ideas inherent in the youth initiation are derived from religious conceptions, there is also a particular historical derivation. It does not disturb the Fuegian temperament

/956 cont./

X881 773 that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the course of the celebration the story of "hamanăulum wătuwa" is told to the uĭwăala, and it was on this occasion that I, too, learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yékamuš, the other was not. The former two were Hĕŭpul (366) and Yo'okalĭa (367). The three men rowed off

[825]

366. Taeniptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapananúšĭ (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yékamuš were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

/957 cont./

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773

wicked people to separate the three visitors from one another, so that it would be easier to overcome them individually.

yékamuš entered the hut the many children inside shouted with joy. They cried loudly: "yárum kášiya, but quickly now!" This means [in their language]: "We want to devour these two immediately!" The adults, however, replied: "hamašúnna, not until tomorrow!"

The two yékamuš soon understood [the meaning of these words]. One of them also saw a woman inconspicuously cut off a piece of her breast and put it on the glowing charcoal as a roast, for she wanted to invite the two of them to a meal. Héšpul was shocked. He snatched the piece of meat from the fire and threw it out of the hut in a wide arc. Thereupon he said furiously: "I did not come here to eat human flesh!" He reached for his yékuš /arrowhead/ and cut off a piece of whale meat which he laid on the glowing coals. A thick smoke formed, which lulled the people in the hut to sleep, for he was a yékamuš (371). All

371. With his supernatural ability as a medicine man he intentionally rendered his opponents harmless through this method.

the people, even the vicious dogs, were overcome by deep sleep.

Then Héšpul said to his companion, who sat next to him: "Let's quickly see which fatty parts are best. We'll put them aside for ourselves!" They looked around, cut out the best fatty parts and the nicest pieces of meat, and dragged them to their canoe. Soon the canoe was filled to the brim and hastily they went off. They rowed busily and worked all night until they came to Asúsiwaia early in the morning.

When they slipped past this little harbor, they heard the Halakwulup throwing large stones after them with their slings, for the Halakwulup had decamped and rowed after them. Every stone that fell made a loud bang. Without hesitating, the three Yamana threw many pieces of fat into the water, in order to lighten the canoe so that they could get away quickly. They rowed with the greatest effort and soon reached Úšuwáia. Here they noticed that

/957 cont./
the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and had turned back. After that Hešpul remained in Usuwáia.

Those Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /958/ build a very large hut and equip ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the čiéxaus began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana. -- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the čiéxaus celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

[171] We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

374. These two affairs are known to be

X881 /958 cont./

blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 182 177 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 182 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an ušwáala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as ušwáala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 182 576 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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881 182 516 the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the Yiéxaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkéxa, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswála I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswála when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswála came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

/960 cont./

X881 182 147 and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancestors. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

X881 182 The čiẽxaus celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the čiẽxaus hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general trends, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):45.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the čiẽxaus hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the čiẽxaus celebration (375),

> 375. The youth initiation of the Halakwulup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (o):541 and Schmidt (d):977.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

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E. Property Relations

42 The orderly and peaceable coexistence of the Yamana is largely made possible by the fact that their property relationships are regulated according to ancient laws. No one questions how these arose or upon what they are based, since for each generation up to the present time traditional custom was the immutable guiding principle. Certain legal titles are based on fact; the prevailing laws of custom are primarily decisive. Actually our Yamana have an adequate number of legal concepts, which they followed in olden times as well as now (376). The economy and the social

376. With a view toward facilitating comparison as much as possible, this section was organized to some extent according to the pattern in Volume I, 423. Compare Krickeberg (a):331.

organization have played a part in the formation of certain relationships involving property. These relationships /962/ are particularly apparent in the social intercourse of persons or groups and in the relations between members of the most intimate family circle (377).

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377. Since the economy and the social organization of our Yamana agree to a great extent with the Selk'nam forms, it is not surprising that the property relations of both are almost completely alike.

A careful observer can easily determine the prevailing legal conceptions of the Yamana insofar as they pertain to property, for they are simple and definite in themselves and are also translated into action. This is not to deny individual violations against the law, but the characteristics of the law may be recognized in these very transgressions. One need not be put off by the contradictory judgments of travelers and missionaries. Some facts and observations have simply not been correctly interpreted.

/962 cont./

421 Sometimes it can even be shown that this or that person expressed himself first one way and then another. If one takes the trouble to evaluate the actions of the natives from their standpoint, it becomes clear that they are almost never in violation of the legal norms of Europeans. The repeatedly circulated opinion that our Yamana have no feeling for "thine" and "mine" and that therefore they practice uninhibited theft and robbery is wholly unproved slander. If we were to assume such behavior, how would peaceful coexistence with their own kind be possible? Every Indian knows the laws pertaining to common property as well as personal property, and there are all kinds of considerations that force him to observe them carefully; otherwise he could not live in the society of his fellow-tribesmen.

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a. Kinds of Property

In view of the unique position of the Yamana within the totality of lower primitive peoples and also for an exact understanding of the individuality of their culture traits, it is advisable to point out definitely at the beginning what a well-developed conception of property our Fuegians possess. They have a clear conception of "thine" and "mine"; accordingly, they understand occasional violations of property rights and actually observe the titles of possession which are current there. They use possessive pronouns [192] (Pronomina possessiva) to distinguish a specific person as the owner of certain things. There is a large selection of words designating theft and damage to goods belonging to others, and there are plenty of opprobrius terms for persons who seize the property of others (378).

378. Strangely enough, Spegazzini (a):177 maintains that among all three Fuegian tribes "the verbs to take and to steal are equivalent" /translated from Spanish/. A glance into BD and at the word lists of the Selk'nam and Halakwulup would easily have shown him his mistake.

424 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [859 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among
423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

/963 cont./

of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same native region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (s):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Aluc'Eluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (AMAF IV, 133;1970) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

/964 cont./
423 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
648 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
791 native region.

They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have re-
mained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were
the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has be-
come their property.

The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
423 territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group
regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of
all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote him-
self to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the
individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority
in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination,
everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available
to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural prod-
ucts of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal prop-
erty right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person
appropriates something for himself.

It is no less important to point out that only the members
423 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
635 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A
few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these ex-
ceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to
be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights
which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone
may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the
way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with
people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common
possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or
marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and
wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least
disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

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423 635 685 neighborhood. Sometimes the malefactor must atone dearly for his offensive violation of land rights. The Fuegians are even capable of ruthless intolerance toward him. The treatment accorded a certain Okokko may serve as an example. The missionaries with whom he had lived for many months on Isla Keppel wanted him to start a sort of "model farm," like the European prototype, in the center of the region of his countrymen, namely, in Liwya. This, however, was not his home. A small frame house was built for him and a goodly store of provisions left behind so that he could get along for about seven months. His natives neighbors, however, would not tolerate him there, for, according to them, he was an intruder. They avenged the violation of their land rights in that "Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire" /cited in English/. In this case, envy doubtless intensified the mania for destruction (p. 297 /untranslated/).

423 635 Despite due recognition of the land rights belonging to each dialect group, certain circumstances have nevertheless created legally valid exceptions to the exclusion of one group by another. The basic idea holds for an emergency situation when all doors must be open to every member of the tribe from every direction. This applies first of all to the procurement of raw materials for objects which no one can do without. Uniform, thick beech trunks which furnish suitable pieces of bark for the canoe flourish only in certain places, and there are only a few spots where flint is to be found (p. 41). For anyone seeking these two indispensable kinds of objects the boundaries of the dialect groups, which are drawn on other occasions, do not exist.

Furthermore, anyone who suffers serious hardship in his own region and is threatened by hunger may, without formality, cross the boundary and supply himself in the neighboring territory. It would be inconceivable for our Yamana to deny anyone access to a place where he can save himself from death by starvation. He is permitted to remain there undisturbed until he can demonstrably find subsistence in his own homeland. The most common causes of temporary calamities are: persistent bad weather /966/ regions where canoe trips are difficult in any case, namely, near the outlying islands; no less frequently, the loss of one's canoe; less often, the death of a wife who leaves a man with several small

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[Mss cont.]
423 children while his relatives live far away.
635
Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion
225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.
423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose house district this
425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have
635 worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p.
224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distribution of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 310). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

Anyone within the widest radius who learns of the stranding of a whale may head toward the spot unmolested and remain until all the suitable parts are consumed or distributed. The people native to the region arrive ahead of the visitors from a distance; nothing prevents them from taking the prized whalebone and from having the tastiest pieces cut out for themselves. Hence the people within the bounded area where the mighty animal was washed ashore do enjoy certain advantages. It is easy to see why other tribal members are also allowed to share this rich gift of Mother Nature, according to common law. A small number of people would be unable to consume the considerable amount of fat and meat quickly enough in the short time before it spoils. Therefore, nothing would be more natural than to apply, without restraint, the common principle of sharing with others, especially when there is abundance to be had without effort. Alerted by dense flocks of sea birds, the Indians come pouring in to the stranded whale, even from some distance, and they all enjoy the excellent taste of the blubber. No one would dare rebuff a visiting stranger nor hinder him, if one were to do so, he would be loudly decried as a selfish human being.

423 As for material goods that are common property, the Tenaese have only the two Great Huts built for the [illegible] and the [illegible], the men's ceremony. Both serve to the fulfillment of a task for which the group as such is obligated, and the adult participants busy themselves at it quite as a matter of course. From the men

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613 or in their intention to work for the benefit of those owners, hence they forgo a property right which otherwise would accrue from their personal work. Later, after the end of the ceremonies when the Great Hut is abandoned by the group, the latter automatically relinquishes its right of disposal. Anyone who then establishes himself in it /ONE/ or who wants to use a few sticks from it is not prevented from doing so, since he is appropriating something that has been acknowledged as ownerless.

613 635 Although the Tawana emphasize their right to sole possession of their native area and entirely guard the respective boundaries of their dialect groups, they are just as lenient when distress or expediency make it advisable to waive special rights. They put the life and livelihood of each of their fellow-villagers far above these rights.

5. Private Property

634 Like their neighbors, the Sulka tribe (Vol. I, 413) and the Gazelle Peninsula, our Tawana also make a sharp and clear distinction between common possession and personal property. The former belongs to a larger group or to the whole tribe; private property belongs to only one person or his individual possession, or, as family property, to members of the same family, in the limited sense of the word, who comprise an economic unit. In everyday speech this distinction between individual possession and family possession is clearly expressed (381). For example, the man speaks

381. The data of other observers are not always clear and comprehensive. Thus Hyades (4:319) in one case writes: "Property is individual, there is no chief, social hierarchy, or clever" /translated from French/. In another place (p.318) he admits that there is common property, besides personal property: "Property is individual and hereditary without a will, but this applies only to personal effects: canoe, hunting or fishing implements, skins of animals, each person having only what is necessary of these objects" /translated from French/.

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421 of his weapons, the woman of her little baskets, and the child of his ornaments, each one emphasizing his unlimited right of disposal, but each of them can only speak of "our hut," for it belongs jointly to the members of the same family. The designations for the right of ownership in the two cases are different.

d. Personal Possessions

422 At every turn the careful observer comes up against the unequivocal determination with which every Indian lays absolute claim to his personal possessions and defends them against misappropriation and damage. He regards himself as the exclusive master and owner of certain things to which other persons have no right. He alone disposes of them according to his own free will or he loans them for temporary use to a person who urgently requests them and pledges to return them. No one presumes to lay hands on the personal possessions of someone else, unless he is a thief.

It is easy to determine what belongs to the individual, because no one overloads himself with possessions and because /963/ clear, definite legal titles are behind them. Moreover, it follows from the nature of the simple economy of the Yamana that one person possesses no more, essentially, than another of his fellow-tribesmen. Finally, the little that one person carries with him is quite openly exposed to view and can easily be observed by his neighbors (965).

> 965. Bridges, in (1):22 and in Mbl:III, 115; 1869, listed the total number of objects that constitute "a Yahgan's property" /cited in English/. He does not mention which is the special property of the man, the woman, and the children.

Fully aware of having a general and actual right to the possession of his own things, everyone guards what he has with obvious jealousy. It takes forms that are incomprehensible to us, especially when someone owns things of European origin, for these

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422 more strongly provoke people to theft. Bridges describes with striking accuracy the concern of the Yamana for their few possessions: "The begging and stealing propensities of the natives discourage laying up stores of fuel or food, and engender slyness. When they sell skins or other things to us, they aim to do so unknown to their fellows, in order to keep what they receive to themselves. Thus they secrete what they bring under their clothes, or hide it near by, till obnoxious observers and waylayers have departed. Again, if they have any supply, they cannot keep it in their own possession, and so they leave it with us. A great powerful fellow lately bought some biscuit; he wished me very much to keep it for him. Twice or thrice a day this man came to our door, and would take out three or four biscuits at a time, and always watched for opportunities to time his visits privately. Before leaving our door he invariably concealed the little he used to take. As the man with his biscuit above-mentioned, so with those who have swedes; daily, or several times a day, will they come for two or three. The people here cannot leave the canoe furniture in the canoes for fear of theft, and so have to be constantly taking backwards and forwards paddles, spears, and every trifle" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218; 1875).

Each one claims for himself the sole use of everything that he possesses in the way of property. One can most clearly recognize what belongs to an individual on the basis of this attitude (383).

> 383. Cooper:179 cites the following from the direct experience of reliable observers: "The sense of ownership of personal property, such as the spoils of the chase, artifacts, and the movable windshield or hut, is clearly marked, and the right definitely recognized" /cited in English/.

It is easy to keep separate the personal belongings of each member of the family. The man owns only what he wears and carries in his hand, that is to say, his clothing and his even more unpretentious body ornaments, as well as his weapons and the tools with which he makes them. Raw materials that he obtained for

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[858] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

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It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):76, 237 definitely became acquainted with

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422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to *his personal* [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

B. Family Property

Since every person owns his individual property, he also 422 brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

423 When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 593 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

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423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 [626] In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

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422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sẽ" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sẽ [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sẽ čkẽli manẽax ãian, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sẽ kipajuin ẽ-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 476 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /978/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain prerogative over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right 47 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of 593 the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mŏcabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark 593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

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b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog- [171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 776 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidábuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sír, which is often used, evidently means: the sír, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sír; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 776 825 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./
421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay masses of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

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2. Taking Possession

425 The most common and the simplest way of making oneself the owner of an object is to take it and confiscate it. The assumption is that, as ownerless property, it really does not belong to anyone. This includes, first of all, the things that are indispensable for life, such as food, wood for the fire, and sticks for building the hut, as well as such things as bones and whalebone for tools, pieces of bark for the canoe, and rushes for basket-weaving, and finally snail shells and tendons for ornaments, mineral pigments for body painting, and pieces of leather for various uses. Obviously all these things come from the kingdom of nature over which Wataŭinĕ̆wa actually has the primary right of disposal. The Yamana have a more or less distinctly pronounced conviction that everything around them has been granted by Wataŭinĕ̆wa so that they may have the usufruct of it. They make use of this general dispensation, for in no other way would they come into possession of the things they need. They do not each time expressly remember this lawful condition, but now and then the commandment not to kill more animals than are directly required for the household flairs up in their memory.

Merely by his conduct a person shows that he intends to make himself the owner of an animal or a thing. Anyone who goes into the forest and gathers firewood, anyone gathering mussels and snails along the beach, anyone who kills a larger animal with his weapons or acquires something in a similar manner thereafter regards himself as sole owner of what he has acquired. At the same time his right is recognized by other people. If, after a certain [673] object has found its master, anyone should disturb the latter in his right of ownership, that person is unequivocally regarded as a thief. Thus it is sufficient for anyone simply to lay his hands on ownerless goods, for in this way he identifies himself as their owner. He remains such as long as he keeps these goods or until he has consumed them. Even married persons take this into account in their behavior 425 toward each other, as /975/ Bridges (I):21 has already assured us: 543 "What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission

/975 cont./

425 [573] when she would make presents to her friends" /cited in English/ (387).

> 387. Hyades (q):243 writes in a similar vein: "Each properly possesses what he has produced by his labor, what he has harvested in fishing or hunting, what he has found washed up on the beach; even small children themselves have full ownership of what has been given them" /translated from French/.

Sometimes the new owner does not immediately use what has hitherto been ownerless property. In a given case he will make known his right to it by special signs, if it is not obvious from the surrounding circumstances. For example, if someone comes across large pieces of a recently killed sea lion stored in tree branches, he immediately concludes that the successful hunter did not want to or was unable to take along the whole booty and left part of it behind which he will pick up soon. It is not permissible for another person to take possession of those pieces of meat. We know that the Yamana collect branches and trunks for firewood, place them upright against each other in the woods, and let them dry out for a few days. A person passing this bundle of wood immediately recognizes the work performed by another and does not take any of it. If someone finds a sling fastened in the grass (Fig. 59) in which possibly a few wild geese are caught, it would never occur to him to appropriate either of them, and he leaves undisturbed the claim of the one who laid the snare. The surrounding circumstances alone, therefore, make it clear whether goods are ownerless or whether someone has already made himself master of them. The Yamana do not use special property marks since these are for the most part superfluous or would be difficult to apply.

In general the Yamana derive the legal title for the assumption of ownership from the work and effort involved. The ensuing right of possession is recompense for the previous work. Therefore, anyone who of his own accord and with his own labor has accomplished this work enjoys possession of the goods earned. Naturally, in each case only the amount affected by individual effort passes from the ownerless state into that of personal possession.

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425 423 We know that the large territory of the Yamana is divided into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

388. I believe that this is the meaning of the following words of Bridges in Hyades (j):180: "The natives dare not go to places where they do not have friends or where they are not known, for they would probably be killed" /translated from French/.

everyone studies diligently the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in [428] such cases. The Yamana are unacquainted with an actual hereditary right in the sense that certain descendants can legally take over the possessions of an owner after his death, simply because of their [66] kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person or is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (a):1, 245 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I procured

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wild fowl for them, and in so doing I always intimated that it was for the women and children; when, no matter to which of the men I gave the bird, it was invariably taken to those for whom it was intended" /cited in English/.

other person is the owner and is expecting it.

3. Procurement and Production

Often one must equate taking possession of goods as just described and so-called procurement, for in this form it is a matter of acquisition by bringing in something. It is not a matter of barter or gifts, but of seizure of ownerless goods which someone drags to his hut or his canoe. A particular effort is connected with their procurement, for example, in the case of the person who peels off pieces of bark from a beech trunk and trims them for canoe construction, or of the person who on a distant beach picks out the rib bones of whales, which he needs for his harpoon points, and finally of a person who undertakes a distant journey in order to dig out from a rock wall a piece of pyrite for striking fire. As we have pointed out, such procurement usually involves strenuous treks and long canoe trips.

Detailed argument is not needed to prove that all raw materials when purposefully worked become the property of the one who has produced the article. The primary and exclusive purpose of the worker is to produce an implement for his own use that will make his work easier or insure greater success. This /977/ has produced and still produces the manifold articles and the various weapons found in the possession of the Yamana. Whatever an individual has produced in this way for his personal needs belongs to him quite exclusively. From the start, in the fashioning of the raw materials, he proceeds according to his own wishes and the demands of his habits. Anyone who can more easily and surely handle a thick harpoon shaft or a longer sling or a markedly curved bow-staff will naturally fashion this characteristic form out of the raw material when he is making a new piece. A woman who likes to see herself in a

/977 cont./

425 particular type of necklace or other ornament will copy it again and again. A child time after time procures for himself the outstanding toy that is his favorite. Everyone puts his particular wishes into the fashioning of an object and it thereby becomes his property.

Many statements could be quoted which come from every Fuegian's conviction that by the mere production of an article he makes himself sole owner of it and that special confirmation of his right of disposal is not necessary. Other people keep their hands off it; otherwise the owner would defend his property by merely pointing out that he made it. Any object that has been fashioned has its particular owner, either the husband or the wife or the child belonging to the same family. No one would take liberties with the articles of another without making himself guilty of theft. These personal belongings should be kept distinct from those few things which, in the service of all the members of the family, are available to everyone equally as "family goods."

Obviously the lawful title to every article made arises from the work involved. The individual purchases with his own physical strength and skill the object that he makes out of the raw material. Everyone says: "I made this object, therefore it is mine!" Anyone who wishes to have an object that he sees in the hands of another and admires acquires it for himself most easily by making it. The above rules of common law are so very much taken for granted by the Yamana that in everyday life they are hardly ever mentioned by anyone, although old and young invariably conform to them in all their actions.

4. Barter, Loans, Gifts

421 The different treatment of possessions and the use to which they are put derive from the right of ownership. For example, the owner can let his things go to ruin or purposely destroy them. No one will stop him, although his behavior may be characterized as unwise and senseless. The Fuegian does not possess an abundance of goods, and everyone must /978/ sooner or later obtain or make for himself, sometimes with great toil, whatever is indispensable to him and what he has destroyed without reason.

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437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [436] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing in- [435] creases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The [404] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 439 described above. For example, BD:307 gives matɛ̆xgĭmatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, matɛ̆xgĭmata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):381 wrote:

> 390. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meath for a canoe and it was dropped

/878 cont./

437 439 near someone else, it was always given to the rightful owner." This last statement confirms what was mentioned above, namely, that no one keeps for himself something that belongs to another. "Strange to say," Snow (b):262 confessed, "I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in barter" /cited in English/. In addition, we quote Lovisato's (b):140 testimony: "The Yahgan seemed to us to be quite familiar with barter...Upon receiving from us a piece of bread or any article whatsoever, they immediately offered some fish strung on a stick or some crabs" /translated from Italian/. The natives evaluated the merit of the object given them and in return gave something comparable (391).

> 391. Unfortunately some Europeans consciously or unconsciously disregarded this point of view of the natives. Hyades (c): 243 also complains about this: "It often resulted in misunderstandings with strangers who planned to buy weapons and skins for furs in exchange for an insignificant trifle, while the Fuegians thought they themselves had made a gift which was not repaid in subsequent meetings" /translated from French/. Having grown wiser by many disappointments, the Indians use a well-known trick which Martial:204 clearly describes: "The seller never parted with the object that he wished to exchange until he had received the price, and when he had several objects he was very careful to show them successively, so as not to decrease the value of his goods" /translated from French/.

/879/ Since Europeans have dominated the Cape Horn Archipelago, our natives have also bartered with them, above all with the missionaries. How actively barter was sometimes carried on was described by Bridges on April 21, 1870, as follows: "There is no market in Fireland. The natives cover our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring bundles of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar, etc., others bring crabs and

/979 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse. . . Many come with baskets, spears, shells, fish-lines, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- stone, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, wood, etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 217; 1975).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Tavuans greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (380). The various unpleasantness sometimes results from

> 380. On April 21, 1975, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palebilau, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palebilau, intends to give his canoe to Palebilau. Palebilau does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palebilau at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palebilau then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218;1975).

an exchange.

434 Our Tavuans practice lending too frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unforeseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

/879 cont./

426 urgently needs will be borrowed wherever they are to be found, no matter whether it is a canoe or an insignificant ornament for a dance. The original owner puts his property at the disposal of the person who asks him for it for only a certain time. The borrower must, therefore, return the borrowed article to its owner at the end of the period agreed upon. If, in an exceptional case, the owner /980/ cannot be asked for the desired object, the borrower trusts that he will consent; in other words, he tacitly assumes that he will agree and afterwards explains what he has done.

Nowadays the Yamana obtain some European goods which, to a great extent, they leave behind in their little houses in Puerto Mejillones while they are on trips that last several months. I repeatedly saw one or another of them temporarily use an article from a neighboring house and later put it back. When I questioned him, his answer usually was: "The owner agrees to lend it, but I must return what I have borrowed!" It is not customary among the Yamana to admonish a person to return something he has borrowed; the owner waits patiently until the person remembers his duty. If anyone who has borrowed something should lose or damage it, he himself provides for an adequate substitute. The Yamana also did not fail to return the things they borrowed from the missionaries (393).

393. Bridges (MM:IX, 217:1870) says briefly: "Many come begging; many to borrow this thing and that thing, then afterwards to return the article borrowed" /cited in English/.

Their language has terms for borrowing and lending, as well as for the return of what was lent. BD:346 gives mîne, "to lend," manîku, "to borrow" /cited in English/. Making a fine distinction, BD:96 also mentions lmîtatîmata, "to take without asking, to take during the absence of the owner" /cited in English/. Other expressions also show that lawful conditions for lending are clear and familiar to our Fuegians (394).

394. Here is an example of how punctilious they are about returning things that have been lent to them. Stirling gave an axe to a certain Tweenot, with which he was to cut firewood for

1: Gusinde--877 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan UNK

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426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 88:1872).

431 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual
STT assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (388). We shall not speak here of this habit.

388. Hyades (a):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from
[STT] far or near always brings something along /901/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The men often finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the women primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings.

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It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Tamara to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. Woe to the one who has behaved dubbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the east.

It is very significant that, according to Kuppan (d)-194, the Tamara language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the known terms for 'expecting gifts.'" [81-1] mentions kāṭṭiṉa, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much bubbles" /tried to English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb vāṅgiṉa, "to not take, bring, eat, chew any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends nor may one use to give such a part. vāṅgiyṟṟiṉa, to be, act stingily by not having others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /tried to English/ (80-57). The word eṟṟa, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /tried to English/ (80-3), seems to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts, rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (198). Also, it

198. In this connection Bridges (n)-219 has

/MS cont./

already said. "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great offense to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /Lived in English/. Cf. Cooper 178.

In our customary among these Fuegians /MS/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (30'). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justifica-

30'. In Ogden (p).13 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, lost the means of provision" /translated from Spanish/.

tion for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (Sibl.XV,131; 1851). Hyades (p).30 appreciates the real facts of the matter in the following words. In the settlement of the Mission Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the T'oowsa, was ceremonially accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

1: Gumbs--GU S-G (1919-1954) 1937 5198 Yahgan 5198

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677 On Picton Island and in Wulaia, Jemmy had to defend himself energetically against the thievish behavior of his countrymen. Nevertheless Despard (b):134 comments upon this: "As on our former visits, not the slightest commotion marred our harmony; we found no thieving attempted on our property on shore, though some small articles were stolen by a visitor or visitors on board" /cited in English/. Bridges warns in his judgment and once mentions that the Indians steal from each other when one pulls out the other's swedes where they are planted. Hence no one leaves his swedes in the ground until they are fully matured. "they are not half grown, but he cannot venture to leave them longer on account of the stealing" /cited in English/. The same missionary adds: "The natives respect our things much more than their own people's, and we oftentimes wonder that with so little power to repress or punish, we are so little troubled by the audacity, stealing, or vice of the people" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 12;1878) (398).

398. On August 15, 1878, Bridges corroborates his opinion with the following observation: "As usual, gave a contribution of cooked rice to school-room, and am truly thankful that on no occasion have we missed any of the spoons and vessels used promiscuously by the natives. There are twenty-four canoes here at present, about 100 persons living in twelve different houses" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 193; 1878).

In April, 1896, he writes: "They cannot cease stealing, and parties on the eve of departure come /WG1/ into the gardens by night, and fill their sacks and depart, committing lesser thefts meanwhile. The temptation is great, and as they can do so, and suffer little, they hesitate not" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 185; 1896). A person who judges fairly must admit that theft occurs sporadically and is always branded as a crime (398).

398. In this respect Cooper:178 correctly says, "stealing is considered decidedly reprehensible" /cited in English/.

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674 Without wishing to detract from the true uprightness of the Yamana, it must be pointed out that a number of circumstances make stealing difficult. The total possessions of every person consist of only a few pieces. He can therefore easily keep an eye on all that belongs to him and would immediately notice something missing. As soon as it is missed, the one person who could be the thief is easily identified, for there are no crowds in which the guilty one could disappear. Everyone notes very carefully who has come near his hut on this or that day. A further difficulty is hiding a stolen article and keeping it safely concealed. The owner would immediately recognize his own work, and he watches attentively for what he has lost. The filched article would invariably stand out among the few items that anyone owns. Stealing would be just as unprofitable among our Yamana as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 439). Even an insignificant article that has been stolen never makes the thief very happy (400); sooner or later he will get rid of it again (401).

400. In this connection Dabbene (b):198 says: "They know perfectly well that when they steal they commit a punishable act, for they hasten to hide the object taken" /translated from Spanish/.

401. On April 26, 1871, Bridges (1):20 had a surprising experience. "This evening, Oosiahgoo came to the door saying he had a dreadful pain in his stomach. I let him in and immediately he began to retch most dreadfully. Before I could pass him to get a light he gave me my knife which he stole last Friday evening. He pretended to have vomited it up, which of course I would not credit. However when he came into the kitchen I saw that the violent retching had brought great abundance of tears to his eyes, which had run profusely down his cheeks" /cited in English/. Then Bridges remembered

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/984 cont./

673 577 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:182 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

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674 expressly points out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the strangest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /985/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in roguish high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No European in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Mejillones after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running and, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the faithful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

156 518 Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted brawls do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

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156 578 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (1):13 has correctly characterised them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes(p. 632), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 334 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 341 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (4):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakaluf /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

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and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 248 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to conceal their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /407/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

/887 cont./

away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

/987 cont./

152 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a
578 neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fuegians are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding
152 their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer, anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

1: Gunnde--889 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Tahgan SHG

/988 cont./

578 152 discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sullenly after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Yamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

/989 cont./

seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:206); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 328) and abortion (pp. 491, 525).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery. For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA XI, 200;1884) mentions: "If a man kills another carelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost uncomparable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:179). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM.XVIII, 324; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

1: Gestede--691 8-6 (1918-1994) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/SH6 cont./

677 "Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (e):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year, and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (q):375) believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM.XVIII, 184. 1894) writes, for example: "Here [near Ukhuala] I found the native John Willis, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, at a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

266 It would be unthinkable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the I. Viernino fleet (p. 81 /unnumbered/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (i):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I /991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 578 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or excuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yékamuš with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yékamuš. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/ according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Ostes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

1: Gusinde--893 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S196 Yahgan S196

578 /991 cont./
(h):717 has already pointed out "that warfare is not fashionable among them, since they have no chieftains, no military weapons of offence and defence, no fortified places, no war canoes" /cited in English/ (411). Gatherings of many people for warfare would

411. Bove (e):139 too obviously exaggerates: "until a few years ago only very few [Yamana] died a natural death, and the terrible scars which cover the bodies of the oldest ones prove how warlike the Fuegians were and still are. The jus talionis is still in full force among them." He probably relies on Bridges (i):13 who, however, exaggerates when he says: "Their many offences against the dearest rights of their friends and neighbours kept the community in a chronic state of unrest and fighting" /cited in English/.

therefore have been impossible. /992/ There are no reports anywhere concerning them. Finally, one must also take into account the undeniable fact that these Fuegians are very cowardly toward each other.

On the other hand, quarrels between two persons are a frequent occurrence. Martial:207 is right when he says that "quarrels between neighbors are frequent" /translated from French/. It would be hard to decide which of the two sexes outdoes the other in this respect. Usually false suspicion or unfounded vindictiveness starts a loud exchange of words, which becomes more intense. Excitement grows on both sides, the two who are quarreling come closer, seize each other or strike each other with the first stick they can lay their hands on, choke each other, and tussle until much blood flows or until sharp pain paralyzes them and their weakened strength fails. Only then do they silently let go of each other. The whole thing is a regular brawl (412) which is violent or more moderate, brutal

412. Spegazzini (e):188 says briefly: "Warfare, properly speaking, does not exist between these communities; usually it is a matter of quarrels over particular questions" /translated from Spanish/.

1: Gwinde--694 E-6 (1918-1994) 1937 9268 Tahgan 9268

/998 cont./

518 or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

> 413. Nevertheless, Bove (#) 159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Ochawela itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

527 We insert here an incident that Bridges (1) 13 noted in his diary: "Ochawela, March 24th, 1871. Hatawelangen very ill from the effect of injuries received from Cowlin; who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatawelangen died.

> 414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (Add. VI, 15b, 1872). On May 3d, 1872, he (loc. cit.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state....I fear that the violence of Cowlin has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatawelangen and Cowlin has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatawelangen. /999/ Cowlin made his escape....The occupants

/360 cont./

637 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with (Katawelangan or Cowlie) indicated the sense by the pain on their faces. They hastened on and Mawsit presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the murderer.... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much determining and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Mawsit, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relations....July 11th. Went to seek Cowlie who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Katawelangan of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /Cited in English/.

518 The fight between two men sometimes ends in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups develops, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attack themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two

519 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, take their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually [illegible] Bridges (1916-33, 1905-1909) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/596 cont./

579 to merely wished" /stood in English/. In the same vein Hyades pg.374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, clubs, harpoons, knives" /translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridges (pbid.XXII, 155; 1878) on March 7, 1878, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Alexanderssonsen, who had taken Jon's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /596/ too much turmoil, went down to Jonnisons wigwam to fetch his elopet wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a master's own. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a revenge assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of extreme heat and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time, still more rudely. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great fighter, and had hurt each other very much" /stood in English/.

Such brawls — there is no other name for them quarrels — are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (610). It would be inaccurate to speak of armed battles.

> 610. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of words, stones, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /stood in English/, according to Bridges (pg.87). This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Tolgans there are seven capabilities of war" /translated from French/, according to Hyades (pg.374).

629 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as consciously premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice done for to the past. It is either despondency and cowardice on the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength

/994 cont./

627 that makes a wealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p.238). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Cuttes (g):50 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison,
825 but the blubber of the grampus šəpəčí (Orca magellanica), a
627 pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 27 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Mawenkens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead šəpəčí lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawanen also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the šəpəčí, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šíwaf (Chionophaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the šəpəčí into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawanen was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

1: Gamble--898 E-8 (1818-1856) 1907 898 Telgen 898

/886 cont./

273 We should also mention that the present-day Tennes almost
578 without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, as Paul Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p. 886), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (Mbl.IX, 115,1870) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any preferable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /886/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (willfully) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /tr.mod to English/.

/598 cont./

608 As we have said, there is among the Tlingit a clear and definite duty for blood vengeance, which quite generally falls upon the nearest kin of the victim. On July 18, 1888, Dauphé (VP:93, 5:1860) noted: "My lads told me that the law of retaliation for murder exists in their country, and is exercised by the nearest of kin" /tr/ed to English/. Swan after this he (5):639 adds. "A murderer must expect, sooner or later, to be killed by the blood-avenger, and next of kin to the victim" /tr/ed to English/. This way of expressing himself is rather vague. Actually, the murderous deed involves everyone who for one reason or another was close to the victim, and together they more or less furiously exile out in revenge. Moreover, the Tlingit feel that there are no limits to the measure of punishment, in case the guilty one remains alive. Bridges, on March 7, 1878, summarized these ideas, which the missionaries now exemplified a number of times, as follows: "Tlingit etiquette and custom require that all the relatives of a murdered person should be lost and frantic in their angry demonstrations, and that they should visit their displeasure upon every connection of the murderer, each personally. Thus a man may be much hurt by a party of enraged and demon-like avengers, and though the poor fellow may have suffered ten times more than he deserved, yet another party of avengers who had not punished him themselves would not let him escape in virtue of what he had already suffered, but would, moved by their own law of vengeance, and prescribed custom, wreak upon him further punishment. Or suppose a man has many things, and the avengers are willing to accept /his/ gifts in lieu of their right to the infliction of suffering, then every avenger expects some gift from every person liable by family connection quite as much as by participation in guilt. That such a season is quite a harvest time to the aggrieved party if they have power to press their claim" /tr/ed to English/. This means, in fact, that for the rest of his life a murderer cannot escape from the importunities and demands of each of the relatives and acquaintances of his victim. In fact, Bridges (4):331 emphasizes: "The duties of vengeance were strictly carried out."

The murderer's dead law gave consequences not only for him, but also for all his kin and his intimate circle of friends. The avengers, however, pounce directly on the one actually guilty. The latter, realizing what is in store for him, always flees as quickly as

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possible or, hidden by his relatives, remain under cover. Hence the avengers attack the first person they meet who has connections with the killer. They are to a certain extent justified, for, although the relatives of a criminal do not in the least condone his murderous act, nevertheless the mutual /397/ ties of family solidarity are so close and strong that they not only refuse to hand him over to the opponents, but even protect and defend him against them (416). This does not prevent them from being extremely

416. Bridges (Mbl.IX, 113.1871) confirms this: "Society, as here is constituted, supports, aids, protects, not the innocent or injured, but each clan its member, guilty or not guilty" /titles in English/.

angry with him, precisely because, by his fateful deed, he has put them all in a very embarrassing and disquieting situation, indeed, even in serious danger (417). Truly, a murderer can no longer enjoy

417. "A murderer imperils all his friends and connections more or less, and consequently estranges them from himself" /titles in English/ (Bridges, Mbl.XXX, 134.1878).

life, for not only the executions of his victim give him no peace, but even his own relatives never cease their reproaches. The whole group to which he belongs scorns him, pushes him aside, and positively casts him out (418). Everyone will agree with Bridges (Mbl.

418. "In general," as Dobbens (V:138 asserts, "one who kills is deserted by everyone in the tribe and he must take refuge in the woods in order to live" /translated from Spanish/.

XXX, 134.1878) who characterizes this case of affairs, to its importance for the general safety of life, as "the greatest safeguard to human life we can conceive. I have witnessed the anxiety of man's minds after a quarrel, when any have been seriously injured, to

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know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death, and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the victim adopt a special facial painting. Despard (VP:VII, 9:1860) (419)

> 419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (s):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are more docile, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dobbeene (b):198 and Hyades (q):275 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, apparently. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /908/ term matija-magowa, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (SD:306). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

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628 who anxiously watch every development, know it, and they, too, assemble in as great a number as possible. When both parties feel equal to each other, they prepare a regular attack. The able-bodied men and women get into their canoes, after they have provided themselves with ample supplies of stones and weapons (420).

420. I have nowhere found confirmed what Fitz-Roy (a):196 maintains: "When the Fuegians are inclined to attack an enemy with stones, they generally try to raise a breastwork of boughs or logs" /cited in English/. Another fact which he (a):186 mentions, however, is correct: "Hostilities are usually carried on with slings and stones rather than by close encounters" /cited in English/. Compare Bove (e):158 and Lothrop (b):164.

Persons who are old and feeble and children must remain behind in the camp. Usually it quite naturally happens that a capable yékamuł or a clever, reckless fellow commands and leads the whole [302] group. As a rule, the persons who were associated with the dead person paint their whole bodies black, and the opposing group, red.

The canoes then push off from shore and arrange themselves in an exact row so that their keels form a straight line, each about two meters apart. The so-called commander is very much on the alert to make sure that no canoe gets out of line. If it does, he hurls a stone from his sling into the water in front of the canoe as a warning. Thus lined up, the two fighting groups approach each other. During the slow journey, they stir up their excitement and fighting lust by means of loud talk, agitated gestures, and insulting calls directed at the opponents. When they are only about 20 meters apart, both sides begin hurling stones from their slings. When the two groups are close enough, they begin a furious scuffle, for as soon as the canoes touch lengthwise, the men face to face beat each other with clubs and poles, spears and harpoons. Meanwhile the women, paddling and maneuvering on either side, keep the boats of the fighting men close together. Soon the men shift over to actual wrestling: they seize each other and tug hard, opposing one

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(27) another until both fall down or one falls overboard or the canoe slips away. In all this the women have a difficult task and are especially concerned with keeping their vessel from capsizing, since the men's movements are violent and completely unpredictable. The previous exact arrangement of the canoes is soon broken up, because, from the start, the group of attackers aims to get at the actual murderer among the opponents. When they see him, they noisily turn their entire attention to him and push toward him. The others take note of their movements and try to cover the murderer as much as possible. If the attackers succeed in getting hold of him, /999/ they beat him furiously and mercilessly. If he does not actually succumb, mortally wounded, he will at least be crippled (421). This is enough to satisfy the attackers, and they

421. Hyades (q):375 maintains that "the bodies of the slain enemies are often mutilated" /translated from French/. Among the Yamana it is not customary to mutilate the corpse of an enemy deliberately.

soon withdraw from the fight and return to their camp on the shore. The others, if they are not superior in strength, breathe a sigh of relief that some other person close to the murderer did not lose his life.

As the two groups separate, they continue to scold and sneer loudly, to hurl mockery and abuse, and to reproach each other for a long time. One person or another has suffered serious wounds, perhaps a canoe was shattered, or a fighter even drowned. In any case, each group was so hard hit that the injuries they have suffered are quite enough and they long for rest.

The lust for revenge, however, quickly flares up again if, for some reason, the murderer was not subdued. His relatives and adherents hide him or guard him in a hideout (422), but the others

422. In connection with this Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) says: "A murderer is generally disliked, but they very often escape their merited end" /cited in English/.

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(28 will not rest until one of them succeeds, perhaps only after many years, in ultimately killing the murderer. Some time after the fight, or particularly if it did not take place, the relatives will content themselves with a payment in compensation for the murder. BD:66 gives ta, "gifts in atonement for murder" /cited in English/. This consists of many gifts which gradually must be paid to the individual relatives for an indefinite period, since the latter feel justified in making demands over and over again (423). This is

> 423. Bridges (a):207 asserts: "Sometimes the murderer is suffered to live, but he is much beaten and hurt, and has to make many presents to the relatives of the dead" /cited in English/.

further confirmation that, for the rest of his life, a murderer finds no rest from his pursuers.

The story of the fight and its outcome is told far and wide, which serves somehow to interdict any act of murder. In the language of the Yamana amaiiuŕina is "a murderer" /cited in English/ (BD:21). The considerable number of words referring to an act of murder strongly suggests that it was not too rare an occurrence. Otherwise there would not be specific rules of procedure, such as Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), for example, recognized: "If a man kills another, the friends of the dead man combine together, and hunt the murderer till they find him. If they are the stronger party, they demand the murderer to be given to them by his nearest male relative, which, if it is in his power to grant, and he refuses to comply, the avengers will take, if they can, his life, and let the murderer go free, and no more molest him. /1000/ But if the murderer is given into their power, they kill him, and it may be cut him up in pieces afterwards" /cited in English/. (Cf. Hyades [q]:375). They call the struggle of two hostile groups yamalaŕemóina yákuna máia, whereas they refer to the small fights and brawls simply as yákuna máia (424).

> 424. Among these hot-blooded Yamana, a serious attack can take place merely on the basis of a false rumor; Hyades (q):375 mentions one of this nature.

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(2) 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

> 425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

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643 On the basis of population, the Yamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of successful or successful activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tšimuna occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Yamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 628) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

183 The above-mentioned organization of the Yamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Yamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

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13 Besides that, the great mass of people are led and ruled by unwritten laws which, in a word, can be designated as the demands of the traditional law of custom. Every adult knows it and is thoroughly familiar with it; the younger generation learns it in the family and in everyday association, as well as quite purposefully in the indispensable youth initiation (p. 717). The wiser and more influential old men regard it as their particular task to insist, over and over again and on suitable occasions, on the observance of traditional customs and on keeping their exact meaning unchanged and uncorrupted.

While this, directly and indirectly, ensures the common welfare, there are, in addition, specific rules of conduct for the general populace and for a larger group in the case of a specific misfortune of an individual. No matter how loosely these Fuegians /1002/ are held together as a people, they know that they are obliged to lend effective aid in case one of their members is in any kind of danger. On the basis of this they have developed rules for a kind of assistance that approximates a general welfare service for the needy and helpless. Earnest scrutiny shows that such things are not lacking in the extremely simple social order of the Yamana.

These many rules and regulations direct the individual in his conduct toward others and bind the people as a whole to certain needs and demands. They were not developed and are not observed merely for their own sake; rather, they clearly aim toward the personal safety of every member of the group and toward a peaceful existence of the whole. They have a power that dominates all members of the tribe and that, without exception and with a view to the well-being of society, binds everyone. This is nothing less than a power of state, although still modest in form. Even though it is unimpressive and its action has not yet been set forth in written formulas, it has at least held together in social amity the individual members of the widely scattered Yamana tribe and guaranteed the individual, as well as the society, an existence worthy of human beings within the possibilities offered by the environment (p.910).

In the following account we shall not discuss each and every thing that serves the common weal and that may be regarded

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183 as public welfare, for this would, after all, include the mutual relatives and members of the local dialect group, as well as the many precepts pertaining to the youth initiation (p. 719) and the menarche (p. 571). We shall list only the rules for social intercourse and the duties toward the needy which have not yet been mentioned in the preceding sections.

a. Custom and Justice

It would have been impossible for the Yamana people as a whole to have perpetuated itself as a vital entity if it had not been directed and unified by an all-embracing social order. The prevailing laws are nowhere to be found in writing, but they operate with relentless urgency as vital forces. Their success is obvious. The relations of individuals to one another and to the society as a whole disclose a balanced harmony (426): everyone feels completely safe in his common nationality /1003/ and knows that he is protected against possible dangers from other tribesmen. As a matter of fact, order prevails, which, in short, means that everyone in his attitude toward life completely submits to the recognized regulations, and that disobedience of any kind is exceptional and is always censured and punished.

> 426. It is inconceivable to me how Bridges (MM:IX, 218;1875) could write, on April 21, 1875, that "horrible looseness prevails through everything. No discipline, no order, no agreements or arrangements; hap-hazard, confusion, 'happy-go-lucky,' these are the usages of Fireland life. A general absence of confidence, faithfulness, and love is everywhere apparent. There is a great show of friendship, but little sincerity" /cited in English/.

These laws, or, as the Yamana themselves express it, "the traditional custom," are universally binding. Only in this way can they ensure the peaceful coexistence of all tribal members

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183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 716 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauineiwa, their only deity. Their whole body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauineiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauineiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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183 Thus, in everyday reality the sole guide, the established norm of life, consists of the prevailing customs, the tradition of the ancestors, the conduct of former generations. Old and young take this so much for granted that it seems to have become second nature to them. It is neither criticized nor resented, never attacked nor altered. Everything characterized as ancient custom is regarded as legal and therefore binding; whatever is contrary to it is universally condemned as unjust or improper.

Everyone pays great respect to traditional custom for its own sake and as a compulsory expression of the will of Watauineiwa. Certain institutions, such as the Xon, kina, and lome, are cherished with exceptional care; other customs, such as the instructions for girls at the menarche (p. 871) and sharing of spoils brought home from hunting (p. 314), are cultivated with great conscientiousness. Everyone accepts his individual obligation as fact and yields without contradiction; it suffices for him to know that this or that has always been accepted among the Yamana, which is enough to make it binding for him, too, under like circumstances. It is the oldest persons of any group who, of their 183 own accord, feel the greatest urge to follow exactly along the 897 lines of ancient custom in their personal conduct. They are clearly aware of their duty to set a good example for the younger age levels, since this is more impressive than words. As often as there is an opportunity on public occasions and in private exchanges, they demand strict observance of the traditional order and good ancient custom. They also admonish anyone who in any particular point becomes negligent toward universal custom. Several men will even confer among themselves to see how they can stem the increasing offenses of a younger member of the tribe, with severity, if need be. Everything that was handed down by their forefathers is much too sacred to them to have it destroyed, even in small part, by thoughtless young people.

183 In this attitude their sound judgment concerning the value of the good things of old is a contributory factor. The group of young people cannot yet appreciate this value, but the old people are absolutely convinced of it and therefore base upon it alone the firm continuance of their society and the contented existence of the individual. Many an old Fuegian emphatically told me, "If our forefathers found all our institutions good, why should they not be just as advantageous for us!" Their rigid adherence to traditional

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183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1885/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 183 182 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few new materials and objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 304 /unrevised/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 626 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertaining to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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to too profound, the calamity too humiliating for anyone to bear any length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons on disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper behavior. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the examples of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watauineiwa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1), 168.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for something among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1878) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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576 they were mad. Some women also behave with exaggerated impetuosity when they part after having had a good time together, for example, on the occasion of the Tafaye. These are not everyday forms of behavior, however.

On the other hand, there is a definite, conscious calculation in the movements and the talk of people who visit each other. Quietly and inconspicuously the visitor enters the hut and squats down near the fire. It is not customary to offer a seat. The visitor keeps his eyes on the ground in front of him and never looks around freely and openly. When he speaks, even at length, he raises them only now and then and does not look friendly at anyone present. His words are measured and fall as though each one were carefully weighed beforehand. At the same time his bearing, even when he sits, is noticeably rigid. In the presence of others one may not lean back negligently, lounge around comfortably, or heartily stretch oneself. Even very old people avoid behaving in an unmannerly way or otherwise acting without restraint. If a person is all alone, however, he rolls about in utter exuberance and stretches himself until he dislocs his whole body, for now he knows no inhibitions. All the more credit must be given him for the self-control which he imposes upon himself even in front of his own children, to say nothing of visitors.

157 As a matter of principle the Yamana behaves as quietly as possible and without conspicuous vivacity wherever he is, whether he is eating or working and whether or not he is being observed. To a European the movement of a Fuegian is like that of a thief creeping up and stealing off again. The Fuegian has himself firmly under control, and he does not lose his poise even when strange objects fascinate him or foreign visitors face him with their outlandishness. Artlessly he shows a silent, motionless reserve (429), /1008/ which most of the seamen of earlier times

429. Spegazzini (a):167 gives a pertinent opinion: "The Fuegian is very quiet and restrained, especially with a stranger, covering all his feelings, all his passions, with a cloak of indifference" /translated from Spanish/. He gives an example of

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this attitude. Debbane (p.197 is still more explicit: "The Yaigans are somewhat meditative, melancholy, and taciturn, especially in the presence of a stranger. No object, even though new to them, is capable of arousing their interest or curiosity. They have a dismal look, like the land that they inhabit, and their physiognomy on all occasions shows complete indifference. For this reason it is very difficult to understand the emotions and feelings that dominate them" /translated from Spanish/.

interpreted as dullness and stupidity. Consciously or unconsciously, this was a false judgment.

The extent to which the Fuegian has cultivated self-control may be seen in his amazing ability to maintain silence. True, this is more calculation than virtue, but it is extraordinarily effective in his contacts with suspicious fellow-tribesmen. Except in cases of obvious and continual offenses against important laws of custom, everyone is cautiously reticent about his judgments of another in the presence of visitors and friends. Even less does he publicly make known his dislike or even hostility, and, cleverly calculating, he lets a large circle of people persist in their erroneous opinion about his relationship to a person. Although such behavior is neither distinguished nor courageous, it avoids unrest and excitement, altercation and quarrels in the group. Everyone is inclined to weigh carefully everything he says, but he is even more strongly impelled to do this by the suspicious alertness with which his every word is examined by others. He is just as careful not to expose anything that might cause other people to judge him negatively. The atmosphere of suspicious fault finding and the tormenting fear of being exposed before one's own kind apparently are deadening pressures on many a circle of men and women and prevent a free exchange of opinion; most of them sit around as though they were utterly unable to speak. To a foreign visitor it seems at first glance as though they were intimidated or frightened and did not dare say anything because of anxious fear or justified

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15% bright. The presence of a hearer ~~ethereal~~ of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In ~~few~~ gatherings, however, where all is games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without coercion.

15% The ~~reticent~~, quiet behavior of the Tarasco is also an ex-
5% pression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Seki Yuma (Vol. I, 1148). It is not the nature of our Tarascos to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to imitate others with their own boast of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them, one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes. They will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1928/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 148). Sally Lawrence was particularly careful about it, which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confident bearing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

834 Moreover, etiquette ~~imperiously~~ demands, even for adults, a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 149). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

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[illegible] when. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut occupied and does not make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any misunderstanding or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations consistently take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Holly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter has his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p.474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman in [illegible] intercourse, and the persons who assume justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

[illegible] What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is heedlessly undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while persons, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough. Hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

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574 and they cleave to these families wherever they meet them.

Aside from that, each family must now and then appear among their nearest relatives; otherwise the latter might suspect dislike or even animosity, and the former could not count on aid in an emergency. Anyone who has a crime on his conscience, however, remains hidden and for many months avoids being seen by others. Even if a hostile person should arrive on a visit -- this would happen only if the person were impelled by urgent necessity or were in the company of others -- he would never be refused admission by a Yamana. The visitor may stay as long as he likes; the owner of the hut would not by the faintest sign give the impression that he is tired of him.

No matter who arrives, he is received with warm hospitality, and this is especially true of relatives and good friends. If a family in a canoe sees another family on the water, they hasten toward each other and usually agree to head for shore where they will erect huts next to each other. A man on shore who sees a canoe coming toward him will hasten down to the water and say to the one who is disembarking: "Come quickly into my hut. I have a good fire, rest yourself there!" He will call to the man's wife: "Tie up your canoe quickly. You, too, come immediately to my hut, it is wet and cold out here!" The two men immediately go to the hut and the wife of the visitor will soon follow. They warm themselves at the fire and eat what the mistress of the hut offers them. They stay near the entrance so that they can easily keep an eye on their implements and belongings. When they have refreshed themselves, are thoroughly warmed, and have rested sufficiently and talked a little, they get up and hasten out. The owners of the hut follow them, and all join forces to build a hut for the new arrivals. No matter who requests admittance into the huts of our Yamana, even if many people have to crowd together in the small space, they are always welcome and no one is sent away, least of all when the weather is threatening.

Just as every visitor is readily received, so that one scarcely /1011/ notices a difference in the treatment of friend or stranger, so is he generously provided with food. The owners of the hut spontaneously and regularly offer the best they have. They

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574 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):260 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dobrizhoffer (b):200 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

576 264 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

/1011 cont./

576 that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

264 When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

574 Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
576 enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
576 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long
201

> 432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

/1012 cont./

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> however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was liked being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ūpášu (433),

> 433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 166, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect BD:101 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers; to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p. 514).

576 Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hála, yélla, I am going away"; according to BD:263, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hála kátaKa, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hála yellaa skáia. As Bridges (MM:VII,118;1873) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

/1013 cont./

516 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ɪ̈a yɛ̈lla, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ɑ́pa sɑ́, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ɑ́pa sɑ́. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bɑ̄f hɑ̄ɣma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tɛ̄ppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the uʃwɑ́ɑla in the čiɛ́xaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[688] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
576 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
576 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

574 575 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

574 571 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

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551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bāf."

576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
574 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yéškusinǎala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

522 576 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 574 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1017 cont./

431 574 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uwšala in the kíexaus. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 574 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly developed feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 576 Families who have little or no contact with one another separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436 Bridges (MM:III, 11;1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

/1017 cont./

574 576 demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

572 574 There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this: "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people to come to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very chatty" /cited in English/.

tkinaspi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

1: Gusinde--929 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follow we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Yamana are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Fuegians, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty then are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p. 314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the uwiala in the Ciéiaus. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Yamana feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438); it gives him

438. Dabbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects. . . . one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in most of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Lovisato (b):146 or with Bove (e):159 and (g):234: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the parents, he says, are solely "governed by

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love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

/1019 cont./
577 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
476 man.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling
481 about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups.
[609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly? Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

/1020 cont./

213 in various ways, and it sometimes happens that even the report of a death or a murder is false, which causes grave complications and unnecessary excitement (440). Since messages travel very

> 440. Stirling (VS X, 196;1863) tells of an example. In the Wulaia region the rumor spread that Ukokko and his family, whose home was there, had been shipwrecked at Pictón Island and murdered by the people living there. Without delay Ukokko's brother, along with a few friends, set out on an expedition for revenge and found himself in a very awkward situation when it became known that Ukokko had not been molested at all.

quickly in all directions, it is obvious that on certain occasions a large number of families flock together with amazing speed.

202 On special occasions this rather simple news service is supplemented by a few signal fires. BD:64 writes "aqina, Signal smoke or fires" /cited in English/. Earlier, Bridges (a):213 had already mentioned: "They signal to one another by fires, which they are very expert in making" /cited in English/. In reality it is less a fire than a thick cloud of smoke with which a signal is given. It is made in such a way that it cannot be confused with the ordinary smoke of the hut fire. First, rather thick pieces of dry wood are brought to a faint glow. Meanwhile the natives gather many branches of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides), which are the length of an arm and covered with dense foliage. A large bundle of these branches is then gathered together and pressed down on the glowing fire. Now no flame can arise, but a thick cloud of smoke immediately ascends. When it has reached a height of about five meters, the fire is quickly put out, and, as though cut off, the balloon-shaped cloud rises perpendicularly into the air. The thick mass of smoke remains intact for a long time, reaches a considerable height, and is recognizable for some distance as an actual signal. If /1021/ it did not have this balloon-shape but rose up in a long column or even as an irregularly shaped smudge,

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282 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, shéli uhé, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yékamuf, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kémbi'be uhé, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, méten uhé, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wéru uhé, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d) 263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 238). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

511 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

/5925 cont./

571 a few go back to the clearly recognizable tendency toward gregari-
ousness. It not only draws individual families together often, but
keeps them together until urgent duties once more separate them.
If two canoes meet, one can /1922/ almost always rely on their
511 steering toward the nearest landing place and building their huts
521 next to each other there. Then they sit huddled together hour
after hour and talk to their heart's content. "They are extraordi-
narily fond of long talks and stories, a good part of the day is
filled in this way" (Aspinall:270). Some but will have a special
attraction for all who are camping in the same place, without
any particular reason. Even before darkness has fallen, one per-
son after another will inconspicuously steal toward it and squat
down beside the fire. Everyone feels content in such a circle of
intimate friends, and the conversation fills long hours. Bridges
(VSA XII, 7, 1868) says: "They are certainly much given to talk,
and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they
seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are
much given to immoderate laughter, but when sullenly inclined,
it is difficult to restore them to cheerfulness" /cited in English/(441).

441. Of the 12 Yamana who at that time were staying on Isla Keppel, Bridges (VSA XII, 9, 1868) reported on September 16, 1864: "The natives are certainly of a social turn, of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment" /cited in English/. Reports of other missionaries confirm that in the mission, also, families of all areas lived together amicably.

521 Minor happenings and the sometimes wholly insignificant de-
tails of a day are the subject for conversation; they are by no
means as completely insignificant and meaningless for the Fuegians
as for a European passing through. J. Rae (VSA XI, 291, 1864) re-
ferred to this in his remarks on August 1, 1864: "Often I wondered
myself about their long conversations which they keep up when
they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were
talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking
about a subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For

/1022 cont./

521 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

521 203 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

522 [171] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

/1923 com./

522 harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

431 There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer
152 exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the
522 beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

152 The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything
522 into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1924/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lighheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and positive good fellowship.

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c. The Commonweal

627 The Yamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 904), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly locks them.

1. Rules of Justice

183 627 The coherence of our Fuegian society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the Kina, and the further education of boys in the Kina; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Watauineiwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.

/1910/ Nevertheless, property undermined, public opinion would be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgments of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concern himself about purely theoretical considerations. Always the judgment of public opinion is immediately effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Tamanu are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public censorium. If he sees himself confused by it, he promptly hastens back to the path of virtue and commonly vies with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. Those of this nature, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In former times such persons were scarcely to be found, only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk so low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-citizens. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyades (Q:161 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek as much as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and chastised, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his companions, isolated from everyone, he is finally condemned to perish of hunger or someday to fall under the blows of a group of extemporaneous judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /Translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

/2/ In all this the individual is by no means without rights. In

/1933 cont./

fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (642). This is most

642. Compare Gwinde (E.) 105. Among the Tonsea there is absolutely no trace of an occult death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Owen (p) 18.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 201). /1935/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all duly arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of good or bad are allowed by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also to honor, and from this our Pangiain derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends, he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home district, should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Tonsea use a very meaningful word, according to BD-438, tagwhil, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

/1026 cont./

577 626 or clansmen of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreatment of him when living" /cited in English/. Bridges (MM:XIII, 153;1879) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence: "There was a man named Muriyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Detamahgan, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Muriyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Muriyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of these he had occasion to fear" /cited in English/. Moreover, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Yamana never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

889 The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fitz-Roy (a):186 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /cited in English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1027/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

443. Fitz-Roy (a):179 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /cited in English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative; when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave inconspicuously

/1027 cont./

888 and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition; he is, therefore, a living example and a constant admonisher for the younger tribal members.

2. General Welfare

577 A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

888 737 Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Yamana, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility; in fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is probably never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Hyades (d):308 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (La Nature:311), and Despard (b):698 asserts that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself; otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridges (a):205 reports, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every /1028/ season, and if the aged man is a

/1028 cont./

888 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
737 /cited in English/ (444). Naturally some children are more tender

444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (a):206 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yea, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

758 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):307 and (p):331 repeatedly asserts: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (h):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (i):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. BD:427 even gives the special expression, tauuxdátu, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
732 For decades old Whaits has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

/1028 cont./
732 was really superfluous to teach us uswáala in the čiéxaus how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has
736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wéšakíya, as well
597 as the orphaned girl, wéšakiyakípa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

881 /1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

/1029 cont./

live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in BD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabáku, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 205, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

/1030 cont./

T34 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
763 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

763 A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (MM: XXVIII, 126;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide [762] occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

181 The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

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181 play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff:49 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what
121 strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[136]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

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114 Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities
121 to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1032/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (d):879 declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fuegians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

121 A number of favorable circumstances helped me in this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fuegians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that after it was lost the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

114 I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking
123 the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long free months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

/1032 cont./

114 expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly
123 strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1033/ A. Religion and Morality

771 Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not present the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

/1033 cont./

111 discussions even among themselves. Even less would they expose it in front of Europeans who, from the start, prove unworthy of it. This circumstance alone sufficiently explains why many travelers have learned absolutely nothing about the religious conceptions of our Indians. Moreover, they carry on their religious practices not only irregularly, but quite inconspicuously; hence, an outside student does not clearly understand and correctly evaluate the things that he might see or hear. I myself was obliged to take a roundabout course and to wait a long time for the favorable circumstances provided by chance or luck before entrance into the world of the religious conceptions of our Fuegians was opened to me.

Although their store of religious ideas and all of their moral precepts are very simple and straightforward, their import is surprisingly rich and deep. Their more important details seem humanly natural and impress one favorably. Distorted images and perversions which are found in the religious heritage and rites of many other primitive peoples, as well as among some civilized peoples, are totally lacking among our Yamana.

a. Investigations of the Yamana Religion

The imaginative world of our Fuegians is animated by many spirits which are differently rated and whose relationship to human beings is by no means uniform. Just as the Indian himself keeps them clearly separate, so must they be regarded in a careful description. The religious element in the strict sense of the word occupies an area by itself and it is difficult to define in relation to other conceptual areas. In this book the religious concept or the religion of the Yamana /1034/ includes everything concerned with the appreciation and veneration of their particular deity, a Supreme Being, who has several names and who is definitely contrasted with them as a supra mundane, spiritual personality. Everything that is involved with their knowledge of this Supreme Being must be regarded as a religious activity and worship, whether it be ceremonial services, prayer formulas, or spontaneous words. The sum total constitutes their true religious heritage. Most

/1034 cont./

111 closely associated with it is the entire store of rules and regulations which can be described, in a word, as their universal moral law, which really involves moral responsibility. In this abstract limitation of religion there is no place in the religious sphere for the belief in other spirits, in souls living after death, in ancestors and culture-bearers; hence these beliefs will be discussed in separate sections. This sharp distinction, which is based on the different ideas and conceptions of the Yamana, is primary in giving an outsider clear insight and reliable judgment.

111 114 It must be surprising to learn that until the most recent times travelers and missionaries have categorically denied that our Fuegians have any religious ideas and practices. Some Europeans did not even credit them with the necessary mental capacity. Hence the Yamana were universally regarded as irreligious. Occasionally there were references to a belief in spirits and certain supernatural beings, but, besides being extremely inadequate and inaccurate, they do not even pertain to the realm of the strictly religious. It was not until my journeys that this ideological heritage, which deserves consideration because of its richness and its characteristic value, was uncovered.

No other aspect of the cultural heritage of a people poses so many and such serious difficulties for European investigators as the religious. A definite method for its general evaluation can hardly be devised, but one who strives for any kind of success may not deviate from certain guide lines. Those navigators who had only fleeting contact for brief hours with individual Fuegians were obviously incapable of grasping anything tangible about the natives' religious heritage, for, as has been said, the Yamana certainly do not parade their faith.

It surprises everyone who reviews the situation, and justifiably so, that this field was not opened up even to the missionaries, in spite of decades of association with the Indians (1). Although the

1. Even Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur /Beginnings of Culture/, Vol. I, p. 411, acknowledged: "There is no people without a language and without religion, for even if individual peoples maintain that they have no religious concepts, it is to be suspected that they conceal

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their thoughts, especially since the missionaries are not always able to gain the confidence of savages or to understand their views."

missionaries tried to approach them, they did not take the right /1035/ course (2). It is a well known fact that, since the estab-

2. Despard (b):746 very early speaks of his efforts: "We used our increasing knowledge of the language, to ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a First Cause in creation, no idol or other object of worship, no custom of prayer or incantation" /cited in English/.

lishment of the Protestant mission, travelers in the Beagle Channel region have not only relied on the opinions of the missionaries living there for their judgment of the Yamana, but have almost imperceptibly adopted this opinion as their own, the foremost example being the members of the Mission Scientifique, whose publications have served others, in turn, as their only source. Individual efforts to grasp the religious ideology of the Yamana were only occasionally made by this or that traveler. If one examines their procedures more closely, he will realize why their efforts remained fruitless. For example, Spegazzini (a):191 declares: "I have asked the oldest people if they know where they came from and who their ancestors were; they looked at me in wonder, and answered that the grandfather had died in a neighboring bay, like their father, and that they had never said anything on the subject. Religious ideas, too, are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very nighly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/. Even Hyades (f):587 realized that the goal would not be reached by direct questioning (3). Although he personally did

3. He clearly confesses: "I need not say that direct questions addressed to the Fuegian savages are useless for any light on the question

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> of a special cult among their people. Similarly, they will never spontaneously make any disclosures on this matter" /translated from French/.

not notice any kind of religious activity, he had the right idea when he warned that on the strength of this alone one should not conclude that they were entirely without religion (4). His well

> 4. He (b):1346 says: "We have never seen evidence of any kind of cult; we have no clear proof of a belief in a future life. It might be beneficial to remark that these negative signs do not constitute positive proof of the absence of all religious feeling" /translated from French/.

considered words were completely ignored by others, which is precisely why there was a constant repetition of thoughtless statements about the lack of anything religious among the Fuegians. Adding up these voices does not in itself increase their credibility, for they all more or less go back to a single source, namely, the view of the English missionary Thomas Bridges (p. 144 /untranslated/) which has proved to be erroneous.

1. Opinions of Travelers

As may be expected, the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in other words, of the older period, dismissed the religious views of the Yamana with a few superficial words. They were /1036/ unable to communicate with them even by means of elementary signs, let alone by speech. There are no visible portrayals of religious faith, any more than there are conspicuous rites. How, therefore, could these Europeans who had almost no preparatory training for such difficult observations learn anything about the strictly guarded treasure of spiritual possessions!

Weddel made a first attempt, which was seriously meant, but very inappropriate, when he "read them a chapter out of the

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111 114 Bible." He himself was not surprised that the Fuegians "did not seem to understand" him (p. 70 /untranslated/). Captain Fitz-Roy (a): 179 was not able to determine definitely whether they believe in any kind of divine being: "Ideas of a spiritual existence, of beneficent and evil powers, they certainly have; but I never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature, neither could I satisfy myself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. Wisely, he abstained from further opinions. The reports that Darwin sent out into the wide world about their spiritual life were very nearly disastrous for our Indians. We shall repeat here only a few sentences from (f):1, 123: "The belief in spiritual forces will easily lead to the belief in the existence of a god or of several gods, for savages will naturally attribute to spirits the same passions, the same lust for revenge or the simplest form of justice, and the same affection which they have experienced within themselves. In this respect the Fuegians seem to be in a middle state...And yet we could never find that the Fuegians believed in what we would call a god or that they carried out any kind of religious practices. Jemmy Button stoutly maintained, with justifiable pride, that there is no devil in his country, and this assertion is all the more strange since, among savages, the belief in evil spirits is more common by far than the belief in good ones..." Briefly and precisely he also assures us: "We have no reason to assume that they practice any kind of religious service" (p. 102 /untranslated/). He and Fitz-Roy refer to the same informants, namely, the three young Fuegians who were brought back to England in 1830 on the "Beagle" (p. 88 /untranslated/). They cannot be regarded as reliable because of the contradictions and inaccuracies contained in their statements (5).

5. For example, Darwin (d):245 relies on Jemmy Button in his assertion "that in winter when they are tormented by hunger they would rather kill and devour their old women than slaughter their dogs" (pp. 102, 235 /both in untranslated portion/). As for Button's companions, Darwin (d):246 also asserts: "The nearest approach to a religious

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

[197] A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 148 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):159 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

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deity, but the one is neither more nor less esteemed than the other. Cungel, the devil, sometimes avenges himself, however, with storm, snow, and rain. The rainbow is a sign of his anger; the women and children are afraid of its appearance, but the men scold and spit at it" (6). There is some value in repeating a num-

6. In Cojazzi:105, under the heading, "Religione in genere /Religion in General/," one finds this statement just as it stands, and not another word.

ber of false statements; they clearly show how cautious one must be about accepting other reports by this same authority. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find his companion Lovisato (b):149 maintaining in similar tones: "They do not have any notion of God, hence no religion and no amulets of any kind" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (z):171 also traveled there at the same time (p.147 /untranslated/). Of the Yamana he says only: "Religious ideas are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/.

The members of the Mission Scientifique who, in their own opinions, were almost completely independent of the English missionaries, touched but lightly on the subject of religion for that very reason. They did not succeed in making successful observations of their own. Hyades (g):38 declares: "The French were unable to discover a trace of religious ideas among the Fuegians; as we know, the missionaries did not fare any better." Nevertheless, a number of indications made him (f):587 cautious in his judgment: /1038/ "All we can say about the religious feeling of the Fuegian savages is that it is limited, externally at least, to a hint of attention and feigned contemplation in the presence of a strange religious ceremony. Let us add that the Reverend T. Bridges positively told me that before his apostolate in Tierra del Fuego the Fuegians had no idea whatever of religion" /translated from French/. In his principal work he (q):253 repeats this view: "We have not verified any sign of religious feeling among the Fuegians..." /translated from French/. He is well aware of the grave import of his words, yet he persists in his

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771 114 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

> 7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

771 114 797 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

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771 114 797 At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:1, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1038/ 1859 (VP:VII, 51;1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Coolpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (h):696 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (b):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):227 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

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knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (SAM.K. 10,1878).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blindly adhered to this conviction. Aspinall/270 noted it once more: The Tamara "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Tamara are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 302 /unmentioned/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the mores of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disbelief, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Holly Lawrence would add: We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Tamara. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it means that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Tamara, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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5. My Own Conclusions

It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune, otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in heavy astonishment, had murdered their present humankind. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made terse short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask: "Whereas was that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1941/ emphatically: "Lāpewokiye was that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lāpewokiye really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Wenaiyāpen who sent the general flood. Lāpewokiye prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Wenaiyāpen she succeeded in having the great flood come." Hesitantly I asked again: "Who is this Wenaiyāpen?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

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After a good long time and probably also in order to break the general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauineiwa is [similar to] what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauineiwa again. I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told them Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

A week later the secret gathering of the Yahgan began, in which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untranslated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian girls and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauineiwa and Hoshpan were reverently used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned Yahgan celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 101 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Emily Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a specially corrugated tin house in which the /1941/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

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776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinẽ́jwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinẽ́jwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinẽ́jwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinẽ́jwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ẽkẽtẽ́makalo-watauinẽ́jwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinẽ́jwa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ẽkẽtẽ́maka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinẽ́jwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

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124 assumed that I was of the same mind, she worked toward making it accessible to me. Three days after the discussion described above, on Wednesday, January 25, 1922, /1043/ she again invited us to the large workshed, with the enticing prospect: "Today Adelheid and I shall tell you everything about Watauinẽiwa!" Nelly explained candidly why these two women were the only ones who came: "Watauinẽiwa has punished neither of us, he has not let a single one of our children die, so we are not ashamed to have him mentioned in our presence. We may freely speak of him [in front of others also]. The other women, however, whose children he took away [through death which he caused], feel that they have been punished by him; they find it unpleasant if he [Watauinẽiwa] is mentioned in their presence!" These very significant words contain a complete explanation of the strange behavior of the people when I asked about Watauinẽiwa (9).

9. It is conceivable that this also explains the Yamana's cautious silence in the presence of earlier travelers. Some of them probably noticed this, for example, even Darwin (p. 102 /untranslated/); they were not aware of the ultimate and most profound reason, however.

Whenever I had questioned them, there were always a few persons present in their circle who were obliged to lament the loss of a close relative. It would have been the equivalent of pillorying them if the others present had spoken in detail about Watauinẽiwa in my presence. Considerately, Nelly came only with Adelheid, for these two could describe Watauinẽiwa, what he is and how he acts, freely and without embarrassment. On that Wednesday we learned most of the names which are given him, as well as a few definite prayers directed toward him.

Obviously, that discussion did not exhaust the subject and bring to light all that the Yamana carry within their hearts in the way of ideas about their Supreme Being. I realized that the rest could be obtained only through a wise procedure, and our course lay outlined in the explanation that Nelly had just given us. After that the other people probably learned that we were familiar with their conceptions of the person and actions of Watauinẽiwa. When

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776 124 I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme Being on suitable occasions, I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauinẽiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped; we neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauinẽiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauinẽiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 185 /untranslated/), where I heard new references to Watauinẽiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the čiexaus (p.759). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /untranslated/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

114 There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

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114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, čiexaus, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, lójma-yékamuš. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 128 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start, one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauinéiwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

> 10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauinéiwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauinéiwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

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1. Personality of the Supreme Being

716 The thinking of the Fuegians is inclined (if one may express it thus) toward concreteness. Their conceptions have definite forms and clear outlines. Their Watauinéiwa especially is a sharply delineated, independent person standing by himself and far removed from every other spirit. For the Yamana he is not a completely formless creation of thought, but an individual spirit-being with an autonomous form and an independent mann[illegible]f existence. He is never referred to with a universal, generic designation, but only a proper name or, in its place, a clear, conventional circumlocution. The characteristics attributed to him are evident in part from these names, but even more from the prayer formulas (11). He makes himself clearly felt as an altogether in-

11. Most of this has already been published by Koppers (e):12 and Schmidt (d):927.

dependent personality, in particular by his intervention in many ways in the life and existence of the individual, as well as in the destiny of the whole group.

a. His Name

Some of my informants were familiar to a certain extent with the meaning of the words "Dios" and "God" as they are used by the Whites. They never used them directly to refer to their Watauinéiwa, but always used the customary names, of which there are several. They are not proper names in the strict sense, of the type, for example, given each Yamana; rather, they are words with an emphatic meaning and of greatest import, which, as such, are applied exclusively to this deity. In this respect our Indians differ from the Selk'nam who use an actual personal name, Temáukel (Vol. I, 497).

Often they use Watauinéiwa in the sense of "the very ancient one," that is, the /1046/ unique very ancient one who, in permanence of being, surpasses every other old one. Sometimes this word

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776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wātauīnaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [82] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Wataųinḗja-sēf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sēif instead of sēf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Wataųinḗwa-ajzāku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizŏka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Tā́nuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidā́buan or Hitapū́an [60] as "my father" and Hā́u ímun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also haianā́nin ímun, "our father." Occasionally Hā́ua ú̆su, "my grandfather" and Kalaiḗxēn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abailā́kin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abā́ila, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hā́im hú̆lu Abailā́kin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Wataųinḗwa. According to BD:261 hā́im means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abā́ila-Wataųinḗwa and Abā́ila-sḗf.

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776 Manunákin is popular, as is Manauanákin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnáki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumūučikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wēlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunáki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinéiwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1047 cont./
195 or kúpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but
776 is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1048 cont./

776 of us will when his kĕ́špix́ leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kĕ́špix́!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

776 Nevertheless, Wataųinéiwa is close to every human being
626 through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This characteristic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čiéxaus Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an uswáala in the čiéxaus, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wataųinéiwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Wataųinéiwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Wataųinéiwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/
761 most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wĕ́lapatux-sĕf, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumúucikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abāilākin, that hājm hulu Abāilākin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watauinéiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [4]:161.)

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If
776 he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
626 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abáilākin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the cíexaus: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watauinéiwa sees every lazy-bones. Watauinéiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

/1049 cont./

776 you. Thus, as everyone knows /1050/ and must yield to without
626 defense: this Watauinéiwa-aizáku, the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength, "has at his disposal a power which all the Yamana together are unable to resist, especially not if he arbitrarily takes away our children." They are all convinced: "We must fear him and be on our guard against him!"

The visible world lies in the palm of his hand, "all things belong to him"; he is the lord and the owner of all creation. A Fuegian judges everything around him as Watauinéiwa-sirž, a very common expression. BD:379 translates sirž as: "tolls, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/. There is a friendly feeling connected with this word formation; according to it every "thing" is a piece of property belonging to the deity (p. 866). Evidently this means living creatures, chiefly the large mammals and the birds. He granted the Yamana all of these for their use and benefit; hence they are a true gift of God to human beings. Everyone may use them, but only to the extent that he needs them for subsistence. To misuse them arbitrarily or to destroy them willfully would be to turn against the intentions of their owner and would evoke his vengeance. "He watches carefully to see that animals are not needlessly killed and that meat does not spoil," but is utilized! The Indians often and in all earnestness impressed these words upon me. Without exception they are punctilious about this rule; I never saw them heedlessly leaving a slain animal lying about.

776 Furthermore, the Fuegians, with unequivocal explanations, make it clear that their Watauinéiwa also holds the fate of men in his hands. It is well known that malevolent spirits and, above all, the yékamuš practice their baleful influence on individuals. The yékamus have enough power to cause someone to become ill. They may breed mischief, however, only to the extent and as long as Watauinéiwa permits it. Neither a spirit nor a yékamuš can harm a person against the will of the deity. If harm befalls one, he is really personally in favor of it, and he himself is ultimately responsible. If a yékamuš realizes that a serious illness has developed, against which his knowledge is of no avail, on his own initiative he delivers the sick person to Watauinéiwa as the only one left who can help, but since he is, after all, Manauanákin, everything

/1050 cont./

116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (l):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visi-
113 ble belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator? It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the

> 12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Wataųinę́ˀwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Wataųinę́ˀwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yą́ˀjaaš̌ą́ga. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Wataųinę́ˀwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (l): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yą́ˀjaaš̌ą́ga. I

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776 113 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuš and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tárúwalëm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinéiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinéiwa also stays. Before Lëm [sun] and Hánuxa [moon] and Akáinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinéiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal [825 842 833] tëpéxa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lëm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sëf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinéiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mašemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

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776 If one carefully examines the words of the men mentioned, he can obtain from them a conception of the everlasting existence of the Supreme Being, without temporal limits in either direction. Our Fuegians do not even discuss a cessation of the existence of this "Késpix-up-there," and of all his characteristics they are most familiar with the one meant by the oft-repeated designation Watauinéiwa. According to their conception, this "very ancient one" has simply always existed, and no one questions where he actually came from or what his origin is. One may also assume that, according to the belief of the Yamana, this "very ancient one" has always remained the same. Nowhere do they imply, much less state, that he has changed his personal attitude toward human beings or the laws imposed upon them. In sum, he has remained personally the same, hence unchanging. In the strict sense of the word, he does not in any case let himself be influenced by human beings. "We Yamana often complain bitterly, but he deals with us as he pleases!" Mary said. She had explained to me
[782] that in distress and in serious illness those who are directly or indirectly affected turn to the Supreme Being, praying for deliverance. He takes cognizance, so to speak, of these prayers and sometimes proves well-intentioned, but he would by no means feel pressed or forced to change his absolutely free decision. The Yamana are clearly convinced of this.

Despite the decided arbitrariness with which Watauinéiwa now and then obviously interferes with the fate of individual human beings, he is generally regarded as benevolent and good. They like to address him as Hidáuan, for he is truly a father to each one and to the Yamana as a whole. This designation most often occurs in the old traditional prayer formulas. With the happy conviction that he is concerned about everyone, and especially that he will provide each one with the animals necessary for his subsistence, the Yamana trust him and his providence. Many approach him with the naïve, childlike confidence with which, in /1053/ human relationships, a child confronts its good father. Although grievous blows sometimes make the individual lose his mental balance, in general "the conviction of the benevolence of the Supreme Being" (Gusinde [ℓ]:163) predominates. Hence they also venture to address him with the intimate Kalaiéxen, "dear little father" and the friendly Tánuwa, "the dear, good old man."

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776 A complete picture of the Supreme Being as it exists in the imagination of the Yamana must show his absolutely independent position with regard to all the other spirits and human souls. In none of the many myths that I collected is he included in any way; in fact, there is a wide gap between him and all the mythological personalities and the so-called kína spirits. It has been shown on page 765 to what extent he is linked with the Tánuwa spirit in the ʒiɛ̃xaus. He is not viewed as sharing the conditions of existence which the Yamana regard as vital, such as being married. On
776 one occasion, with studied carelessness, as though it were an
124 everyday matter, I asked a few people: "To whom, I wonder, is Wataŋinéʃwa married?" In response an expression appeared on their faces, showing what, in their view, a very stupid, gauche utterance deserves. Nelly Lawrence seemed disconcerted, and long seconds passed before she regained her composure after the impact of that strange question. This time, too, as in all her other statements, she wanted to be accurate, and she assured me innocently: "That is something I never heard about! I'll ask the old people whether they perhaps know something!" She was already fully convinced that anything like it was utterly unknown to the old people also; that is why she never came back to the subject. Soon afterward, when Chris alone was asked this question, he replied indignantly: "Who in the world maintained that!" Calming him, we explained: "As a matter of fact no one maintained anything like that; we just wanted to ask!" He then fell silent and showed pity for Europeans who confused themselves with such useless questions. The Yamana have no conception whatever of how Wataŋinéʃwa actually lives -- that is to say, his dwelling, food, weariness, sleep, etc. -- and they have nothing to say on the subject. They definitely know that he has a very unique manner of existence; this is enough for them and they have no desire to find out about details.

776 All the characteristics attributed to Wataŋinéʃwa add up to quite a richly endowed personality, despite the simplicity of the picture. He has a wholly independent position above all creation, as well as separate from other spirit-beings and from human beings. His intervention in the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, and thus his activity in general, is revealed in the association

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which the individual human being has with him and, above all, in the prayer formulas.

/1084/ 2. Religious Activity

All accounts clearly indicate that the Supreme Being of our Yamana does not, like the chief personages in their myths, dwell far beyond the clouds, unconcerned with the events on earth. Quite the contrary, Watauineiwa truly and attentively follows the activities of the individual, often directing fate against the person's hopes and desires; indeed he is more active than is agreeable to many. Everyone knows him as an active, alert helper. Thus, no one loses sight of him entirely; much less would anyone purposely and heedlessly ignore him altogether. It is true that some Indians are more eagerly concerned about him, more actively engrossed with his characteristics, and therefore think about him more often than do other fellow-tribesmen, but there is not a single Fuegian who is completely "godless." Without any effort on his part, everyone is often enough reminded of Watauineiwa by his relatives and neighbors and is included in their religious activity. For that very reason no one loses the religious customs as practiced and handed down by earlier generations. To what extent and how often each individual practices religion by himself cannot be determined precisely, nor can it be shown that women do more in this respect than men. As elsewhere, personal disposition and the influence of training in youth are decisive, as well as a person's immediate environment from early childhood.

a. General Practices

The amazing simplicity revealed in the Yamana way of life is, naturally, also apparent in the religious realm. Except for specific prayer formulas, their outward religious activity is remarkably limited. They have no actual portrayal of their Supreme Being or particular places reserved for his worship, nor do they have any kind of sacrifice. A priesthood and religious ceremonies are also lacking. The gathering of many families on the

/1054 cont./

occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1055/ Watauinéiwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Watauinéiwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

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781 776 626 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really because of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its demands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 776 195 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunkin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

B. Prayers of Supplication

782 [17] The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 908) are exactly alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temaukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Yaghan have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible, only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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It is understandable that lamaism and formulas of reasoning are most numerous, inasmuch as every death agitates our Indians to an extraordinary degree and stirs him to the depths. By comparison, the prayers of supplication are plain and simple. The latter will be given first, with brief explanations of the meaning, and afterwards the other prayers and related invocations. I may properly omit a grammatical analysis because we have Bridges' dictionary and because Hennemann has undertaken special investigations on the grammar of the Tarasca, to which we refer.

(1) ninoshkē nīje ndāwawēnō.
My father, to me be merciful.

These words are a general supplication which the Supreme Being is asked to fulfill, for example, to grant success in the hunt or good weather during the canoe trip. -- BD:311 gives ndāwawēgē "to act kindly, to do good, show pity or mercy" /cited in English/.

(2) ninoshkē, ámo nīje ndāwawēgwen
My father, now then, to me be kind

ndjanīnigāian.
today.

Obviously this request is similar to the preceding one. It is uttered immediately before a trip, a hunt, and similar occasions.

(3) nīgwanoshkē ndāwawēgwen ndjanīnigāian,
To us be merciful today,

ninoshkē.
my father.

This request is again like the others. It is sent heavenward in the early forenoon shortly before they set out on a major undertaking or a long canoe trip.

/1926 con./

(4) Áms, nátip, Mindowágan, mnatip
Now then, then, he mentiki [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Wanagindjan will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) mnatip, nátip kíp, wanagíp.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Desire to announce to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1927/ -- BO-66 gives Tíama, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BO-180 adds thúki, "to show, come to me" /cited in English/. -- The Tainos also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appreciatingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the one-up-there: "I thank thee, Mindágan, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Mindágan, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Áms, kiyúkp Mindówáp mnatípan,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

mnatip.
my father.

Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Wanagindjan let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

/1927 cont./

(7) Amm, bigidje mbawdgwa, Nizayje,
Now then, or receive mercifully, my father,

dagwajiaan.
also.

With this request a person turns back to Nidibaan after he was punished by the deity through a death. He had quarreled with him, so to speak. -- BD:351 gives mbawdgwa, "to take a person under one's care, to be kind and merciful to a person" /cited in English/.

(8) Gagwedebje Mbidoonidje, Nizayan.
Or he will [surely] push forward, my father.

A person who is rowing on the water and is aiming for a shore or an island where there is game repeats this request, confident that Nidibaan will let the canoe glide there quickly as though he personally were pushing it with a strong hand. -- BD:177 mentions mbandid, "to shove, push, press, bear against with the hands" /cited in English/.

(9) Dajje mbadendan, Wenagidjwa.
To me give a good course, the old one above.

A person makes this entreaty during the canoe trip if bad weather threatens, so that he will reach his goal or the nearest safe shore.

(10) Dajje mbadawidge, Nizayje, mbandis ikan.
To me be merciful, my father, save the boat.

In bad weather they ask that the good father-up-there lift the canoe over all dangers. -- BD:401 explains mbandid, "to sprain in one's arms, to raise or lift up" /cited in English/. /1958/

(11) Nizayje, nje ebiga mbadawagina,
My father, to me with ebiga be merciful,

Ebiga
Ebiga

/1058 cont./

782 539 This means: Send me help through an aśóula (the grampus, Pseudarca crassidens) against the lakūma /water spirit/ that came near my canoe and threatened me. The word čiéxaus serves to strengthen the request and replaces the word Wataųinéiwa. Although direct address is avoided, the old-one-up-there knows that these words are addressed to him.

(12) Sēskin skāja ki-wēla kūpa abājila
The heart to you [preserve] from above strong

mūtuna.
[in] sitting here.

This request means: May the-one-up-there help you who are sitting here so that you will freely develop your strength and be able to go on singing for a long time. Adelheid spoke these words during the youth initiation, as she looked at old Richard who had been exerting himself for some time as the leader of the singing. -- The word sēskin, "heart," also has a further meaning, as in German, and BD:383 acknowledges this: "the heart, the affections, the soul" /cited in English/. According to BD:14 abājila means: "strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The word mūtu here, according to BD:366, means "to sit, to be sitting" /cited in English/.

γ. Prayers of Thanksgiving

The preceding prayers of supplication follow a recognizably uniform pattern. The prayers of thanksgiving for all kinds of gifts, which as such are multifarious and are bestowed by the Supreme Being, have more variety. It is actually amazing that our Fuegians often feel a special urge to give thanks for the benefits that Wataųinéiwa bestows upon them. Such a practice points to the stable, close relationship that the Yamana believe they have with their deity. Because it is easy for them to express gratitude, this relationship must be favorable and satisfy them very much. It makes them feel truly happy.

/1058 cont./

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(1) Ašárx Hitapūan. Ašárx Kalaiexēn.
Thanks my father. Thanks, little old father.

With these short formulas the Yamana pays his debt of gratitude on various occasions. They are often used and are familiar to everyone. — In BD:45 we find ōšōs, "I am so glad! Well done!..." /cited in English/. This is undoubtedly the same as ašárx.

(2) Ašárx, Hitapūan, katūutux
Thanks, my father, favorable weather

uiāina.
accompanied me.

Thanks is given in this manner by a person who has again reached a safe shore after a canoe trip; while he is comfortably resting, he thinks about his trip.

(3) Ašárx, hipikāja kēmētauwēxkete Hitapūan.
Thanks, to both of us was merciful my father.

/1059/ This sentence is likewise an expression of thanks for the favorable course or the successful outcome of some undertaking in which two persons were engaged.

(4) Ašárx, Hitapūan, hāia kēmētauwāgude
Thanks, my father, to me was good

hauančimālan.
today.

A person who is luxuriating in the enjoyment of some success, especially one who is enjoying rich hunting spoils, does not forget afterwards to make known in this manner his grateful acknowledgment to the kind giver and benefactor.

(5) Hajananikāja kēmaustuxmēnax Hitapūan.
Us has protected my father.

/1059 cont./

782 539 With this formula one wants to express thanks for success, for some advantage which he achieved, or for particular protection granted him. One family greets another with this formula after they have returned home or when they meet on the water. -- BD:181 writes "kōmausteka, to go or come up in order to take care of; kōmaustuxmōni, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over" /cited in English/.

(6) Šābaguta Wačinēiwa Hitapūančikaia.
Satisfied I with the old one, my father.

Filled with gratitude, a mother who was worried about her sick child and is now happy that it is well again expresses herself in these words. According to BD:152, sabagūta is "to be happily, or at peace" /cited in English/.

(7) Annu, hāja kēgurat alagumutūkilē,
Now then, me it pleased to look upon

Watauinēiwa-sēī, haŭančimāalan.
Watauineiwa in heaven, today.

One who was sick but has become well again gives thanks in this manner. Watauinēiwa had already "looked upon" him, that is, aimed at him with the intention of letting him die, but once more he desisted. -- BD:20 gives alagumūtū, "to gaze, look, watch sitting" /cited in English/.

(8) Annu hāja kētumāala tupāan Hitapūan.
Now then, from me bad time took away my father.

A person who was sick for a long time but who has completely recovered rejoices in this fashion; the torture of disease is over, and he experiences a new summer, so to speak.

(9) Annu, hāja kakūpa talagēnatupāan Hitapūan.
Now then, me from above looked upon my father.

/1059 cont./

782 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Watauinéiwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagõnatapõna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10) Annu, hipái mērnárna, aššárˇ; hipái
Now then, we new summer, thank; for us

kutakētumáala tupáan.
is winter past.

782 539 825 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupáana in BD:556.

(11) Hītépan hītéki hakuáluš.
I myself saw sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hītōpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hākūāluš, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watauinéiwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In sheer exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

782 539 (12) Annūéčia, hipái mērnárna, aššárˇ;
Now then, us new summer, thank;

annūéčia, hipái mērnárna.
now then, us new summer.

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūöčia.

(13) Ašárȳ, hipȧ́i tumiǧ̇́ana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hȧkukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Wataųinēíwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hȧkukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they in-
[302] vite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidȧ́buah directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

(14) Annu, hȧ́ia, kēmaųstuximaxuiȧ́ina yȧ́rum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikȧ́ja kēmaųstuximȧ́gua Wataųinēíwa.
for us troubled himself Wataųinēíwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare ūīaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

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/1061 cont./

(15) Annu, hipikā́ja kēmaustḗkude Hitapū́an,
Now then, us has protected my father,

wḗlitēs hipā́i tauwarā́gude ā́nen,
merciful us he rescued the boat,

hipā́i šabā́gudagu Hitapū́ančikā́ja.
we congratulate [ourselves] on our father.

These longer words of thanksgiving are repeated by those who have found safe refuge after a dangerous sea voyage. One should visualize the sudden change of weather which sometimes overtakes a canoe in the middle of a wide channel. -- BD:428 gives tauwā́gū, "to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, . . . to defend, aid by being present" /cited in English/. Compare also, in BD:152, šabugūdā́gū, "to congratulate oneself on a happy success" /cited in English/. -- The above words, therefore, express how glad the Yamana are to have a benevolent father-up-there who cares for them and rescues them; they are congratulating themselves on having him.

(16) Sḗnnakite Hā́učélla hā́ian hajanḗate čiḗxaus,
Free from Hā́učélla we united in the čiḗxaus,

makainixā́ala ū́ška takā́ja hā́jan
with the strangers here with us we

šabagudiā́te.
peacefully united.

Annu, hipikā́ja kekajtauwanjā́te, čiḗxaus. Annu,
Now then, us to help promised, čiḗxaus. Certainly,

kēmētawēgā́na kēndḗi, hajananikā́ja lḗša
well wishing both, to us [remains] piece of land,

hā́janči tīnamū́tupe hajandḗpan,
where we spend the winter we alone,

Wḗlapatux-sḗf kēguraiminā́ana
[in case] murderer in heaven does not intend to take away

/1061 cont./

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haiananikáia. ketégede/1062/Watauinéiwa. Haiananikáia
us. Thanks, the old one. Us

měštumulánude, ašár. Watauinéiwa hůlu
here let awaken, thank [him] Watauinéiwa all

héanikipan kěmaustekáana
these days was protectively concerned,

hauančispedáulum. Makáinix kěndéi káia kůkan
so also in future. Strangers two likewise furthermore

kělumaustekuána haianánin Imun; ketégede Hidábuan,
will protect our father; thanks my father,

ketégede Hidábuan!
thanks my father!

This long prayer was freely invented by Calderon at the conclusion of the youth initiation in March, 1922. An approximate translation would be: Without being molested by Hāučélla (14) we have

14. This Kina spirit is mentioned only occasionally during the initiation (p. 746).

celebrated the čiéxaus here in peaceful communion with the two strangers [Gusinde and Koppers]. They promised to help us (15).

15. I had assured the families settled in Puerto Mejillones that I would intercede on their behalf with the Chilean government to have this area ceded to them exclusively as their property. Compare Gusinde (c):434.

Because they are people of good will, they will fulfill their promise. Then this area around Puerto Mejillones will belong to us alone and be our property, and we shall be able to spend each winter here undisturbed. If only that "murderer-in-heaven" will not seize us and take us away! Thanks be to Watauinéiwa who still gives us life. Watauinéiwa will continue to protect us and care

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagŭdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laša, instead of lĕša given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurāiŭa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kŏmausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketĕgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

♂. Laments

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times.

765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1)

Hitapŭan,	kĕmudĕkun	hăja	ka-kŭpa
My father,	why indeed	me	from above

tutumeyuwakĕte.
punished.

/1063 cont./

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539 With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Wataŭinēiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kēmudēkun is the same as kōmūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūĕčĭa hăĭa ŭla kŭpa
Quare /why/ me sponte /freely/ desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandĕa Hitapŭan,
castigavisti /punished/ mi pater /my father/,

tălauwāĭa.
tălauwāĭa /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūōčĭa. The word tălauwāĭa, frequently also talauwăĭa, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaĭa, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p. 1079.

(3) Kēnjŭičĭa hăĭa kŭpa matauuwēxmutăkude;
Therefore me from above helped;

kĭtu kŭpa tstumĭnatupuwičĭa
he himself from above again take away

Wataŭinēĭwa-sef ŭpaĭ.
the old-one-in-heaven therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./

765 539 he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumína, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kënjūjičia hāia hixupa kičëxmutākude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tālauwāia.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Wataninēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kič-ëxmūt-aku-dē is derived from öx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kënjūjičia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakëxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kënjūjičia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

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/1064 cont./

(7) Ka-kūpa (hu)winā́nude hā́ja,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tā́lauwā́ja, Wataųinḗja.
alas, Wataųinḗja.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Wataųinḗja is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kḗtakēn! ka-kūpa makaitū́šude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiḗxēden čiḗxaus.
the old ones of the čiḗxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiḗxaus had long since been summoned by Wataųinḗja. -- My informants assured me that makaitū́šude has not been current for some time.

(9) Aša hitēpā́ala ha-kū́tatumaiā́ala tupā́ana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tā́lauwā́ja, Hitapū́an.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 495 tūmaiaana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupā́ana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

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(10) Kagufwēmuš̌átude, Hitapúan, hā́ka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tā́lauwāia.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Watauinḗiwa-sēf hā́ia kaguramínude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tā́lauwāia, šatambā́ančinḗiwa Hitā́puančikā́ia,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tā́lauwāia.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Watauinḗiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives šatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hā́ia, k-úla
Indeed, for my sake, ipse sponte /he freely/

kúpa, tarawḗna hauakipajḗmalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tára and taratapōna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word úla has been repeated several times.

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/1065 cont./
Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Wataŋinēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Annu, máte k-úla kūpa yā́iix tēpanā́na
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundḗn, tā́lauwā́ja, yā́iix yā́mala, yā́iix dā́ra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandḗn.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The last half of this lament is impressive. -- The word tēpanā́na is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409.

(14) Kičikā́i kipaiḗmalim kakúpa makā́i
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tušā́kude, Hitapūan, tā́lauwā́ja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kíčin aizḗx kípa kakúpan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tā́lauwā́ja; ašár sēskin ā́alasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

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/1066 cont./

aizéx	kípa	kakúpan,	tálauwája.
strong	wife	from above,	alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ǯalasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizáku, or aizóka, in BD:10.

(16)

Kítépan	hája	ka-kúpa	šituxmúututen,
He himself	me	the one-above	shall marry,

Hitapúan,	tálauwája.
my father,	alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmútú and tuxmútútas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17)

Apitépan	kečímúta	ke-kúpa
Without anything	[I] here	[through] from above,

mamuápi tépána,	tálauwája,	míčí.
we in poverty,	alas,	place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tópóna and tópanana, which is also related to apitópan. Possibly mamuápi given above and mamúápai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečímúta with the compounds made with kičí and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

/1067/

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(18) Ílatakíki ka-kúpa uwēxanáana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away.

tálauwāja; ánnu, síkña
alas; now then, You-up-there

mauhtexmálawána Hidíbuan, Ajzíkun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tálauwāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuí tumutekiyágua Wataninéjwa-sēlinčikája.
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tálauwāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Wataninéjwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiíšgū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akájakeyúwa hája tekiyágu Wataninéjwa-sēlinčikája.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burn with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuí hiletekiyágua Wataninéjwa-sēlinčikája.
Where could I meet Wataninéjwa-in-heaven,

tálauwāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

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This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kā́ja hā́ja killakupenā́ain. tíaywīja,
Also me shall be carry away, alas,

Hitaxā́ga.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compounds with killa in BD:171.

(23) Ẽapā́ru-ā́ʔin-hā́jawa Hitā́yaxaʔā́ʔia,
How terrible on account of my father,

tíaywīja. uhā́ali hja-hā́pa -----ʔin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

tíaywīja. Ẽapā́ru-ā́ʔin-hā́jawa. tailywāija.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hitā́yaxa has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:186 gives mā́ala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives apurū-aʔin-haiūa, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitā́yaxaʔia hiʔī́ Ilápagu-ī́ yahā́ʔa-ī́
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mātalapā́ʔa-ī́ hā́yaxaʔā́ʔia. tíaywāja.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy, for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty, woe

/1068 cont./

765 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her
539 hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. --
BD:260 gives hĭtopaĭpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ĭahagŭ̈ĭ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ĕkĕli, was described on page 34. Compare mötalapŏna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:220.

765 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks
152 the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 (25) Hayakĭlunĕ̆i akĭ̆luwajakĭ̆pan kagiĕ̆ömde
539 I am from the sea the woman he took away

hĭ̆ja, lŏ̆ma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akĭ̆lŭ̈aia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kĭ̆giĕ̆ekĭ̆i, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation lŏ̆ma here is synonymous with tĭ̆layuwĭ̆ja. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hĭ̆la kĭ̆pa-mĭyén muxĭ̆yana, tĭ̆layuwĭ̆ja.
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

Hitĭ̆yuanĕ̆ikĭ̆ja.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mĭ̆jaku,

/1068 cont./

TKS 539 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in English/, in BD:291; mutegwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hola and la in BD:277, 283. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

TKS 539 TT3 TT6 (27) Amumuni, hafia ufiya ekwakimenafiya
Desire, yet up there take to task

Yejesiifya-ekyalum hafia ufiya
in Yejesiifya. up there be pleased

ghwatyafiifya, ekyafiya.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Tamana conception, all the animals were made by Wasunifwa in Yejesiifya where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kiva settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expressed in the above sentence his desire to cause Wasunifwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:28, for example, amumuna, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word ekwakimena in BD:321 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the various order of the day in the kiva wheel. BD:400 gives shika, "to laugh, twinge" /cited in English/.

TKS 539 Old Mafemikasa, who repeated this fixed formula at the large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yejesiifya. Wasunifwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons. I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

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to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it. I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking ghost wildly and destroying everything to hurt Wenayinthye. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(38) Kwé hun Thyenthye
A.M. animals to Thye-nthye

hayenthin thin wenayenthinte
to enjoy wreath out the hands, others go hungry

hayenthinte'nthye thyen, Wenayinthye
enjoy also Wenayinthye.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Wenayinthye to Thyenthye made the animals; hence they belong /1970/ to him. A person who mourns a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had misused the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Wenayinthye. That is why he explains to Wenayinthye, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only hayenthin, "having a savoury smell" /cited in English/, in BD:388, and enthinthone in BD:389 are to be specially noted.

(39) Aye thin hayenthinte thyenthye
Why again he on the back-one, also,

anthye ne? thyenthinte hayenthi
strong one, you? the like of me enjoy

hanthinthe thin yenthinthye, thinthe hayenthye
I for unable, at all

thin hayenthinte, nenthyen, thyenthye
up there very angry, my father also,

1970 cont. /

...	...	...	...
at the same time	to act	we	further
...	...	...	...
discussed	with him,	our father,	
...	...	...	...
also,	see, eh,		the one-from-there
...	...	...	
bequeath,	also,	the girl	
...	...	...	
the one-from-there	leave in peace,	also?	

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a wounded whale. So why are you angry with me still? We, too, are believing so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son also to be taken away my daughter? -- I know all the words used here are listed in BD.

(Sir)	...	...	...
my father alone	with me	up there is angry,	
...	...	...	
also,	truly,	murderer-monster,	
...	...		
up there is angry,	also.		

This means: I thought only ... alone up there is angry with me, but no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "monster" is used here.

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(31) Ilamuchin Wanagiigwa ugdigutaiga.
Strongly feels the old one with us,

agaiga tamaiikwa adiyamuhada. dinagwiga.
alone must have every day alas.

A mother laments. Most strongly does Wanagiigwa feel with us! He took away my daughter and now I must alone. -- The word Ilamuchin is probably related to Ilhaiahi in SD-39.

(32) dhagwa nagaiga hagdi
Why my father from above

yaighaiahidhada. dinagwiga.
inconsiderately both eyes, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1933.

(33) Wanagiigwa higaiga hagidada ammanigwa.
The old one as both whale stand,

hagwidagaiga tamaiikwa higi wagiagwa.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whale. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(34) Tamaiki dina adiga maihaia nagidada
Much water from above to weep

gaawidagaiga ahina, dinagwiga
elders-since her father, alas,

ahi ahagaaga-wiga dhaga adiga
murderer-boy likewise from above

nadiwadiga ahi ahina, ihigwa dha
many room her father, child

/1071 cont./

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kúpa	mayamutunáma,		tálauwāja;			
from above	teeth show,		alas;			
kénnasigaja	wéi	elinánana	sína	yáix	dérupe,	
who may follow	cause		your	tears	to flow,	
tálauwāja.						
alas.						

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wélapatux-wāja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35) Hái	šatambā́ja	hái	Hitápuančikā́ja.	
I	discontent	with	my father.	

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

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539 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watauinéiwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

/1072 cont./

E. Various Other Expressions

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Finally there are a few more formulas with which the Yamana turn to their Supreme Being pleadingly or gratefully, as the situations of everyday life demand. All of them are brief and the meaning clear. Some of them are amusing, and it is surprising that our Fuegians, in child-like openheartedness, tell their Hidáhuan even the most ordinary things.

(1) Hitapūan hā́ja mĕtawĕgūmeš, ánnu,
My father me protect, now then,

hā́j mĕčū́an.
I return.

When he bids farewell, the person leaving says: If my-father-up-there keeps his hand spread over me protectively, I shall come back to this place hale and hearty. -- BD:321 gives mŏtawŏgata, "to take a person under one's care" /cited in English/. BD:21 gives amaka, "place, position" /cited in English/. BD:311 has mŏči, "to come home" /cited in English/.

(2) Tū́la hā́ja Hitapū́an talagēnakū́ru,
Should me my father want to take away,

tḗneken hā́ja.
seek me.

With these words a person is thinking of the possibility that death might overtake him during his voyage. He takes leave and says to the others: If this apprehension should come true, you will have to look for me a long time and still you won't find me. /1073/

(3) Ū́la yĕ́lla hā́jn dĕ́pan, Wataųinḗjwa
Yes farewell really, the old one

katalagḗna kuruā́na hipikā́ja.
take away wants from one another.

The meaning of this formula is exactly like the preceding one.

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It is used when a person sets out on a major journey and says farewell for a long time. It says: Our separation is truly forever if it pleases Wataŭinéĵwa to take one of us away in death. -- BD: 262 gives hain tōpan, "now is the time, in real earnest" /cited in English/.

(4) Tūla Hitapūan hajakāja kēmētaŭwagumūtu,
In case my father to me merciful,

ánnu hipāj čīla mataŭughājnan.
now then, us again unite.

This formula, too, contains the familiar idea: Should it please my father to preserve me from danger and death, we shall meet again, safe and sound, at the end of my long journey.

(5) Wataŭinéĵwa hāja kumēkalēni.
The old one me westerly weather.

A person complains because Wataŭinéĵwa surprised him on his voyage with westerly weather which is always unfavorable. -- BD:210 gives kūmōči, kumōka, "to go or come Westward" /cited in English/.

(6) Uxāja, lēmata wājaŭina, Hitapūan, uiāĭna
Ah, confused go about, my father weather

kēmūtua sa-t-arugatāra Hitapūan? kēmūtua
why you burden my father? why eyes

samunkēmbānata, Hitapūan, ikamāna.
closed, my father, with snow?

Angry old Peine suddenly spoke these words when she was obliged to wade through the snow in bare feet. Nelly had sent for her; it was on March 21, 1922. She meant the following: Hitapūan listen, I am so indignant that my head is swimming because I must stamp through the snow. Why do you annoy me with bad weather? Do you keep your eyes closed and not see how much snow there is here on the ground?

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(7) Hā́ia čílla akigamā́ni Tā́nuwa asū́nan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskḗta; kḗndam hitaualašinā́nude?
my head; how I bear it?

[753] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tā́nuwa hā́ja cílla akigamanī́ta lēkēskḗta
The old one me again hit my head

asū́nan kḗndam hitaualašinā́nude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Wataуinḗwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigámata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kōndā́m as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asū́nan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Wataуinḗwa čikā́ja kēlakanā́a ta-kumā́u.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uǐwā́ala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanā́a is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

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Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1074 cont./

TB 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

TB 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

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during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1076 cont./

111 truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they
191 adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not
177 achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have translated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

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771 as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful
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19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christians? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1077/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges, however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few prayers in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (1b):274.

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who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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771 776 minds also demand a satisfactory answer to certain questions that arise. A person like Maŝemikens, for example, tried to fathom how people actually came into existence and how /1078/ animals began to appear after the universal flood (p. 972). Although certain situations continue to lack full and specific explanations, everyone rests content in the knowledge that although he lacks insight into the handiwork of Watauinéiwa, the latter, the true and actual Abāila, accomplishes everything that the human being is unable to grasp in detail. The pressure that traditional custom exerts on every Yamana without exception is, in the final analysis, regarded as an emanation of the will, as a command of Watauinéiwa. Everyone adapts to it as a matter of course, as though it could not be otherwise. It was always like this, ever since the Yamana existed, simply because "that-one-up-there" always existed and he himself does not change, any more than do his regulations. In the play of blind natural forces our Fuegians recognize the movement of their Supreme Being who guides them and holds them in his hands. Do they have any other choice, then, but to turn to benevolent Hidábuan with the request that he command those uncanny forces to desist when they might harm and endanger their own lives? New human lives arise from his sphere of power. The loss of a close relative through death, however, leaves a more enduring impression and is more keenly felt as an injury. This intervention is solely the work of the supramundane skill of brutal, heartless Wélapatux. Toward human beings he can permit himself evident high-handedness with the worst consequences, for he is safe far behind the clouds and inaccessible to all the lamenting and raging of helpless earthly pilgrims. From the closely linked chain of ideas concerning the personality and activity of the Supreme Being, only the most important have been mentioned here. On account of their simplicity they can be easily arranged into a well-ordered system.

Although no Yamana has undertaken a similar experiment for himself, the totality of his religious heritage is adequate for him because he is aware of its more important details in his everyday life on any given occasion. Actually, he accepts the various happenings, whether they be more agreeable or very bad, solely because he relates them to his Watauinéiwa. If the latter is the

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771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaʃemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidábuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irrreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
791 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Uthuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this pasage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauineiwa revealed to the Yamana long

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771 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
791 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and
177 what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

776 For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
781 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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116 781 A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watauinēiwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidābuan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidābuan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidābuan who in each case can send us still worse things."

111 The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

/1081 cont./

2. Its Characteristics

776 797 177 In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinéiwa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

> 22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakērawáiakipa and wife of Pedro Maŭemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinéiwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinéiwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

/1081 cont./

saying distinctly: "Wataginé'wa kémaginéka (23) hananikáia (the

23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us!" Her meaning was: Just as your Wataginé'wa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Wataginé'wa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Wataginé'wa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII, 276; 1865) reports: "Lucca told me that Oukokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and had would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Oukokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Oukokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1082 cont./

115 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
191 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
111 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
116 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 530). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
112 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
191 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

1: Gusinde--1019 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/1083 cont./

themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watayineiwa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watayineiwa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1094 con./

111 enough to recognize clearly how very much this work would have been facilitated and advanced if it had been joined to the indigenous store of religious ideas. As though to reproach himself, he candidly complained: "If only I had looked for these things 40 or 50 years ago, how very differently our work would have developed! But at that time we were constantly preoccupied with what Darwin maintained about these natives, that they were completely irreligious." Deceived by this, the missionaries all systematically avoided a deeper insight into the habits and practices of the Indians. Consequently, much was concealed and withheld from them which would have helpfully supported their efforts to educate the natives and to make Christians of them. Repeatedly and without reservation John Lawrence admitted that the many details which make up the religious treasure of the Yamana should by no means be regarded as something brought to them by the missionaries. This honest admission deserves consideration. One day I described to him in detail the procedure of a large funeral rite and the initiation of the medicine-man school, both of which I personally experienced. He grew enthusiastic, but complained anew: "If it had occurred to me in the early days to visit such demonstrations, I would certainly also have learned, to the great advantage of my mission work, what these Indians believe and how they pray. But we missionaries were never enlightened about the fact that primitive peoples also have their own spiritual treasures!" To excuse these brave men it must at least be mentioned that at the beginning of their activity terrific obstacles had to be overcome before the way could be prepared for contact with the Indians. One should not, however, cite the decades-long inexperience in native affairs of this worthy missionary as proof against the originality of the religious ideas of the Yamana.

During the discussions just mentioned the three sons of John Lawrence were also often present. Agreeing perfectly, they recognized /1081/ everything put before them as part of the ancient, unadulterated, unique heritage of the natives. Nelly, who liked to be present during our discussions, enlightened them about minor details. Alberto said that now and then he had heard the name Watauinéwa mentioned, but he did not pursue the matter. Fred, on the other hand, who was probably better informed by his wife

//1955 cont./

111 Nelly, frankly said: "I have long known that the Tamana worship Wanagiligwa, that, according to them, he causes death, and that they have many other ideas, but I never asked the people more specifically about these things!" When we asked why he had not disclosed all this to us on his own initiative, he replied simply and truthfully: "How was I to know that people in Europe are interested in finding out about the religious ideas of the Fanglans!" He, too, was unable to comprehend that his own father and, above all, Bridges were completely ignorant about what he had repeatedly experienced for a long time. Nevertheless this strange situation can be easily explained. The natives unanimously said: "The missionaries never asked us about these things. How could we, without having been asked, tell them about Wanagiligwa?" The following thought was even more decisive. "Too often Bridges and many another [missionary] reproached us, saying that what we had [in the way of customs and institutions] is bad and worthless and that we would have to abandon it! Such words, accompanied by scornful laughter, hurt us. Besides, whenever they told us about their 'Our Lord' /Lord in English/, we realized that for the Whites he was the same as Wanagiligwa is for us Tamana." This explanation agrees with the repeated references to the conscious reserve of the Tamana in face of the missionaries.

111 The Tamana, far from regarding the malignant fantasies with which they exposed their most precious spiritual possessions to us, are proud that we too venerate their Wanagiligwa. For decades they were obliged to accept disdainful treatment because of the lack of knowledge of Europeans and to be discredited by the missionaries because they clung to their Wanagiligwa. Now at last we show a genuine and frank appreciation for their "Old-one-up-there" whom they call "Father." This gives them great satisfaction. Now at last they see fulfilled a wish they have long cherished, namely, appreciation for their Wanagiligwa. Their eyes shine when we tell them frankly: "Your Wanagiligwa is for you what our God is for us Christians!" They regard the comparison as a sign of the sincere esteem of the Whites for the spirit-being whom they regard as most sacred and who sends conjointly above everything visible.

The facts which must be summarized and evaluated as the religious possessions of our Fanglans are rich and many-sided.

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111 Inasmuch as we have a considerable number of well documented details, the result of painstaking research and of a method which is beyond criticism and can always /1100/ be examined, it will not be difficult for anyone to recognize the term and abandon the long-held and widespread, but erroneous opinion that the Yaruros are absolutely irreligious.

6. General Moral Precepts

111 The social life of our Fueguians and the behavior of individuals, regardless of age and sex, are regulated by definite, unchanging principles that obligate all tribal members without exception. They alone assure the tranquil continuance of the tribal society and guarantee peaceful coexistence for all its parts. These principles constitute the morals or the general moral precepts, and they, of course, reach beyond actual tribal morals and even rules for external social intercourse.

This presupposes that our natives actually do have a moral consciousness. Obviously they do not lack the capacity for moral judgments and actions, they being it into the world as a mental endowment of his/her Nature. With it goes an urge to exercise their spiritual power in the direction of what is good and just and to avoid what is unjust and impermissible. Conscience, which our Fueguians by no means lack, guides their unerring judgment in these matters. It teaches everyone the objective and subjective value of moral goodness and dictates the behavior of the will. To be sure these words describe a general human tendency, but one must state them specifically for the Yaruros also (cf. Gusinde [c]: 108), for there is no lack of assertions to the contrary. Disregarding older statements, I shall here give space only to the amazing words of someone like Spegazzini (p.17), who spent insufficient time in Tierra del Fuego: "The Fueguians do not know the social convention that we call morals. They perform the natural functions of life, of any kind, in public, and what we call virtue exists only in rudimentary form among the women and, before marriage, consists of a reserve in granting their favors and of fidelity on the part of married women" /translated from Spanish/.

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577 This opinion diverges considerably from reality and is invalidated, for example, by the following words of Bridges (b):238: "The ideas of this tribe with respect to good and bad are similar to those that prevail everywhere. Anything morally bad is also physically bad and, consequently, is condemned, not by the one who commits the act but by the one who suffers the consequences. In the same way, that which is just, right, and good is nearly always recommended because of its utility. But nowhere does the utilitarian system lead to virtue, and thus we see that bad is committed by those who in principle condemn it, and virtue, recommended by all, is practiced by few. It follows, then, /1087/ that in condemning others for what one does himself, a man always likewise condemns himself as a sinner. Virtue is gained by those who do not practice it" /translated from Spanish/. Although much of this seems inaccurate, be at least credits the Yaigua with a capacity for moral judgment (10). Hyades (q):

> 10. Bridges (b):236 supplements his statement as follows: "It was said that they were anthropophagi and it was believed that they lived without any notion of social order. But when they became better known, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that come from family life" /translated from Spanish/.

582 in his concise way judges more pertinently: "It is certain that the Yaigua have the feeling for good and bad and that they do not lack a moral sense" /translated from French/. Dahlmann (b):187 seems a little reserved in his opinion: "As to the moral qualities of the Yaigua, it can be said that, while they do not have much virtue, neither do they have great faults, and they do not wholly lack a moral sense" /translated from Spanish/. Thus he, too, sees in these Indians the universal human tendency toward morality.

The many facts which have been recounted in the preceding pages speak decisively for themselves; it is superfluous to give

/1087 cont./

517 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the uswala in the circumcisions (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed...Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

517 716 The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

/1088 cont./

grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidâbuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

577 /1089 cont./
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Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (1):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a consciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown
835 and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

577 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (1):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

/1089 cont./

577 and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp. 574 , 943), and widows (p. 412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

> 28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegians, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 629), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

/1090 cont./

577 conditions. Actual barter and the distribution of hunting spoils, reciprocal visits and groups affairs, such as the ʧíʃaxs and kina, take place according to definite, unchanging rules. Although tribal members are not united under a common chief (p. 601), they nevertheless feel and act homogeneously, guided and obligated by one and the same tradition which, though unwritten, is like a book of laws. No one would venture to neglect it and go his own way or even less to oppose it with scornful comments. There is actually an unseen power of state (p. 636), even though it is limited.

As is convincingly proved in real life, this long list of rules and regulations is perfectly familiar to every Fuegian; he conforms to it with more or less punctilious faithfulness.

2. Their Originality

577 626 One would be doing the Yamana a grave injustice to disparage or to be suspicious of their honest attitude toward the individual demands of their moral law. The experiences of reliable Europeans contradict the very general accusation of Bridges (b): 205 that they are "immoral and lewd in their behavior and conversation" /translated from Spanish/ (29). Every Fuegian regards

29. Interpretations of their conceptions of morality and their conduct from the obviously prejudiced point of view of someone like Spegazzini (a):177, for example, do not deserve to be specifically mentioned.

conformity to the demands of the moral precepts as a compulsory obligation. In his youth he is given ample instruction within and outside the family, as well as compulsory training as uwʧala in the ʧíʃaxs. In later life he is supported and spurred on, even against his own will and personal indolence, by the example of the people generally. Anyone who habitually dared to ignore important rules, especially those pertaining to social intercourse, would be putting himself in an impossible situation. Actually many a person, out of pure human weakness, becomes negligent in his

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517 626 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171] 30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

517 776 626 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references to the ultimae originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoflox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswiala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 776 626 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that Watauinēiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever dream of asking what justification Watauinēiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 626 This way of thinking implies the close connection between religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinēiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

/1092 cont./

577 626 fear of punishment is heightened by the idea that the individual human being has no chance to rectify or be absolved of his transgression in any way, either by prayer or sacrifice. He must yield to whatever fate "that-one-up-there" inflicts upon him. He is Abāila, the truly strong one towering over all, with whom no one can compete. A person who does his duty, however, feels safe under the benevolence and special protection of Hidāhuan; hence he must fare well. An evil-doer, on the other hand, in view of the punishment which is almost sure to follow, will never again feel quite safe. In his evident lack of success in hunting and in all his work he can see clear threats calling for the severest atonement, namely, untimely death. There is also the attitude of fellow-tribesmen against the evil-doer who forgets his duty. They ignore him and obviously avoid associating with him; they cast aspersions on him and warn him about his delinquency. They give him no rest and even pursue him if he is a murderer or adulterer. In such a way the society itself takes part in the prosecution of punishment for a crime. No one, however, speaks of punishment which the culprit is to expect in the other world because in general the Yamana maintain that they do not know what form of existence the soul has there. Thus, since everyone knows that adverse and baleful consequences follow wrong-doing, this knowledge gives a person sufficient strength to stay on the path of universally binding duty.

577 Actually, conditions in the simple social organization of our Fuegians are more orderly, principled, and peaceful than many Europeans might believe, although they neither have a police force and courts of justice nor are under the leadership of chiefs. Their bleak homeland and their meager way of life have made them undemanding and content. Licentiousness and cruelty could not become doctrine among them. There are all kinds of circumstances that lift their personal and general morality above that of other primitive peoples.

000 /1093/ On the preceding pages the position and the relationship of our Fuegians to the deity they recognize have been characterized, as is required by the concept religion in its narrower sense. Their relations with other spirits and mythological personalities, which shall be discussed later, are very different.

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000 Supplementary data on their religious activity will be given in the description of their great funeral rite, which follows in the next section.

B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning

774 Conceptions of the human soul and of its continued life
811 after death are closely interwoven, and the customs of mourning, for which our Yamana have created definite forms, are connected with them. The latter are probably based principally on the fact that the loss of each tribal member affects all the natives very painfully. In the following description one must keep in mind that European ideas and expressions do not absolutely coincide in every detail with the thoughts and words of the natives because the latter are much more unpretentious and poorer in ideas. Much of their thinking shows gaps and is not carried to its conclusion. In general it is not the habit of the Fuegian to complete what is lacking or to provide a suitable substitute. In view of this the investigator runs the risk of consciously or unconsciously substituting his own interpretation for the deficient forms of expression of the children of nature, which would give a distorted picture. My informants were sometimes at a loss to give satisfactory explanations in response to my questions and inquiries. This is the typical primitive mentality which does not concern itself with precise descriptions of every image and complete interpretions of every idea according to the rules of logic. It must be frankly admitted that there are gaps in the following account. I would be guilty of distorting the material offered if I were to fill them out according to my own taste and provide them with meanings from my personal opinion. Unadulterated single facts, even though they are deficient and fragmentary, can be used in making comparisons and will safely lead to the desired goal, whereas unreliable and arbitrary additions imperil the course of research.

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a. The Human Soul

774 From the start the Fuegian differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Watauinēiwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conception of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

775 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "kēšpix," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms kēhpix and kēspix are also heard. BD:175 gives kōspix, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (1):15, for example, limits the meaning of the word kēšpix, as is sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpij were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (4):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

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115 to the kĕ̄pix. Above all, the human body is animated by it and it alone. Those kĕ̄pif who, to begin with, are not joined to a body have their own independent life, for example, the yefáčel, who, as forest spirits, can perhaps be compared to our fairies. The human soul, after its separation from the body, continues the same independent existence. As long as the kĕ̄pix remains in the body assigned to it, the human being remains alive. Dying begins, the Yamana say, when "the kĕ̄pix leaves the body; it is Watayinĕ́wa who takes it away." Thus the soul outlives the body. Since, according to their conception, dying is a dissolution of the connection between body and soul, the isolated spirits, including the human soul, do not die after death; in other words, they continue to exist. Strangely enough, the Fuegians are unwavering in this train of thought. /1095/ They listened to my questions about a possible cessation of the spirit-beings with amazement, as though this imputation were in itself a contradiction.

It is also surprising that they do not admit any aging of the kĕ̄pif, for example, in the sense of the accumulating years of a man's life. They recognize, if one may so express it, differences in age and sex among the yefáče, adults and children of both sexes, just as among human souls after death. Once established, this condition continues without change, despite the passing of years, and "a child kĕ̄pif does not mature and become an adult spirit," as Mabemihens emphatically assured me. The fact that [illegible] ceases to exist and does not change, even after ever so long a time, positively means that it is immortal. Several observers have pointed out this belief of the Yamana, while others have denied it (32). As early as 1866 Bridges (a):211

32. Cooper:150 has collected the individual opinions. An examination shows that some of the observers contradict themselves on this point. In view of this, one is probably justified in seriously doubting the credibility of the testimonies, and all the more so since even Bridges wavers in his opinions and maintains elsewhere (e):335: "They had no conception

775 /1095 cont./ of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kĕ̆pif leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kĕ̆pif, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yĕ̆kamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinc-
[828] tion: "While someone is dreaming, his kĕ̆pif merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauineiwa takes the kĕ̆pif away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kĕ̆pif," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible,
775 but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kĕ̆pif meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kĕ̆pif behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kĕ̆pif, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

774 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin
761 of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

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spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watapinéiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

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Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their késpif. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a késpif of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a késpif like that of the human soul to animals.

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Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their késpi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

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Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1096 cont./

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sometimes in the mountain forests; we do not know what kind of ceremonies they have." Even Hyades (p):332 commits a serious error: "The idea of a future life does not exist" /translated from French/. Further references to incorrect views would not lead anywhere; hence they need not be specifically mentioned here.

convinced that the human soul lives on. They speak of this clearly enough in various ways. /1097/ It must be admitted, however, that they do not conceive of the other world as a secure situation or a definite place. This circumstance has led to the erroneous assertions of many observers who simply wanted to maintain that the Yamana, although adhering to the idea of the survival of the human soul, nevertheless are incapable of expressing themselves in detail about how the soul goes on living. The Fuegians do not waver in the one assertion that at death the kíepif leaves the body and continues a life of its own. Once soul and body have been separated by death, that is, as was said on page 1034, by the intervention of Watayinéiwa, any subsequent union is forever excluded. After that the soul stands alone, whereas the corpse decays.

Just as this belief must be regarded as reliably certain, so also it cannot be denied that our natives lack a fairly clear and substantial idea of the life of the soul after its separation from the body. They have only one answer to all questions pertaining to this: "We know nothing about those kíepif after death!" This answer occurs repeatedly in the accounts of earlier observers. Despard (b):698 wrote: "The Firelander thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven; but for what, he has no notion, and is ignorant of a return to the flesh. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals" /cited in English/. In any case, it is certain that the Yamana have never maintained a transformation of the human soul or its transfer to another being. Bridges spoke of this several times. Very early he (a):211 said: "They believe in the immortality of the soul, their word Cahgahgoolee, signifying to fly up, evidences this fact" /cited in English/. Elsewhere, (i): 18, (k):238, (h):207, he asserts: "They had no future, and expected

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715 nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death Cagagulu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):292, Spegazzini (s):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:111), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to SD:195, given as kágágulí, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kúkágana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kíkúlf ceases. We do not know how the kíkúlf comes when a child starts to live, nor do we know where his kíkúlf goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!" Nelly Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but quite ironically she assured me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confide openly to me: We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

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115 to us! There is some tragi-comedy in the fact that the daughter-
117 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinéwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," [51] I was told by the Tekeenika, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1969.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. Cornie said, "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people 118 dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the shade or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
115 ceased relatives again, although they are not entirely logical about
117 it. Henry a /1938/ Tekeenika said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dreams. They are not just dream images, they are the real shade!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Halowáia whereas it is said that the shade of her deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

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715 828 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their answer was: "The Yamana learn in the *xalaxpa* how they should conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being. Each person, when he was an *ulwaia*, promised faithfully to carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these people work for themselves and their family; they care for their relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they no longer remember what was taught them in the *xalaxpa* and what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Everyone lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from them. Their fate soon overtakes those sloths and gossips. *Wakuinkwa* [do] them die prematurely! There are good and bad human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his nature to be good. Whether the *kéipif* of these people will be the same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment which serves more or less as adequate atonement for various errors, so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

715 Our Fuegians, finally, are just as vague about a definite place of abode of the *kéipif*. The two statements of Bridges (a): 211 and (t):238 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/... They do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /translated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed: "The *kéipif* go far out to sea, there where the many *aiyuta* /killer whale/ are. The *kéipif* stay near them and sometimes come with

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775 the *alhuin* through our region here [as though they were on a journey]. as the *yékamus* who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exception to this general rule are the *kéipuf* of the *yékamus* and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he stretches about excitedly. That is his *kéipuf* which is leaving him. After that the *kéipuf* stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call. It sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the *kéipuf* of the drowned person." As for the *yékamus*, "all persons surrounding a dying *yékamus* must continually utter a wailing *ho ho ho*; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the *Hagáila* spirit (37) that is leaving the dying *yékamus*.

775 256 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 748.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone [304] present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The *kéipuf* of certain persons, including those of the *yékamus*, are strongly attracted by *Hagáila*. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a *kéipuf* appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Serv (d):297 and (e):116 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." The traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (e):178 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

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175 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he died" /cited in English/.

175 The Yaganes assure that the souls do not share the sea
177 caves about freely and are not limited to a definite place or crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the souls of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yamana never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether here on the island recognize each other and whether they still remember this country here [their home]. The missionaries tried to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the souls!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fuegians. This accepts also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as victors over the missionaries who tried in vain to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (98).

98. Spencer:71 says the same thing in different words. "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yahgan of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

176 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yamanas use the general expression Halahpin, that is, the people of the Halal. HO-S1 means Yihal as synonymous with Yihlyo. They know nothing

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195 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

195 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member to death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, the separation from a land forever. For obvious reasons the Yaghans do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experiences. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not overly formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the most certain unreliable opinions from other parts are rejected (46). Anyone

> 46. For example, Lumholtz (I:148 was almost convinced of the lack of mourning among the Tarahumare. "Even grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the debris, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are mere mere practices, rules of custom, and thus sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[191] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 342) with those of our Yaghans will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

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1. Death

TM The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (2):328 expresses himself controversively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (3):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much, for that reason also the threats of Watauineiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 TM [73] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their close association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watauineiwa causes death.

TM The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

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763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest 763 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices 152 among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

> 41. As Bridges (i):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so shrilly and shriekingly that

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763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

42. Bove (e):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 134 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

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763 734 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

731 766 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a person who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 152 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watagineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 114 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief, however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present bury themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

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(b):147 and Dabbene (b):193 say the same.

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wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned" /cited in English/, as Bridges (a):206 confirms. Nowadays the /1105/ body is straightened out and the arms are placed at the sides, because burial in the ground is now the exclusive custom. The eyelids are not closed nor is the lower jaw lifted to close the mouth. The face is quickly covered with the shroud used for the entire body which is neither decorated nor ornamented. The corpse of a yfkamus, however, is specially treated; at least the face is painted and the customary feather ornament is wound around the forehead.

A few allusions and specific statements by old people leave no doubt that formerly cremation was more common and perhaps even the exclusive custom. This is confirmed by several travelers and missionaries (44). Bridges (MM:III,119;1869), for example, states in so many words and without any qualification: "The dead are generally burnt to ashes" /cited in English/. It may be that this custom predominated chiefly in individual districts, for quite early Bridges (VP:XI,269;1864) asserts that in the Wulaia region cremation was "the usual way of disposing of their dead" /cited in English/. It is not correct, however, to say that cremation is restricted to the yfkamus (45). Nevertheless a few

44. Only the following will be mentioned: Bove (e):159, Bridges (a):206, (c):332, and (h):209, Despard (b):698, Hyades (f):585, (p):332, and (q):378, Outes (g):56, Spegazzini (a):168, and Spencer:74. Not a single one of these men definitely asserts that he personally witnessed a cremation.

45. Despard (b):698 was the only one to surmise this and gives the following reason: "Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practicners have been ever

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active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:VI, 129;1859) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Button.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) and Despard (b):696. At first Bridges (a):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation; in fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Outes (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):185 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but surely cremation is sometimes swifter..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (a):110 was traversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

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Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

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bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálaywaia. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor. Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse /1197/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

/1107 cont./

764 [431] example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that led our Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially rats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Krickeberg:322 maintains.

disgusting habits of those animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (p):332, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

764 114 The following reports must also be clarified. On March 9, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macoallan's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookokko [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

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informed. The simple fact is that any human bones which have in any way become exposed after burial are consigned to the fire for complete decomposition. Spencer:74 may well appear as a witness for the cremation of bodies, but he is mistaken in his reasoning: "Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth" /cited in English/. The ashes in the lowest layers of the shell mounds are known to be remnants of hut fires which, of course, only later were /1108/ built on a layer of mussel shells (p.356). This does not contradict the fact that some corpses were buried in shell mounds.

Besides the burning of the bodies of adults in ancient times, burial in the ground was also customary, at least for children and possibly also now and then for adults. Fitz-Roy (a):181 credits all the water nomads of the Fireland Archipelago with it (48) and

> 48. He asserts: "When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse" /cited in English/.

there is also no lack of witnesses for it from more recent times. Lovisato (b):148 certainly deserves assent when he says that "the burial of corpses in that tribe dates from the time of the Ushuaia Mission" /translated from Italian/, in contrast to cremation as a "custom also practiced today by some, but very rarely, and doggedly combatted by the missionaries" /translated from Italian/. Actually, with the coming of Europeans, cremation, which formerly was almost universal, gave way to burial in the ground exclusively. It is inaccurate to maintain that the Indians traveled to certain places solely for this purpose. According to Bridges (a):206, to whom Lovisato (b):147 refers, "small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead...Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks,

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764 114 in places safe from foxes" /cited in English/. The Yamana would not take so much trouble; they customarily bury a corpse not far from the hut.

764 Soon after death the body is wrapped in pieces of leather or in strong scraps of leather and bound with long leather strips. Only occasionally is it placed on short poles which are also enclosed in the wrapping, the body being stretched out in this case. Several men who offer their services are occupied with all this for about an hour, while the rest of the people present sigh and weep. Then they lift up the body, each one putting his arm over it and pressing it against his hip, and carry it to the place agreed upon. According to my personal observation, four men arrange themselves around the corpse, two on either side. A few decades ago they chose a large shell mound. It is easy to dig a rather large hole in it with poles and oars, and the hole can be quickly and easily covered again. In recent times our Indians prefer to bury the corpse in a sandbank lying off the shore or in a low hill of coarse gravel. It is regularly laid in position on its back (48), which is

48. Only Spencer:62 maintains that the corpse is "always buried lying on back with head towards west" /cited in English/. There is no proof for this.

easy to arrange and maintain, and then covered with earth and gravel or with the mixture of sand and mussel shells. Now and then they insert a few short branches. They put a great many large stones over it to prevent dogs or predatory animals from getting at the body. If an animal should nevertheless succeed in doing so, /1109/ it is immediately killed, for the Yamana have a great aversion to seeing a corpse uncovered. Finally the spot is made to look exactly like the surroundings so as to be unrecognizable (50). Anyone

50. Hyades (3):33 has described the procedure of a burial somewhat more elaborately (cf. also Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, Vol. XI, p. 804; Santiago, 1888). It is briefly mentioned by Lovisato (b):147, Despard (b):438, Bridges (a):206, (b):208, and Spegazzini (a):188.

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764 who knows about it avoids it out of anxious fear. Other people, not the nearest relatives, accompany or assist the men who bury the corpse. When they have finished their work, they quietly and unobtrusively rejoin those who have gathered in a hut and are loudly mourning.

766 As has been said, as soon as death occurs, immediate preparations for burial are made unless one must await the coming dawn because of the darkness of the night. In exceptional cases the body is interred in a small cave nearby or in the cavity of a rock if there is earth or gravel available to cover it. Even in our day the corpse has been destroyed in the hut fire. If, for instance, a married couple were all alone in some spot and the husband died, and other people, although notified by the customary triple smoke signal, could not get there quickly because of high waves, the surviving wife would be obliged to make the best of it. Without any special preparation of the corpse, she would drag it into the hut fire and pile brush and firewood on top of it. Soon the flames would leap so high that the hut itself would catch fire. The woman would keep the fire going until the corpse was completely destroyed. The same thing was done if the path into the forest was blocked or the customary burial in the ground was in any way prevented. The concern of the survivors is always to do away with the corpse without delay, and even a person by himself is able to do that.

764 Among the Yamana, just as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 768 768), it has been customary from ancient times to destroy all the possessions of the deceased, by consigning them to the flames, throwing them into the sea, or placing the individual pieces in the grave with the corpse. Bridges (1):231 confirms that the deceased's "property is either cast into the sea or burned" /cited in English/, and Bove (4):119 adds: "In the grave of a man, they bury pieces of harpoons, spears, clubs, etc., and with a woman, nets and fishing gear." These things are in no way meant as actual burial accessories; the survivors are guided solely by the desire to destroy in one way or another everything that belonged to the deceased. That is why it is a matter of course for them "to burn the hut of the deceased, which was his last abode, and to leave the area for some time," to repeat Bove's (4):120 words.

/1119/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighborhood" /cited in English/ (Bridges [ ] :1). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (VSA XI, 259,1884). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person behaves like one demented and, in his excitement, does not even shy from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be named, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death in another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would constantly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly ruthless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously tosses articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils. He abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly: he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Yamana have a specific name for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: čiyellíara, which is perhaps related to Ch'elle Ch'elle in SD:129. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him. Hence he is given to the older son, brother, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1086). Bridges (p):256 has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /cited in English/.

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768 Hyades (p):335 and (q):379 interprets this custom erroneously: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fuegians. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives čiyelíara, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated; I refer to the meaning of čiyelíara, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

766 All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yékamuš; almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yékamuš and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

152 Since our Fuegians do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. Not everyone who has traveled through these regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (e):188, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

1: Gusinde--1937 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 SIHS Yahgan SIHS

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152 they beat themselves, the destruction of the hut in which the deceased breathed his last are reflections of custom more than true expressions of grief." Nevertheless, he admits that "there really are persons who feel the loss very deeply." All doubt is removed by the conduct of parents whose child has been torn from them by death. Now and then they actually behave as though they had taken leave of their senses. According to Hyades (g):20 the "loss of children is in general deeply felt and often the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into weeping and lamentation if there happened to be a reference to such a death." Spegazzini's (a): 168 observation alone shows what every Fuegian mother goes through when she must part from the lifeless body of her child (51).

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51. He writes: "I have seen a young woman whose child had died take the corpse and go to the woods where the little body, cleaned and curiously painted, after having been pressed to her bosom several times, was wrapped in fox skins and enclosed in a framework of twigs, which she immediately buried under the leaves of a tree. Upon leaving she cast a look at the place where her little one was, one of those looks that would require a whole book to be explained and whose meaning could be appreciated only by a mother similarly stricken" /translated from Spanish/. Below that Fitz-Roy (a):179 had learned: "Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much.' Upon one occasion when some canoes were alongside the 'Beagle,' a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which

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was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle's arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /tr.ted in English/.

15a Persons in particular /1111/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Wonnerup, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 888). Sorrow breaks through unrestrained among these compelled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and sometimes flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning here long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" /tr.ted in English/ (Bridges [a] 204).

While the dying person is still struggling with death, his nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest outburst of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are unrestrained howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors harken there, and some stay away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of lumber. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clutch one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

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for keen with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1112/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their role of mourners. For at least 10 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet, the groans or loud sounds of voices continue without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased hardly interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fuegians. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

The reason of announcing a death without delay by means of signal fires has been discussed (p.[illegible]). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

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TAC 202 ...ceived by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The duty to give unselfish aid which have evidently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The common distinctive appearance is very much if every tribal member wore ...

TAC TAC ...After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated, the painful event drives all persons away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days or the outside, after the last of the deceased has been burned, the scenario is changed. Usually each of the families /1119/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries particular mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 368) (SD). Gusinde (pp.370 also) informs

> 32. There is one exception only, which Bridges (Vol. XII, 11/1863) furnished on November 10, 1866. In Woiwis the youngest child of the well-known Ukokko died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an unwritten act that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /Friend in English/

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, ad meanwhile it is allowed by the kind favour of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

TAC 55/ The avoidance of never mentioning the name of the deceased is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz Roy (pp.183) who can refer directly to Jemmy Button. "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

1: Gusinde--1961 E-6 (1918-1924) 1927 GSE Yaigan GSE

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of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never smears: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III,119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI,100;1894), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):196 reports: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1884, Stirling (VSA:XI,103;1884) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name, for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):30 and (q):278, Lovisato (b):148, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 565), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1932), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

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765 551 his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. BD:104 gives hutuhwhi'i, "a name given a boy instead of his usual name in respect to the recent dead, when both have the same name" /stood to English/. also, hutuhwhiiye, "a name given the surviving female who bore the same usual name as a person lately dead" /stood to English/. and, finally, hutuhwe, "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /stood to English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word hutuhi. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has drowned. It is not given in BD. After some time, when the changed name (58) has become common,

> 58. Spencer:80, 105 cites particular details. "'Kash' is a berry now called 'Aroun.' Berry /berry?/ used to be called 'kash,' but most of this terms died, so changed terms of berry... 'Leppa,' summi, was name of man who died, now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawalla' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Grub'" /stood to English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (58).

> 58. The custom trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (n):176 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

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Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Tenasca resort to circumlocutions which they easily devise and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my youngest daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spegazzini (p).168 also speaks of this custom (57). Fred Lawrence swears he has

> 57. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper 145 could maintain: "The Talgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Tenasca do, of course, often remember their dead and mention them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives. One one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Tenasca custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Filelicious from the Wallamon Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Salishans. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased, respect for them demands this (58)."

> 58. Hyades (p).50 also mentioned this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

/1115 cont./

765 302 Since our Fanglans are very dependent on everything visual, actual outward signs of mourning are no less important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wants, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the dull misery from the lot of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a scout approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await his arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. On their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, soon after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their way of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a distressing effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

/1116 cont./

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store carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (58). This type of body painting is used

> 58. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (Add:XXII, 191:1868) observed on May 31, 1865. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (59).

> 59. This is probably the reason that other

/1117 cont./

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down [301] feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

/1118 cont./

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollaston "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

/1118 cont./
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302 successive marks above the mouth.

Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuš is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (h):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

/1119 cont./

765 302 heads as a sign of mourning" /translated from Spanish/. On the day when a death occurred, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):20 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kēlpikun, a woman, kēlpikipa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Yamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apuwēpa, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (b):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for [illegible] kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fuegians it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fuegians learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

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765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119,1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179, 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Oukukko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa hyo gyo swaticca loopen wata wenewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (82).

> 82. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111,1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her ucce [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

765 152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or ówaiaj and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

/1129 cont./

765 852 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1131/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškipa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hámuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

> 63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watauinéiwa into the singing (p. 767). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Tamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Tamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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769 resembling a yamalaÍemóina into each čiéyau celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 262 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnémutu tálawaja, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hăĭ hăĭ... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Wataginé'lwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yinkúa and yinkípa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arukmutu tálagwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (e):322 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tálagwaja, or tállagwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tálagwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1123/ a tálagwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tálagwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Wataginé'lwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lóima takes the place of tálagwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lóima cry.

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769 A certain group of travelers has notoriously emphasized that our Fuegians are not afraid of corpses. Hyades (g):30 maintains: "They seem not to have the slightest fear of death and of corpses"; he refers to a man who "opened the grave of his recently deceased wife for the French." He may be speaking here of the same matter that he (i):618 mentions elsewhere: "I still have only one skeleton. It is that of a woman about thirty years old, which I bought from her husband seven or eight days after her death" /translated from French/. One should not generalize from the behavior of an individual Indian. Shortly thereafter another Yamana with his two wives came to the mission in Ushuaia where Hyades happened to be staying and where he had established a small hospital. The Fuegian, despite a severe illness, refused to let himself be cared for there; "the reason for his refusal, not concealed, was the fear that he would suffer the same fate as the exhumed woman" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):149, too, expresses his surprise that a certain "Fred did not show any aversion to selling the skeleton of his father" /translated from Italian/. Nevertheless, there was no lack of resistance, as Bove honestly admits in (b):107 and in (MM:XVII, 282;1883): "At first my request for human skeletons met with some remonstrance from the Fuegians, but Ococco, understanding what my object was in making a collection, successfully arranged this matter. Some of them sold me offhand the bones of their fathers" /cited in English/. According to my inquiries, Bove exhumed the skeletons only from the cemetery of the mission station at Ushuaia. Since, as is known, all the Indians who had lost a relative in death purposely avoided this station, it is probably understandable that, under pressure or for ample remuneration, this or that Fuegian who had no interest in the graves there helped Bove. The isolated behavior of a few, /1124/ however, does not disprove the fact that the Yamana show a decided timidity with regard to human remains and that those which are accidentally exposed by nature's blind forces are immediately destroyed by fire (64).

64. In Bove (e):159 one can read: "The ease with which Bove obtained skeletons is incompatible with the veneration for the dead which

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769 Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our waves, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1052).

765 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a de-
152 ceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1868, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 It is well known that the Hiaguaia gives the Yamana a very
533 welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another in short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two tšlauwaja discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a tšlauwaja song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing tšlauwaja now, since no one has died!" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Sally to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 20, 1923, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gertie and Peine, who wanted to perform the tšlauwaja song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed. Moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the wash house on the farm in Punta Remolino where there was nothing to disturb us. I got the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now tšlauwaja can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Calderon was attentively ready to translate the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gertie continued it alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how pitiful is our state, to sing tšlauwaja because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hunter. Watagin'ŋwa has taken away the good ones; he has left

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only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (65) that the others trod

65. She means Sarmiento and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hidahyan, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Gusinde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tálaywaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Wataxindjwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tálaywaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tálaywaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

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our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us, why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely], I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tálagwaja utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

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4. The General Mourning Ceremony

965 Considering that the whole Tarasca tribe is spread out over a wide area and that, moreover, it is split up into many tiny family groups, one is justified in wondering how a general /1137/ ceremony with many people participating can take place (67). It

67. Unreliable observers have too hastily and erroneously maintained with Ipeguenzini (4): 187: "When a Foreign dies, the survivors hold no great ceremonies" /translated from Spanish/.

is not only the consciousness of their homogeneity and the conviction that the departure of an adult results in a noticeable weakening of the group as a whole that drew them together, but also want to relieve their oppressed hearts of their personal sorrow and woe, as well as their grief for their loved ones. The so-called yamalaíemúna serves this purpose very well. In contrast to the tlagwaja which is intended for a small, more private circle, so to speak, it signifies a large public ceremony, in which many families participate when they have the opportunity to do so. They speak of tlagwaja when only a single person in his hut or in the solitude of the forest repeats a song of mourning, but the yamalaíemúna presupposes a certain amount of preparation and numerous participants.

This term appears early and first of all in the work of the missionary Despard (b):146, who writes: "Murder is punished by the yamma-shoo-moyna, or blood avenger" /cited in English/. In BD:640 this yamala ẗimaulina occurs again. In both places the meaning is restricted to "blood revenge," but actually it is more comprehensive. To go back to its original meaning, yámala, according to BD:640, signifies "immense, terrible, tremendous, awful" /cited in English/. The word lemúna, or lumúna, was translated for me as: "Painful stabbing, deep pain in the chest." The meaning "to stab" must actually be contained in the root of the word, which is shown, for example, in ẗimaulina sir[1], which according to BD:160, refers only to arrow and lance, to spear and dagger.

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Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaémdjue which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yaganes do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1859, several men had conducted the yamalae-mam school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1859, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud cries and lamentation from all the huts. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and grieving in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without restraint, /1138/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fuegians. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Needlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaémdjue!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaémdjue if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussion of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fuegians had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

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/1138 cont./

gather from the tumult of voices which reached me. This activity had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleading tone whether I would go over to them. Patiently he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there could not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I consoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have afforded to miss an opportunity of seeing these Pangians open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings. They spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-factness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me. Owning him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient lessons and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians see them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the easy naturalness with which men as well as women objectively reproached the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty pupils who have been punished /1139/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, validly discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any restrain.

As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the yamalelenilgua. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily ellegwaja. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

/1129 cont./

765 me with their support!" If many people happen to be together, a tšiagwaja turns into a yamalalemöjna as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 362 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous tšiagwaja. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the tšiagwaja, transforming them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each yamalalemöjna I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 89. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has put vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one such line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 799. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

1: Gaskde--1960 8-6 (1919-1924) 1997 [illegible]

/[illegible] cont./

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382 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the victims exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

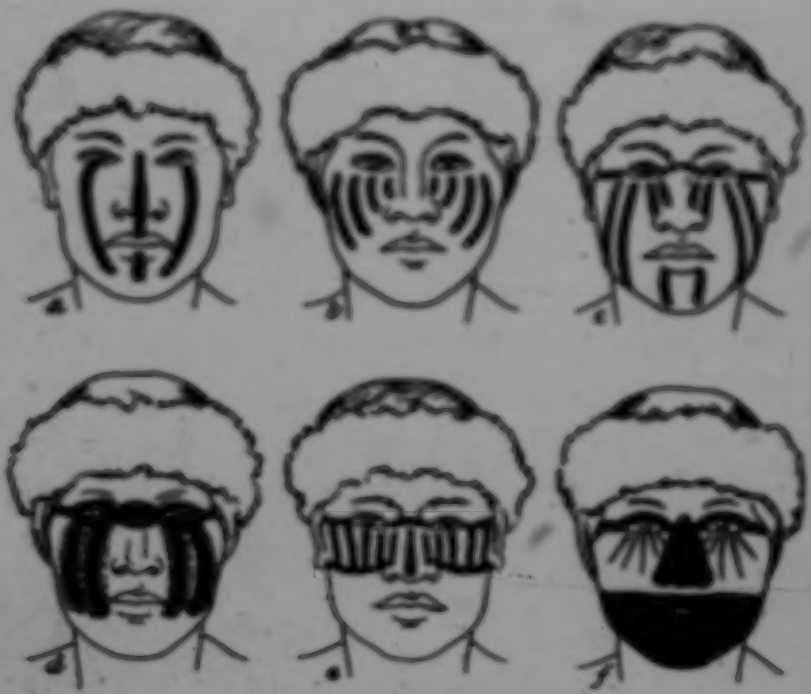

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

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825 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting; they also wind the hapakël around their foreheads. This decoration, also called hapaxël, is a rather large triangular piece

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765 30 [825] of skin with white down-feathers taken from the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this forehead decoration when these geese are nesting; during this time /1131/ they are lean and the thin skin does not have the abundant fat that is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears here./ A hapakē̆l is like the kŏ̆cel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape. In recent times not all the adults make an effort to obtain this ornament which is actually seldom used. Instead, at a general funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band of skin with down, also called hapaxē̆l, which they always have available and frequently use.

765 293 The club is part of the equipment of those who take part in the so-called fight of the yamalašĕmŏ̆ina. It is justifiably regarded as an ornamental club. No one would be permitted to come with a plain stick that he has just picked up or one used to kill a sea lion. This club is used for no other purpose. It is carefully carved out of a flawless small trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long, has an angular or rounded surface and gently tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90). It is regularly painted white, or red if one is commemorating a murder. Actually the women should also provide themselves with a club, but sometimes they do not have it and make do with an ordinary paddle which they paint. At the dances in the hut everyone uses the short dance-staff carried during the čiē̆xaus ceremony, for it obviously helps to emphasize the rhythmic movements of the body.

765 533 152 The long-continued singing and lamenting, sighing, and groaning are

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

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765 533 152 essential to the yamalaśemōina in connection with the Iōima. The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case. Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaia. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 781 152 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinēiwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abāila up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinēiwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaśemōina. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

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765 781 152 the expression may be used with reference to the recently deceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased relatives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watauinéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had on opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watauinéiwa. After the yamalašemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidábuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidábuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 152 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the yamalašemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupens: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say: everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Watauinẽ:wa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Watauinẽ:wa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites; they have discovered

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many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause their own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p. 488.

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would have declared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watauinēiwa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watauinēiwa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watauinēiwa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yáiaasága; I consumed them because I was hungry!"

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765 152 Santiago: "Today Wataŭinēiwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Wataŭinēiwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaŝemōina often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikansis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Wataŭinēiwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaŝemōina one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tjámuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Wataŭinēiwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

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765 152 for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaŝemōina commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

765 152 578 /1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

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765 152 578 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 535 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalalemēina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1137 cont./

765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalaŝemõina is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalaŝemõina follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a cíhuaia celebration that does not have a regular yamalaŝemõina on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly hut and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.808) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalaŝemõina yíkuna mõja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalaŝemõina is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 626 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalaŝemõina irresistibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

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another opponent who is permitted this opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the public: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalalemona. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Nelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

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115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálawaja and the yamalaíemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

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773 182 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological material has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

538 On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

538 /1140 cont./ audience in the least. It is enough to be entertained in lively fashion, and they direct their whole attention only to what is being offered at the moment.

Inasmuch as everyone present is all attention -- common decency demands this of our Fuegians -- a particular statement will sometimes move another old person to such an extent that he will interject his own thoughts into a brief pause by the storyteller. Occasionally his account then goes on at such length that no one is concerned any longer with the first man's story. Thus it may happen that even large sections of a particular myth which was started remain incomplete.

One must not overlook the fact that personal experiences and actual occurrences, if they are described by someone in lively discourse, are far more joyously received and animatedly discussed than the material of a myth which is, after all, familiar. Deep in his heart the Yamana wants to shine in front of others; he wants to count for a great deal among his kind. Hence he makes an effort to offer his own account as effectively as possible to his audience, to give it brilliant form by his choice of expressions, to spice it with surprising additions. Sometimes one has the impression that someone is beginning some small part of a legend with the conscious intent of using it as a pretext for recounting a personal experience, which takes incomparably more time, /1141/ in order to avoid the suspicion among his listeners that he is obtrusive or greedy for recognition and fame. If one put together the individual pieces of an evening of storytelling in any of the Yamana huts, he would come up with a strange conglomeration.

One must realize that the content and form of the material presented take their particular slant, that is, their actual individual coloring, from the personal qualifications of the storyteller. This is clearly shown in the undisguised preference of the people for one storyteller over another. If they see that he is in a good frame of mind, the happily excited neighbors are drawn to him and their eyes light up expectantly. They listen to his words for hours with untold enjoyment. Afterward individual persons will exchange their impressions and their opinions about a whole evening's recital and about the ability of the storytellers. They were quite frank about naming for me the men whom they like to hear

/1141 cont./

537 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will relate a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for storytelling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it manfully, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 568).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose parts of the little hut, heedless of /1141/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If stars happened to [539] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

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/1142 cont./

124 113 The material in the following pages probably constitutes the entire treasure of myths that has been at the disposal of our Fuegians since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 17 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fuegians for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fuegian women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Yamana I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also narrated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Yamana have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

113 151 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fuegians have been only cursorily described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no European will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be either consciously combined nor linked together without any ape. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fuegians, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

/1142 cont./

113 153 reality of each day is of decisive importance. /1142/ Moreover, those remote events are completed episodes and accomplished facts. The Yamana clearly and definitely separate them from everything that Yoälox introduced and from what the principal persons of the individual legends undertook. The Fuegian is reminded of their achievements almost daily without any effort on his part. Important inventions and significant regulations are attributed to the younger Yoälox and some of his brothers and sisters, but they were not predominantly active in the formation of the universe. The Yamana also say that the earth was destroyed; after that orderly conditions again developed.

113 As was just mentioned, the individual short narratives do not form a continuous, well-ordered whole. It is quite likely that in recent times small connective pieces have been lost. I personally, however, consider it probable that the quite large gaps have existed since ancient times. I base my conclusion chiefly on statements to this effect by a few old people. I am also guided by my experience among the Selk'nam who up to the present time have preserved an imaginative conception of the origin of the universe in its final form, which is more or less complete, as well as rich in content. If the Selk'nam succeeded in preserving their ancient tales as complete, coherent units, why should the Yamana, who did not allow themselves to be robbed of many another heritage, have lost important connective portions? The fragmentary pieces that the Yamana do possess, however, will be valuable for a comparative study of myths if they can be related to some extent to the legends of other peoples.

1. Heaven and Earth

The Selk'nam are superior to the Yamana insofar as they recognize in the person of Kenós the creator of the visible world, who functions under the direction of the Supreme Being (Vol. I, 570) and who is therefore on a par with the redeemer as he appears in other mythologies. Our Fuegians regard their homeland as an accomplished, given phenomenon: they do not ask and do not

/1143 cont./

113 say how it originated. To this extent Bridges (b):236 is right: "The natives preserve no tradition about their past history, nor do they know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/. I repeatedly noted, however, that the lack of clarity and the ignorance about the early beginnings of their forefathers were by no means accepted indifferently by a few men who seemed to be more meditative. They more or less perceptibly feel the lack of this knowledge, and they actually concern themselves with such problems in their reflections. They are impelled solely by the general logical demand for an adequate explanation of the tangible reality that presents itself to them. They do not, however, express their own conclusions. They are prevented from doing so by their respect for the /1144/ ancient body of thought handed down to them; they would regard analyzing it or supplementing it on the basis of their own meditations as extremely improper. Hence, amplification or reconstruction of the mythological conceptions could not be achieved, and they have been full of gaps from ancient times, even though they were the object of reflection by many persons.

In the following I am offering the few individual conceptions still held by one or another old Yamana. They tell each other these bits which are limited but significant in content. Bridges (b):206 wants to deny this, unjustifiably, when he maintains: "They have no tradition about their origin. For them the world has always been what it is and will continue to be the same" /translated from Spanish/. Unfortunately, these details do not supplement each other to form a complete picture. They are only fragments which I was able to gather on various occasions. I arranged them in the order presented here according to their content.

a. The First Settlers

The events in the so-called myth of the upheaval are sometimes vividly contemplated in the minds of our Yamana. It must seem surprising that they associate the first appearance of actual people with that strange legendary material. The myth describes a great migration from the northern part of Isla Grande

/1164 cont./

173 southward to the north shore of Beagle Channel and thence westward to the region of Tyaaniga where these wanderers settled down forever (Goulette [Mb] 1957). Quite apart from this long story, I was told:

"In very remote times many families came from the east and wandered to this region where we Tamata have since lived. They settled down right here. Immediately they began building their canoes, making weapons and all kinds of implements to hunt otter, sea lions, and birds, to gather mussels and crabs. Since then the Tamata have remained here."

It should be noted that these people were said to have come on foot and that they did not begin building their bark canoes until they were here in the present-day Tamata territory. My informants naturally assumed that the Tyalun family also arrived in this region in connection with that large group. The Tyalun brothers themselves showed the other men how to make the various implements and how to handle the weapons. At the same time the sun-man, Lêm, arrived with his family which included his brother Aiyuis, the rainbow, whose wife is Hênaga, the moon-woman. In January, 1800, I was assured by my aged informants that in this group of migrating families Tyalun-chenegûs /1165/ made her superior influence felt and that she played a decisive role. She enjoyed a very privileged position and commanded the other women who, in turn, dominated their own husbands. Two years later when the long myth of the origin of the Lêm observance was told, this Tyalun-chenegûs was no longer mentioned. The real significance of this woman lies in her close relationship to her two brothers, the above-mentioned Tyalun. The latter also were not mentioned in the myth of the origin of Lêm.

These groups of roving families who settled in the present home of the Tamata are not regarded as actual human beings, but are thought of as personalities of a unique nature and being. They are regarded as the Ishshinaga who were the first to establish all kinds of things in this place, but who afterwards either climbed up to the canopy of heaven or changed themselves into animals. They form a separate small circle of significant or superior personalities who exist completely apart from those figures presented in all the actual myths. These first men are given sole credit for

/1141 cont./

only for being the first to settle in this region, but also for many a special achievement which has become significant and decisive for the actual human beings who followed. The Seli'taava (Vol. I, 896) evoke a similar distinction and definite separation of the two very different groups.

β. The Older Sun-Man

One Forgiano makes a very definite distinction between the once mighty and violent Tāvwaiko, the old sun-man, and his son Likn, the god of the day. Both, so the story goes, came to this country long ago together with that large company of fine settlers. These two personalities differ from one another in every respect. The following story is told about the old sun-man, Tāvwaiko or Tāvwiko.

"At that time among the Israelites who first arrived here, there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only unfriendly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his one thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone despised him. As a result, he became even more furious and tried even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was extraordinarily powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in high indignation he had everything burned up that lay within his domain. At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is today. At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to boil, for he persisted a great heat wave to descend and all the leaves burned up. After that the communal cups were empty and bare and have remained so to this very day. All this happened because in his repentive anger he sent the great heat.

"From the start Tāvwaiko was very repulsive to everybody, but after that /1142/ they obviously hated him. They not only hated and shunned him, but all his nearest relatives as well. His whole family was avoided and despised by all the people, for every member of that family behaved unkindly and was bent on hurting other people. Only Likn, son of old Tāvwaiko, was a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely benevolent toward all the rest of the people. He was an excellent hunter and

L. Centolo--1150 S-6 (1959-1964) 1977 DOE Tahgan DOE

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was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

*The wiyinen (71) does deliberated a long time in secret.

71. One must recall that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the present compare Centolo (July 28).

Finally they decided to resolve dissensions and Thrownlike. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval at the time of the winiyen that they also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Thrownlike.

The Tewanna repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Tewanna tell the following. "A long time ago all the ihkuf of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Tonnaqiut (72). There these ihkuf

72. The Tewanna use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the grace of hell, hiliuka. Once mighty Thrownlike quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the ihkuf left that region. Afterward, when Thrownlike himself also left that region, it did cool off.

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At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tāruwalēm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lēm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ Y. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tāruwalēm and Lēm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lēm (73).

> 73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lēm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lēm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

/1147 cont./

"His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name. Lẽm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus belcheri), wémarkípa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wíyen (Anas cristata), the gull kiwágu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kímoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wípatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čílawájakípa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wẽsána. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lẽm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yẽxalẽm who constantly follows his father.

"Lẽm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry, friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yájaašága he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kína of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kína secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lẽm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yẽxalẽm, son of Lẽm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

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773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

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74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

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brilliant colors. Beautiful Hánuxa is his wife."

The combination Akáinix wátuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akáinix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxēakuxipa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akáinix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yékamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kīna in Yáiaašága. Old Akáinix was permitted to enter the large kīna hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akáinix approached the kīna hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akáinix was already standing inside the kīna hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akáinix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to; each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

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T13 821 amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here from the south and they were taking part in the kína in order to hide their real purpose. Akā́jnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́jnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man.' Akā́jnix was, after all, a capable yéčkamuš.

"The kína celebration was over and all the people left the great hut. Each family again turned homeward. Akā́jnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́jnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hánuxéakuxípa, and all his daughters painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́jnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́jnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́jnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašemóina. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́jnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́jnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

1/1 [Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

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773 821 enough. The wife and sisters of Akā́inix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akā́inix was not dead and would take full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and lúux, sékuš and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akā́inix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akā́inix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akā́inix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akā́inix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akā́inix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akā́inix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akā́inix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

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773 821 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: "Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yékamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́i, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́i (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171]

77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yékamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yékamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kīna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kīna celebration. The Yamana designation Akā́jnix obviously corresponds to Akā́inix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akajnix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

ε. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hā́nuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hānuxēakuxīpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akā́jnix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kīna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yoā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa had precedence, Hā́nuxa always had an influential part in the kīna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hā́nuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

> 79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maʃemikens: "Hā́nuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

/1152 cont./

773 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over
821 this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yáiaašága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

/1153 cont./

773 821 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradually she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hámuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

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82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akáinix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

5. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1154 cont./

113 contained a pair of Fuegians, small ones, completely like those of today, who procreated very large men, and later, these giants procreated little people, like the present-day Fuegians. Then a dispute broke out between the big people and the little people, the latter killing and destroying the former and thus remaining the single race that we know today. It is seen, then, that these tribes...have a conception of a deluge" /translated from Spanish/. Aside from the mere mention of a universal deluge, I can only be strongly suspicious of this whole account, for I did not come across similar ideas there. Bridges (a):211 expresses himself more reliably: "They have a tradition of the flood...Their tradition of the deluge is very whimsical and indistinct. The sun was submerged in the sea, the waters rose tumultuously, and all lands were submerged, save a lofty mountain where a few individuals had taken shelter" /cited in English/. According to Martial:213, the Yamana explain that universal flood: "by the fall of the sun into the sea; there it has remained and has left, as a sign of its passage on earth, only a small lake which one can still see near Ushuaia. This is sufficiently verified in their eyes by the presence of whalebones found in this lake which is actually about ten meters above sea level. The preservation of the human species was assured by the escape of one man and one woman who with their canoe found refuge on a high mountain" /translated from French/. The important thing in this description is that the deluge is linked with the general upheaval, even though this connection is not very clear. Even Spears:76 has this to report: "They had a tradition that in by-gone years a great flood raised the waters to the level of certain lines on the mountains, to which they point the traveller" /cited in English/. It is true, certain marks on a few mountain peaks, which our Yamana regard as traces of that universal flood, constantly remind them of the old myth, and they mention it to everyone to whom they point out these mountains. I myself experienced this several times and was thus made familiar with the basic ideas of that story.

Old Whaita, in 1919, was the first who told me: "The moon-woman Hanuxa caused the great flood. This was at the time of the general upheaval in Yáiaasága. Hánuxa was filled with

/1154 cont./

113 hatred toward human beings, most of all toward the men who had gained control of the kina of the women. At that time everybody drowned with the exception of those few who were able to escape to the five mountain peaks to which the water did not rise. Scarcely had the great flood subsided when those few people came down from the mountain peaks to the /1155/ shores of our channels, and our country became populated anew." Concerning this description more reliable informants would not concede that the great flood was caused by the moon-woman.

Nevertheless, another version noted by Cojazzi:105 clearly speaks in favor of it: "A Yahgan tribe near Ushuaia narrated that the moon once fell into the sea, causing the water to rise so high that only the top of a mountain stood out, on which the swifter men and animals saved themselves. When the moon later returned to the sky, the water receded and then the men and animals, descending from the mountain, found in the lagoon below a dead whale which they ate" /translated from Italian/. Still another version is related to this one: "This legend is told somewhat differently by the other Yahgan west of Harbertón. Some men and animals did not save themselves on top of a mountain, 'but on Cable Island which, detached from the bottom of the sea, floated like a big boat (83) until, when

83. Here a motif is repeated which was mentioned earlier in Outes (g):54 (see p. 1113.

the moon returned to the sky, it became rooted again to the bottom of the sea" /translated from Italian/.

In January, 1920, I heard the following version from Alfredo, Charlin, and Richard in the presence of a few young men: "The very touchy Lexuwakipa (84) was offended by human

84. This refers to the strong, rust-colored spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis.

beings. In revenge she caused a great deal of snow to fall. A huge mass of ice finally covered the whole earth. When this

/1155 cont./

773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yáasáága, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kína. -- In this connection see Lexuwakípa wátuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 823 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Usíaka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wémarwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwáratulera in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wélalánux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Piatulera, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1156 cont./

773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 776 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly: "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lëxuwakipa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Watayinëiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lëxuwakipa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Watayinëiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Watayinëiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Watayinëiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Maëmikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Maëmikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Watayinëiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

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173 The Yamana have not preserved a consistent text of the myth of the deluge, although nothing has been changed in the basic idea. Fred Lawrence also realized that there was some uncertainty, and he once told me that since childhood he had observed that this myth was never told consistently and with the same words by the various individuals. There were always small deviations. He himself, therefore, has never been clear about whether the general conflagration when the old sun-man was nearer the earth and let everything burn up and the great flood coincided approximately in point of time. Refer to the Selk'nam for comparison (Vol. I, 418). They, too, have a myth of a deluge which has a corresponding basic idea, but which is not clear in some parts.

η. Origin of These Personalities

The myths state quite clearly that the first settlers of the present-day Yamana region immigrated as adults. They do not say anything, however, about their origin, that is, their point of departure and how they came into being. The actual process of giving birth was first introduced by Yoŋlioŋ and since then there have been real human beings, but the Yamana have no clear idea how those first heroes or pre-humans originated. This makes the distinction between the two groups all the more definite.

One day when I asked knowledgeable Maŋemikem how those personalities of former times had happened to come into the world, he paused to think seriously for some time and then replied: "This is not the first time that I have been faced with that question. As a young man I was admitted to the kina; there I was told [in the myth of the upheaval] how all the animals originated. Since then I have now and then asked myself, as well as others, especially the famous yékamuŋ and experienced old men, about how those people originated [who afterwards transformed themselves into animals] and why they came here, but no one knew the answer. So I am not clear about it to this day, although I have thought about it for a long time and have often sought an answer to this question. At that time Tkowallim

/1197 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Tamana about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1933, among a group of old /1198/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heaven and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Watauinéiwa made all the animals (bif) in Yéaaldge. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Watauinéiwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Watauinéiwa always stayed. Such in the days when Lêm and Hêmaxa and Akkinix were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Watauinéiwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the
133 men. But we do not know how children came into being in those days, since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad copulam perficiendam /to facilitate coitus/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal (Arctocephalus australis) discovered the place [on the body] where the libido sexualis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: "Vir incubus immittat membrum suum mulieri succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!" Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Tamana do the same thing. We do not know how Lêm and Hêmaxa and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Watauinéiwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kêne game down here from

/1158 cont./

173 the north, Lêm with all the rest of his family rose up to heaven where they are still standing. At that time a woman tried to see if she could transform herself and turn into Hapčélla. She tried for a long time and finally succeeded. Since then she stays under the earth. We cannot explain how she managed to do this. After that this woman produced many other Hapčélla, and always when she slept with a man. She herself chose the man with whom she wanted to sleep, aroused him [libidine sexuali], and thus a child came into being."

This story clearly emphasizes a difference between those personalities who appeared as the first settlers of the Cape Horn region and the actual Yamana who followed them. The Fuegians do not know how the former originated. After the seat of libido sexualis and the union of the sexes per copulam was discovered, conception and birth take place, children originate, and they are the actual human beings who are separate from the earlier heroic personalities and who represent a later people of this region.

/1159/ 2. The Culture-Bearers

The picture of the world that the above-mentioned myths describe is limited. The Yamana are far more concerned with the details of how their own way of life and their material possessions came about. The extraordinarily significant inventions and important rules for community life which form the basis of the uniqueness of these Fuegians are traced back to the Yoálox family, the members of which must be recognized as culture-bearers in the fullest sense of the word. The youngest member of this family is outstanding and more influential than his brothers and sisters.

In general the Yamana are proud of the Yoálox family because it achieved great things and brought so much. The younger Yoálox is not a popular personality; he is purposely mentioned only rarely among adults. The young people become acquainted with him only when they mature. The ulwáia in the čiéxar are told about this family in detail. For example, the adults will say: "Yoálox told us how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" They are referring to the traditional habits of life and the moral precepts.

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113 With these words they wish to show how influential he is himself and how significant everything is that he introduced. He is clearly identified as the bearer of the decrees that Watauinéwa himself issued to the Yamana. This intermediary position, however, has no effect in practical life. Girls learn about him on the occasion of their menarche (p.575). The complete set of Yálloy stories is repeated in the kina.

In view of this it is not strange that earlier travelers did not hear a word about these mythological personalities. Spencer:101 was the only one to whom very brief hints were given: "Yoolish, a Yahgan, was a woman who invented arrow-heads. Two brothers and a sister. Brothers used to kill seal with pointed stick. Sister thought and invented arrow-head. Since one day put arrow-head at end of spear. When she died, Yálloh went up to heaven, and is now a star" /cited in English/. During long conversations with the oldest men, I learned the following which I have arranged freely in my own fashion. Women avoid speaking of him out of marked aversion.

C. The Yoalox Family

The Yamana all agree that the two Yálox brothers are quite superior personalities, extraordinarily intelligent and skilful in every respect, endowed with rich gifts of invention and full of the urge to do things. This is far more true of the younger Yálox who excels his older brother in every respect. "Their older sister, Yálox-éreuŋpa, was actually the cleverest person of all. She had great influence on her two brothers and stood by them in everything, for she was highly gifted and very skillful, extraordinarily capable in all things. There are two more sisters (p.1144), but no /1160/ one remembers their names or what they did." The mother of them all (p.875) is likewise mentioned, but not the father.

On a number of occasions I was emphatically assured that the members of the Yálox family "are the first human beings." A first settlement has been mentioned above (p.1100). It consisted of creatures which became stars and animals. If to this

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113 connection the expression "ten human beings" is again mentioned, it is merely to show that the Yaḷing were present before the age of actual human beings. These Yaḷing are not regarded as human beings in the strict sense of the word, but they are not associated with the personalities grouped around Ibo. It seems almost as though the preceding age had come to a close, and the Yaḷing for their part inaugurate with their appearance a new type of existence as preparation for the actual, true human beings.

Then the story goes on. "The Yaḷing family took long journeys throughout the wide world before they finally came here where the Tsimshi live today. Here, then, they began all kinds of work. When soon the [actual] human beings appeared who were born here [on the spot], the Yaḷing taught them how they should arrange everything, what attitude they should have toward one another, and how they should associate with one another. The Yaḷing also showed people all kinds of implements, utensils, weapons, and tools and taught them to handle all these things successfully. They were, after all, very capable men; that is why they invented the various weapons and tools which we use nowadays in hunting and fishing, in gathering, and in killing animals. They also showed how animals are to be cooked in the water and on land, the great whales and sea lions, the otters and foxes, the many birds, the shellfish and crustaceans, how to skin them and make the skin serviceable, how to use and prepare the bones. All this the Yaḷing invented and transmitted to human beings. Yaḷing-Grandson was the cleverest, and the youngest brother, in turn, far surpassed the older one. They prove that a younger brother is often more capable and cleverer than his older brother."

All the Tsimshi are in complete agreement about the description of the personal set forth here. The stories that follow are more or less well known to every adult Tsimshi.

β. The Invention of Fire

113 It is said: Once the older Yaḷing collected many small
35 stones and assisted himself by hitting them against one another. Among them there was also a good [illegible] (p. 39). When he hit

/1181 com./

this against another stone, a small spark shot out. Surprised at this, he hit them stones together several times and each time /1181/ sparks shot out. Hastily he seized a handful of dry-feathers. He placed them on the ground. Once more he began striking a spark from the flints. He placed himself in such a way as to hit the stone from a certain direction so that the spark leaped into the dry-feathers. They began to glow, caught fire, and once a small flame leaped up. They quickly brought bark and wood and put it all on top. Then a big fire started. It gave a most comfortable warmth. It felt good to sit beside the fire during the day and to sleep beside it at night. The fire also proved useful for many other things. It helped roast the bows, dry the skins, and bend pieces of bark and sticks or straighten them out.

Highly pleased, the elder [illegible] cried out. "The fire is exceedingly beneficial and does many things. Let it keep it burning constantly, so that it will never go out. Once lighted, may it go on burning by itself so that human beings will have no trouble using it. They should not have to make an effort to re-kindle it every time [in every case of need] or keep on feeding it with wood!" The younger [illegible] heard these words, and they put him to a bad humor. He did not at all like what his brother was planning. He immediately replied. "I am not in favor of what you wish. It is much better if people have to exert themselves. Everyone should make an honest effort for the fire and should tend it carefully. Why everyone have to rekindle the fire anew if he has let it go out. Human beings should work!" Immediately he reached for a long stick, poked around in the embers with it, and scattered the smoldering logs. Then the whole fire went out. Since then every fire without exception will go out if it is not commonly and carefully tended. Thus everyone is forced to work.

[illegible] taught human beings how they once light their fire with the flints, how they once fan it and keep it going. Since then a person whose fire goes out once relight it with a great deal of effort. [illegible] wanted to force all human beings to guard the fire with incessant vigilance. Failing this, a person will lose it and will find himself forced to rekindle a new fire with great effort and keep it going.

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8. Hunting Birds

113 The Yamana tell: The two Yaglog went hunting whenever they looked near for food. They always killed birds with their slings. The elder Yaglog found all this too much trouble and he always felt that it was a great chore. One day he said to his brother: "I would like it better if we killed birds merely with a glance: a bird that is given a penetrating look shall immediately fall dead. Let it be that: anyone who needs the meat of a bird shall cast a sharp eye on it and therewith kill it! In this way everyone can /1162/ effortlessly obtain his booty and carry it home!" The elder Yaglog immediately tried it. A few birds happened to be flying overhead. He fixed them with his eye and at the same time willed them to fall to the ground dead. Sure enough, that is what happened; all these birds immediately dropped dead in front of him. The elder Yaglog was pleased beyond measure and said: "From now on it shall always be thus and we shall also teach human beings how to do this: anyone who stares at a bird in order to make it fall dead shall always be successful! In this way we shall save ourselves a lot of bother and trouble, the cumbersome journeys, and many dangers." The younger Yaglog heard these words. He very much disliked his elder brother's plan and opposed it angrily. He replied: "It is much more beneficial for people to make weapons and implements and set out to hunt with them. They should exert themselves and are running when they creep up on birds and surprise them in order to kill them and seize them. It shall be that all must work and make an effort!"

The elder Yaglog was very much put out by his younger brother's words; he did not reply. On the following day he tried again to kill a few birds with a mere glance. A whole flock just happened to be flying above him. Immediately he stared hard at the animals and willed them to fall dead, but they kept on flying, unharmed. Disappointed and displeased the elder Yaglog looked after them. From that time on every human being must run running and effort if he wants to catch birds. Very often the prey escapes the awkward hunter.

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δ. Hunting the Sea Lion

773 It is told: Once the elder Yoálox received a beautifully made harpoon from his elder sister. It proved very serviceable. This weapon never missed its mark. He always obtained booty with it and each time he carried it back in his hand.

One day he again returned home from the hunt, loaded down with a huge sea lion. Although he had killed it with the first blow, he broke his harpoon in doing so and lost it. So the elder Yoálox said to his younger brother: "How convenient it would be if I had a harpoon that I would never lose and that would never break! This is the way it ought to be: at the first thrust the sea lion ought to fall over dead and the weapon immediately return to the hand of the hunter. In this way we should save ourselves and human beings a great deal of trouble and bother. Then we would not have to exert any particular effort to make the harpoon carefully. Everyone would safely and easily obtain fat and meat from the sea lion; otherwise it requires a great deal of effort and cunning to kill a sea lion." The younger Yoálox had heard all this. He very decidedly opposed the proposition /1163/ of his elder brother and angrily replied: "It must never be as you say! It is good for human beings to work and exert themselves. It is very useful that everyone makes his own weapons; he would lose this [this benefit] if we let every man have a harpoon of the kind you propose. There is also some gain when a clumsy, careless hunter breaks his harpoon and forfeits it. May his prey escape if an awkward, bungling man hurls his harpoon badly. Everyone should, after all, make an effort and exert himself!"

The elder Yoálox could not object to these words. This explains why, to this day, the harpoon of a clumsy hunter breaks and is lost if he has not learned to hurl it properly and aim it well, or it remains superficially attached to the back of the sea lion and the animal swims away with it if the hunter has not hurled it powerfully enough. A person who has forfeited his harpoon in this way must simply take the trouble to make a new one.

Later Yoálox-tárnuxipa gave the elder of the two Yoálox other weapons and implements: the firm leather thong made from sea-lion hide, úkeła; the sharp knife made from the shell

/1163 cont./

113 of an edible mussel; the strong bone wedge, íla, with a stone as a hammer (p.111); the strong sling, šáfina (p. 172); the long snare-rod, akámuš (p. 179); and the joined lengths of the snare-line, úfka, for catching birds (p. 178), as well as the rest of the implements. He was greatly pleased with all these things, for whenever he used them, success was his. Hence he longed for nothing more than that all these tools should neither break nor wear out, that they should neither slip out of their owner's hand nor become lost in any other way. His purpose was to save people the trouble of having to make all their implements anew.

These fine plans of the elder Yoálox were very definitely opposed by his brother. The younger Yoálox aimed to make people work. The weapons of every stiff and awkward hunter should break and he should lose them so that he would learn to become skillful. All tools should wear out so that everyone would be forced to make new ones. In this way everyone would be busy. The younger Yoálox followed this plan. Thus to this day no one is spared the trouble of putting effort and attention into all his implements, of always making new ones, and of handling them carefully. He will always be dependent on his tools in his daily occupations; he can under no circumstances do without them.

E. The Invention of the Arrowhead

It is told: Both Yoálox were very adroit craftsmen. They had, after all, taken long journeys throughout the world and thus had become acquainted with many things. /1164/ They were also the first to come here to the territory of the Yamana. Hence they were obliged to make and design the first weapons and tools in such a way that the true Yamana could use them successfully. Their sister, however, the capable Yoálox-tárnuxípa, surpassed her two able brothers in many respects by her clever judgment and far-sighted attitude. She had considerable influence on everyone. She gave instructions to all the other women who willingly yielded to her. The women, in turn, ordered their husbands about in such a way that they complied with their wishes in every respect. The sister of the two Yoálox was really extraordinarily intelligent; she

/1164 cont./

113 surpassed everyone in wise insight, cunning, and talent. Whenever it seemed proper, she would help her two brothers and all the women in their work. At such times they were always very successful and their enterprises brought rich gains.

One day the two Yoálox brothers were working on a yěkuš. Although they were skillful craftsmen and had worked hard all day, the arrowhead did not seem to come out right. They had given it sharp edges that would cut well, but they were unable to fasten the point securely to the shaft. Securing the point to the shaft was obviously most important, for only then would the arrowhead be at all useful. The two Yoálox had rounded the lower edge of the arrowhead; therefore, the cords fastening it could not be secured properly and the arrowhead did not sit firmly in the narrow notch at the upper end of the shaft. Such an arrowhead was useless. They worked hard and tried over and over again, this way and that, to see how the arrowhead could be securely inserted in the shaft. They had already made quite a number of points and tried them out, but they were not satisfied with any of them, for each one fell out very easily because it was rounded. Dissatisfied, they gathered together the many arrowheads in a small basket and hung it up in their hut.

One day the two Yoálox had again gone hunting to get meat for food. When they were far from their hut, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa took down the little basket with the many arrowheads. It had not escaped her notice that her two brothers had toiled without any success whatever. She emptied the basket on the ground in front of her and picked up one arrowhead after another, working them over and perfecting them so that they could be used. At the bottom she fashioned a piece shaped like a stopper by making shallow notches on either side so that the lashing could not slide off. She corrected each of the arrowheads in this way, put them all back in the little basket, and hung it up again in the same place. In the evening her two brothers returned home, but she did not tell them that she had perfected the many arrowheads.

/1165/ Depressed and ill-humored the two Yoálox wanted to resume their work on the arrowheads the next day and see whether they could be securely lashed to the shaft and used. They

/1165 cont./

773 took down the little basket and emptied the many arrowheads on the ground in front of them. Completely surprised, they realized that the arrowheads had been worked over, for each one had a clearly defined stopper-shaped base. With amazement they looked at this change. Immediately they experimented with them; they placed an arrowhead in the notch on the upper end of the shaft and lashed the base with fine tendons. The point now actually fitted securely on the shaft and did not fall out. Now the arrow was serviceable. Then the elder Yoálox cried: "Who do you suppose worked over these arrowheads and made them serviceable?" The younger Yoálox replied: "Only our sister could have done that; after all, she is much more capable and skillful than we are. She succeeds in everything. She is the only one who could have improved these arrowheads and made them useful!" The elder Yoálox agreed with his brother: "Certainly, it is as you say, our sister surpasses us in cleverness and skill. From now on we shall give her all our tools so that she will help us [in making and perfecting them]!" For a long time the two Yoálox were very pleased over these effective arrowheads.

5. The Invention of the Harpoon Point

It is told: A short time after that the two Yaólox began long harpoon points from the bones of the whale. The bones of the whale are longer and harder than those of other marine animals, and so they penetrate deeper and more effectively into their prey. They put such a point on a long shaft and lashed it with a narrow leather band. They immediately went hunting in order to try out the weapon.

When a sea lion came near, they hurled this harpoon at it, but the animal was not killed, only superficially wounded. It quickly escaped by diving under the water, then soon came up again and disappeared far from shore. The superficial wound had not hurt it in the least. The two Yoálox did not succeed in killing a single sea lion with their harpoon. Several times they went out to hunt, but every animal hit by their harpoon was only slightly wounded and escaped without any trouble. Each time the two Yoálox returned home disappointed and without booty. They had

/1165 cont./

113 already lost ever so many harpoons, for if a sea lion was hit the harpoon remained loosely lodged near the surface of its body and it would swim away with it. On such hunts all their efforts remained unsuccessful; the harpoons proved unsuitable.

Annoyed at their many unsuccessful efforts, /1166/ the two Yoáloxˇ one day decided to question their elder sister. They said to her: "Why do you suppose it is that our harpoon hits the sea lion and the point enters its body, but it wounds the animal only slightly? We cannot succeed in killing it and so we ca[illegible]ever lay hands on it. For many days now we have returned home without booty'" The intelligent, understanding Yoáloxˇ-tárnuxīpa replied: "Bring me one of your harpoon points, I should like to examine it carefully." They immediately fetched a bone point and showed it to her. She took it and examined it carefully. This piece tapered to a fine point and had a suitable base at the other end for the lashing, just like the arrowhead that Yoáloxˇ-tárnuxīpa had improved. Hence the harpoon point was securely held in the notch at the end of the upper shaft and firmly lashed. The two sides of the long bone point, however, were smooth from top to bottom. Then Yoáloxˇ-tárnuxīpa cut a large, pointed tooth in one side. When she succeeded in doing that, she looked at the bone point with the utmost satisfaction. Immediately she untied her modesty-apron, mašakána (p. 60), and cut off a long strip of leather. She knotted one end of this around the base of the point, then ran the leather strip along the side of the shaft, and tied it securely below, rolling up the long, free part (Fig. 35). Then she showed her brothers how to handle this harpoon: the right hand grasps the harpoon in approximately the center of the shaft and the left hand holds the long, free part of the leather strip loosely. Yoáloxˇ-tárnuxīpa demonstrated to her brothers how to grasp this harpoon. Then she said to them: "Now try it!"

The two Yoáloxˇ thanked their sister because she had improved their harpoon and showed them how to use it. They left the hut immediately; they wanted to experiment with the harpoon and hunt sea lions. Scarcely had they reached the shore when a mighty animal swam by. The younger Yoáloxˇ grasped the harpoon exactly as his sister had shown him; when he hurled it, he held the free end of the thong securely in his left hand. Sure enough, the bone

/1166 cont./

113 harpoon point penetrated deeply into the back of the sea lion. Instantly it escaped under the surface of the water. It did not go far, however, for the long strap soon became taut and the tooth in the harpoon point tore the wound deeper the harder the sea lion tugged. The shaft had already become detached from the point, but the lower end of it was still held by the leather thong and floated on the surface of the water. The shaft showed Yoálox where the sea lion was. The animal was no longer tugging so hard on the long line, for the deep wound hurt very much and each tug was painful. Slowly the younger Yoálox now drew in line; as it became shorter, the sea lion was drawn nearer to the shore (85). When it was finally lying on land, /1167/ the

85. This gives a detailed account of how this large harpoon works and assures success (p. 161). It shows the amazing skill and cleverness of these Fuegian inventors.

elder Yoálox killed it with a club. With this harpoon they had thus safely and easily caught the first sea lion, which gave them a great deal of fat.

The two Yoálox were almost beside themselves with satisfaction at this success. They spent the whole day hunting sea lions. They collected an undreamed-of amount of booty. It was not until evening that they decided to return to their hut. This time they puffed and panted under the weight of the great amount of meat. Overjoyed, they told their sister about their great success and explained how they had quickly caught each animal and why none had escaped this time.

After that the two Yoálox abandoned all their crafts, for it gave them untold joy to hunt the sea lion with this harpoon. Later they taught all the men how to use the great harpoon. Since then the Yamana use this harpoon with the long leather thong whenever they go to hunt sea lions.

/1167 cont./

η. How Blubber Was Obtained

113 The Yamana tell: The elder Yoálox loved the fat of sea lion and the blubber of whale; they tasted very good to him and he was mad about them. He was anxiously concerned about always having an ample supply of blubber on hand. One day he considered a plan whereby all the water in all the channels, brooks, and lagoons should be transformed into whale blubber and seal fat. This huge mass was to keep uniformly fresh, never spoil or lose its good flavor, and never be used up. He said to himself: "If this could be arranged, people would always have fresh blubber on hand, they could save themselves dangerous journeys and laborious hunts, they would never have to do without this tasty morsel, and life would be much more pleasant!"

He then proposed these plans to his younger brother and tried to win him over, but the latter would not hear of it and refused his brother, saying: "It must never be as you plan. People must constantly be forced to work. Therefore men should go out to hunt. When they have killed whales and seals, the women will prepare the fat; then everybody will partake abundantly of the tasty blubber which will be particularly good after their tiring work. Human beings should not enjoy things without preliminary effort!"

Thus once again the elder Yoálox was obliged to abandon his plan and yield to the decision of his younger brother. Soon afterward the elder Yoálox took a long journey on foot; he grew very hungry and tired. He sat down on a stone and wanted to rest, /1168/ but the earth was swampy and water soon oozed up around his feet. Since he was hungry, the thought occurred to him: "How agreeable it would be if all the water that rises up wherever I or some other person sets foot should immediately turn to blubber. Then everyone would have plenty with which to appease his hunger!" This wish, too, he soon proposed to his younger brother. The latter, however, was annoyed and replied: "It must never be that way! May people suffer hunger if they do not work!" This again made the elder Yoálox sad, and he never realized his wish. This is the reason why, from that time on, hunting for the men and concern by all people about sustenance have been

/1168 cont./

773 inescapable laws. The attitude of the younger Yoálox on numerous occasions clearly shows that younger children are often wiser and more understanding, but also more obstinate, than their older brothers and sisters.

θ. The Beginning of Libido sexualis

The men tell among themselves: One day the younger Yoálox felt great lust, and he tried all kinds of ways of satisfying it. For this purpose he fashioned a human body. In it he put eye sockets and immisit membrum suum magnum /inserted his large member/, but he was not satisfied. Then he made two openings below the nose, but here, too, he felt no pleasure. Then he opened the ear cavities on either side, but he did not find satisfaction in these places. Thereupon he opened a wide mouth, but here, too, he found no satisfaction. He tried to satisfy his lust in other places, namely, the armpits, the breasts, the navel, but he could not find pleasure anywhere. Finally he made an opening between the legs, and here at last he obtained full satisfaction.

Later he taught this to the men. Since then they, too, have known how to satisfy their lust.

ι. The Beginning of Body Painting

It is told: In the beginning the two Yoálox lived only with their sister; neither of them had a wife. After a time they no longer liked being alone all day and sleeping alone at night. Finally they confessed to Yoálox-tárnuxipa: "As you can see, we are all alone here. We do not like living this way any longer. Help us to get a wife soon!" Yoálox-tárnuxipa agreed and promised to help her two brothers.

Then these three considered what they could do. The two brothers had excellent weapons and were very skilled. Hence they always brought home ample booty from hunting /1169/ and lived on the fat of the land. They had large supplies of meat in

/1169 cont./

113 their hut. By contrast, Hulušénuwa (86) was always hard pressed;

86. This is the smaller species of the two Fuegian wrens, Troglodytes hornensis.

he always lacked meat because he had a great many wives. His wives had a great desire to visit the two Yoálox and to gaze at them. Once when Hulušénuwa was again out of meat, he himself decked out each of his wives in extraordinarily fine fashion. He ordered each of them to decorate themselves still more and paint themselves with colors. Then he sent them one after another to the two Yoálox to obtain meat from them. Each of his wives had decorated herself with colors and designs according to her own taste. They were all different and all very beautiful.

This introduced the custom of painting one's face and entire body; people make themselves beautiful in this way and take pleasure in doing so. Since the time when the small Hulušénuwa requested his many wives to decorate themselves with colored designs, the Yamana realize that they are obliged to paint themselves on certain occasions (87). Thus it has become

87. In the discussion which ensued, the following special occasions were mentioned: visits, the menarche, mourning and funeral rites, the youth initiation, and the Kina festival.

an unavoidable custom. The wives of Hulušénuwa have to this day retained the beautiful body painting that they applied at that time. Whenever the men perform the kína, they imitate the colors and designs in the fur and feathers of many animals by painting their own bodies in various ways (88).

88. One must realize, and this was specifically called to my attention in this connection, that all those wives, as well as the two Yoalox, are not considered true human beings. The former changed themselves into birds; the latter, along

/1169 cont./

773 with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K. The Onset of the First Menstruation

773 841 Without delay (89) little Hulušénuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákašakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákašakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Lášixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušénuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: šékuš, kímoa, lúrux, wāsénim, lēkakuta, wípatux, malépa, šánes, wémarkipa, kiwágu, dētēhúrux, čokóa (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

/1170 cont./

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much as the other, the two Yoálox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušénuwa presented themselves to the two Yoálox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoálox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mákuxīpa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušénuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoálox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa said to Mákuxīpa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mákuxīpa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoálox-tárnuxīpa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoálox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mákuxīpa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoálox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoálox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušénuwa waited for his Mákuxīpa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoálox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mákuxīpa!" Little Hulušénuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

/1170 cont./

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The two Yoálox continued to amuse themselves with Mákuxĭpa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoálox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mákuxĭpa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoálox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoálox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mákuxĭpa whisper to the younger Yoálox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /máku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as máku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

/1171 cont./

773 delighted the younger Yoálox. His older brother who was standing
841 outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yoálox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Mákuxípa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yoálox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Mákuxípa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yoálox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Mákuxípa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yoálox eam interrogavit: "Desideraste utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yoálox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Mákuxípa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773 841 So the elder Yoálox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tú·ri! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoálox imposed many other things on Mákuxípa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoálox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoálox-tárnuxípa sat beside Mákuxípa,

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mákuxípa faithfully followed. Finally Yoálox-tárnuxípa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tú·ri!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tú·rikipa tátu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 573.

841 This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoálox brought about for Mákuxípa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

/1172 cont./

of time; it by no means establishes any kind of causal relationship between menstruation and the moon.

the rules that the Yoklog brothers and their sister gave Mbumbipa on this occasion are still valid today and are strictly binding for girls at the menarche. Since that time the vagina mulieris has had its present form, blood still flows during every menstrual period, and every woman finds relief if she observes the well-known regulations faithfully. Thus when a girl's first menstruation appears, she must tell her mother or /1173/ a close relative. Immediately several women take this girl under their special care. They prescribe what foods she may eat and permit her an amount scarcely worth mentioning. They let her have only a little water which the girl must sip through a short hollow bird bone (97) so that she will not get too much. The older women

97. The candidates in the youth initiation drink in the same manner (p.709).

keep this girl extremely active at all kinds of tasks. She must fetch firewood for everybody, carry much drinking water to each hut, and assist other women in all kinds of ways. The girl should stay in her hut during this period and may not leave it without a special reason. Outside she must keep her eyes cast down, not linger anywhere, and generally keep her eyes in check. She may not start a conversation with anyone, much less become involved in quarrels. All the women of the camp watch over the girl carefully and see to it that she is not annoyed by any man. For a month after the first menstruation no man may have intercourse with this girl nor molest her. The mbikipa is obliged to observe these rules very conscientiously for about eight days. Then she gathers a great deal of meat and much fruit, whatever is in season. She prepares a large feast and invites everyone to it. This is the public mbikipa dhu which every girl is obliged to arrange on the occasion of her menarche. During these days she always appears with the facial painting appropriate to this occasion. The women impress upon the girl

/1173 cont./

that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yo'lox and from Yo'lox-chenuipa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mi'kunipa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of K'hola (Polyborus thurus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yo'lox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yo'lox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mi'kunipa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. K'hola was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all these women turned themselves into birds, Mi'kunipa did the same thing and since then she is called Hahuchowakipa.

/1174/ To explain the name Makunipa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet mitiu blossom (Fig. 78).

A. The First Birth

The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yo'lox lived alone with Mi'kunipa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yo'lox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

/1174 cont./

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and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

113 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying; his father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yoʻlox was extremely displeased; it was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yoʻlox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the huts, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yoʻlox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared sternly into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yoʻlox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

99. These words mean: those two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Mékuŕpa died. Since the younger Yoʻlox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

/1174 cont./

113 won Ẓ̌ilawǰakǐpe (she-fox). /1178/ She immediately moved into the hut of Yaḷing and devoted herself to his two sons. Free of anxiety, Yaḷing could now undertake even long journeys.

The she-fox named the two boys Ẓ̌amanǰave. She was very crafty and clever. So she considered a plan to roast the two boys and consume them. At that time Yaḷing was far away; before he returned she could run away and hide in the forest. So she decided to carry out her plan. She told the two boys: "Go into the forest and gather a lot of dry wood; bring it to the hut, we shall kindle a big fire!" The two boys immediately hastened into the woods. But from the very beginning Ẓ̌ilawǰakǐpe had treated the two boys very badly and had made them work a great deal, so both of them were very indignant. They wanted to avenge themselves at last. Instead of gathering dry wood, they picked up green, wet wood and carried this to the hut. The she-fox then tried to light a huge fire with it, but she did not succeed. Angrily she scolded the two boys: "You have brought me green and wet wood; you can't kindle a big fire with that!" The next day she again sent the two boys into the woods to gather dry wood, but again they gathered only green, wet wood and dragged it to the hut. They had noticed that the she-fox was planning something bad, but in their distress they did not know what they could do, for their father was far away on the other side of the channel. They had long since grown tired of having to be with the cranky and ill-tempered Ẓ̌ilawǰakǐpe who pestered them every day with lots of work and besides that sent them into the forest for wood. Purposely they gathered only wet wood. This angered the she-fox each time, and she gave vent to her ill-humor in every conceivable way. The boys had to endure much hardship.

One day Ẓ̌ilawǰakǐpe lay on her pallet and slept very soundly. As quietly as they could, the two boys started a big fire (180),

180. A signal fire like the one actually used by the Tenenna (p. 972.) is meant here.

with which they wanted to summon a canoe. Sure enough, a man soon arrived on the beach. Hurriedly the two boys launched his canoe and asked him to take them to the other shore. He did

/117 cont./

73 so did the two boys get out on the opposite shore. They went on in the direction where they thought their father would be. Suddenly and unexpectedly they came to a wide river. They did not know how to cross it for it was very wide. Then they were seized with great fear that the she-fox would come after them. Their father, Tsilog, however, had already seen them hurrying along from afar. He knew that they were now standing perplexed beside the wide river. He quickly made all the water in the river run off and his two sons reached the other shore without effort. They soon came to the spot where he was sitting. He asked them: "Why /117/ are you following me, what has driven you here?" A mild scare the two sons then told their father how badly they were treated by Clowdzilge, how hard they had to work, how they were sent into the forest every day to gather dry wood, and that they had but little to eat. Then they added. "Scarcely had we climbed into the canoe of that man and had just reached the middle of the channel when we looked back. There we saw Clowdzilge pounce on the corpse of Mikmaqiye and start devouring it! Without doubt she was planning to devour us, too. That is why she sent us into the forest every day where we were supposed to gather short dry wood for a fire in which she wanted to roast us!"

All this made the younger Tsilog very angry. Full of rage, he quickly made a wind. He hurled it at Clowdzilge and she instantly fell dead. From then on the two boys stayed with their father. Meanwhile they had grown up (101).

101. In this story there are several details which are repeated in the story the Seiltsem tell about the two nephews of Kwanyip (Vol. I, 208).

Since that time, however, one sometimes sees a fox dig up human corpses and gnaw at them (102). It is a disgusting animal.

102. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Tsimshe have a definite abhorrence of the fox's habit of gnawing at human corpses. It is also clearly expressed in this story.

/1178 words/

A. The Sister of the Snakes Falls in Love

18 The story goes. The two [illegible] brothers had two sister sisters, but no one remembers their names. These girls took particular pleasure in bathing and playing in the waves. They spent almost every day happily in the waves.

One day these girls approached a large sea lion. They were not in the least frightened by it. In fact, from the start it acted comfortably unaware and offered to play with them. The two sisters were very willing. they crowned themselves for a long time, and finally the elder one became completely enamored of the sea lion. Inconspicuously the two edged away so that the younger sister should not observe their play. Then they caressed each other and played together for a long time under the surface of the water.

The two sisters bathed regularly at the same place. Each time they crossed the water the big sea lion also arrived. Swimming under the surface to come close to the elder sister. This greatly pleased her because she had fallen very much in love with the sea lion. The two inconspicuously edged away from the other girl, they did not want her to notice how they grew themselves up to their pleasure.

They had been zooming for a long time for their love-making, when one day the younger sister asked her elder sister. "What in the world is that big black thing that you are so anxiously covering with your body? /1177/ I see it between your legs. What is it?" The elder sister replied evasively. "What idiot you have! Whatever it is you mean can only be the shadow of my body. There is nothing else!" The younger sister was not content with this reply and probed further. "It doesn't seem seem to me that that black thing is supposed to be your shadow. A shadow is never so black. It has to be something else!" Perturbed, the elder sister replied. "I can't understand what you are imagining. If I assure you that it is my shadow, why won't you believe me!" But the younger sister would not be dissuaded and replied. "It is impossible that that black thing is your shadow! It would be very strange indeed if your shadow always appeared in the water and only under your body." Then the elder sister repeated emphatically. "Trust my words. There is nothing here but my shadow."

/1177 cont./

113 The younger sister realized that further discussion would not lead anywhere, so she simply added: "I cannot believe that that black thing is the shadow of your body, no matter how often you tell me it is!" In spite of all this the two girls continued to go bathing almost every day and each time the elder sister met the little red lion-man.

The elder sister had now been pregnant for a long time. When her condition was far advanced, she finally discussed with the sea lion how she should manage. The sea lion forthwith put the pregnant woman on his back and swam to his cave. There he made her a soft bed and brought a great deal of food. Soon she gave birth to a little boy.

The sea lion was greatly pleased with his son, but after a few days he was seized with great fear. He said to the girl: "If your brothers, the Tsâ'ûnn find out about our illicit intercourse, when they learn that you have given birth to a boy and are staying in my cave, they will become extremely angry and will blame me alone! Then they will lie in wait for me and murder me. It seems to me that it would be best for you to return to your brothers. Tell them how much we like each other, tell them how well we get along and how lively our little son is. Ask them if I may live with them." The girl replied: "Very well, I shall go back to the hut of my brothers and tell them everything. I shall ask them if you may live with them." She unconditionally prepared to depart. The sea lion again took her on his back and they made good progress.

The two Tsâ'ûnn had long since had a strong presentiment of what had happened and what their sister was doing. When the sea lion was near enough to the hut of the Tsâ'ûnn, he sent his wife on alone. He himself remained behind with the little boy. The woman quickly reached the hut of her two brothers and they happened to be at home. She entered and said without embarrassment: "Here are you, my brothers! My husband, the great sea lion, wants me to inquire whether he /1178/ may come here and live with you. He would like to be near you and I, too, would like it very much. But he would only come if you promise not to kill him! He is willing to help you in hunting and in all your work, and he will be a good brother-in-law to you!" Agreeing, the two Tsâ'ûnn replied: "You say the sea lion is your husband.

/1178 cont./

773 Well then, he may come, we shall take him into our hut. We promise not to do him any harm; if he behaves well, we shall not kill him."

The woman was pleased that they gave their consent. She immediately hurried back to the place where she had left her husband with the little boy. When she reached the sea lion, she joyfully told him: "I talked to my brothers. They want me to tell you that since you are now my husband you may come and *live with them. They will not do you any harm or kill you as* long as you behave well." These words reassured the sea lion, and with his wife and child he immediately set out for the hut of the Yoálox. The woman, carrying the child on her back, entered first. The sea lion also tried to enter, but he was too enormous and bulky to pass through the narrow entrance. The two Yoálox first had to take a few poles out of the hut framework at the entrance, and then at last the sea lion squeezed inside. He was extraordinarily large. The two Yoálox assigned to him and his wife the place opposite the entrance as their sleeping place. These two then made themselves at home there as though they were in their own hut.

Early the next day the sea lion got up and hurried out to sea to fish. Sure enough, he soon brought back large fish, mussels, and crabs in great quantities. This was plenty for his wife and for his two brothers-in-law. Now they never had a shortage of anything, for on his own initiative the sea lion willingly set out to sea again and again and dragged back great quantities of meat.

One day the Yoálox brothers sent the two women who were living in their hut, the wife of the sea lion and Mákuxípa, far away (103). Only the two Yoálox and the sea lion stayed behind.

103. Chronologically, this incident would have to come before the story told on p. 1144.

Before the two women left the hut, the wife of the sea lion took particularly fond farewell. As she did so, the sea lion whispered to her: "In case you should hear me roaring loudly and painfully, come back quickly. It could be that your brothers intend to kill me. Then I would need your help. So come back quickly if I

/1178 cont./

113 roar loudly!" She assured her husband: "I shall pay careful attention! However, I am sure my brothers will not do you any harm."

For their part the two Yoálox had secretly told Mákuxípa: /1179/ "When you have gone far away from here with our sister and you then hear the sea lion roaring loudly and painfully, reassure her and say to her: 'It seems that the three men in our hut are amusing themselves very much with games and pranks; they must be extremely merry and happy, that is why the sea lion is roaring so loud out of sheer exuberance!' In any case you must keep our sister there by all means and not let her come running back here to the hut. We are planning to murder the sea lion as soon as possible. That is why we are sending you two far away." Mákuxípa understood all this very well. So the two women left the hut and set out for the distant point where they were to accomplish their errand.

Soon afterward, the two Yoálox resumed their daily work. They sat down in front of the hut and readied their big harpoons. The sea lion, too, left the hut to go fishing. He hurried down to the beach. It was a beautiful day and the sun was very hot. Soon the sea lion became tired and sleepy. He stretched out on a big stone on the shore and fell into a deep sleep. At once he began to snore and gradually his snoring became so loud that the two Yoálox heard it, for they were sitting in front of their hut. Immediately one of the brothers encouraged the other: "Now is the time to kill the sea lion. He is surely sound asleep for he is snoring mightily. Let's attack him now without delay! Besides, we are out of blubber for greasing the big harpoon. We have always used the fat of snails, but seal blubber is much better. That sea lion is unusually fat, he will give considerable blubber and meat. It will certainly pay to attack him!" The other brother was very much in favor of this plan. Quickly they went back into the hut; they wanted to consult their mother as to whether they should kill the sea lion. They said to her: "Mother, we are tired of oiling our harpoons with the fat of snails. It seems to us much better to kill that fat sea lion and remove the abundant blubber he has; we could oil our harpoons with it from now on!" This proposal did not suit the mother at all, and she complained loudly:

/1179 cont./

113 "Alas, what you plan to do does not please me. The sea lion always brought me many fish, and big ones of the kind I like best. If you murder him, there will be no one to supply me with many tasty fish. Besides, this sea lion is really good and willing to help!" The two Yoálox became angry at their mother's words and replied: "Certainly, what you say is true, this sea lion is really good and willing to help, but after all he is only an animal and not a human being like us. If we murder him, we shall have his abundant meat and fat. What a huge amount it would be! You, too, shall eat a great deal of it, for his meat is tastier and more succulent than that of fish and mussels. You will surely like the taste of it. We shall /1180/ let you have plenty so that for a long time you will be well provided for." The mother finally gave in and said: "Very well! Do as you like; murder the sea lion, I shall not prevent it any longer."

Then the two Yoálox quickly fixed their harpoon shafts and fastened the sharp bone points to them with the long line (Fig. 35). Cautiously and silently they crept up to the sea lion who was still sleeping soundly and snoring mightily. Then they lifted their harpoons high and took aim, hurling them with all their might. They did this so skillfully that the weapons penetrated far into the huge body of the sea lion and wounded him almost to the heart. The sea lion woke up in pain and knew he was badly wounded and near death. Then, with all his remaining strength, he gave a loud roar, full of pain, just as he roars today when he collapses, mortally wounded. He roared so loudly and so long that the two women far away could hear him distinctly. "Alas," the wife of the sea lion lamented to Mákuxípa, "do you hear how loudly and pitifully my husband is roaring? He is surely calling me to help him, for the two Yoálox are now murdering him. I shall quickly run to the hut and see if he needs me!" Mákuxípa tried to hold her back and to reason with her: "How can you think such things? The two Yoálox are surely playing with the sea lion; all three of them are surely happy and in high spirits, that is why the sea lion is laughing so loudly. Don't worry and just stay here with me, later we'll go back to the hut together." But the wife of the sea lion would not go a step farther; instead she kept urging that they go home and the other one realized that she could not hold her back.

/1180 cont./
113 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Mákuxīpa kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Yoálox had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the huge animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed these pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Yoálox had left its little son alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out; he sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Yoálox now saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this roast was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Yoálox gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1181/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and comfortably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken. Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin clung to his head. That is
[825] the sūna (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in those waters. The Yamana do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1181 cont./

113 pieces of meat hanging on short sticks to roast near the fire. All around the fire on the ground lay other parts of the dismembered sea lion, all cut up for roasting: the head, the flippers, the abdominal parts, the sides, the back. She gazed in horror on the dismembered body of her husband. She was overcome with boundless sorrow; in her despair she sat down and wept bitterly. No one spoke a word to her. Her two brothers, the Yo̯álox, remained outwardly quite calm and unobtrusive; they gave no sign that anything unusual had happened. They kept on cutting up the meat and watched the roast near the fire. Mā́kuxīpa also remained very quiet.

Finally after some time the two Yo̯álox asked their sister: "Where is your little son? He was sitting outside in front of the door. Why doesn't he come in?" Excited and sad at the same time the woman replied: "When I came back I saw the little one sitting outside in front of the hut. To my horror I realized that he was eating the meat of his own father. Then I was seized with anger and lost control of myself. I took a sea urchin out of my little basket and hurled it at the boy's head; then he went into the water."

When the two Yo̯álox learned what had happened to the boy, they were very angry at their sister. Infuriated, they seized the pieces of meat of the sea lion which were lying all around the fire on the hearth. First they took the front part of the head with the snout and threw it at their sister's feet; mockingly they cried: "Here you have the mouth which spoke to you of love and covered you with kisses!" Then they seized the flippers, tossed them at their sister, and said insolently: "Take these flippers which embraced you and touched you lustfully." Then they threw the back at her feet and cried angrily: "Here you have the back, too, on which you sat and on which the sea lion carried you to his cave." /1182/ Finally the two Yo̯álox seized the large abdominal part of the sea lion, hurled it on the ground in front of their sister, and cried scornfully: "Now you shall also have the part with which the sea lion aroused and satisfied your lust!" The woman was speechless and beside herself with horror. She did not even dare look at the pieces of meat, much less touch them.

/1182 cont./

773 A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mákuxīpa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

V. Dying Is Introduced

773 761 It is told: The mother of the two Yoálox finally grew old and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired, she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yoálox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yoálox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yoálox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all, for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yoálox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yoálox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

773 761 and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoálox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoálox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agréement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 588).

In Vol. I, 589, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1923, old Maŝemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoálox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 761 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoálox wept bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoálox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoálox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoálox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoálox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

§. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoálox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoálox-tárnuxípa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoálox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoálox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoálox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

/1184 cont./

among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the Yoā́lox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoā́lox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūā̄lux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūā̄lux-dāranakakīpa [our tā́rnuxīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connection between the Yoā́lox family and Watauinēiwa; in fact, the two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoā́lox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watauinéiwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoā́lox are introduced to the uswā́ala in the čiéxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoā́lox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoā́lox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watauinēiwa, such as, for example, Temáukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenós (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoā̄lox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watauinéiwa, the activity of the Yoā́lox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

/1185 cont./

773 776 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there is any close relationship between the Yoáloxˇ family and Wataúinēˇjwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoáloxˇ took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yáˇjaaˇšáˇga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoáloxˇ had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoáloxˇ participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoáloxˇ with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoáloxˇ-táˇrnuxīˇpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoáloxˇ also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoáloxˇ introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yáˇmana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoáloxˇ brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very

773 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
776 of points of agreement between the Yoáloxˇ brothers and the
171 Kwáˇnyip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

/1185 cont./

773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watayinéiwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1278 cont./

776 actual spirit that is familiar elsewhere. Hence it is unnecessary to define the concept specifically. They use the word kéšpix primarily and directly for the nature of the human soul (p. 1033) and Watauineiwa (p.1068) and designate with it an independent, active, incorporeal being. Beyond these narrow limits, they use kéšpix also for those beings that their own imaginations, their superstition, have created, which appear in their dreams and fantasies as so-called apparitions. These beings, therefore, do not have actual existence or substantial reality. The Yamana distinguish several groups of such so-called spirits very distinctly, according to their nature, activity, and abode. Accordingly, one group has more importance than another. Their relationship and contacts with them are such that the Yamana fear and avoid these groups of spirits, for it is only as an exception that one of them is kind and friendly toward human beings. A Fuegian never worships or actually venerates them.

These general ideas are found in Bridges (k):237, and Cojazzi:106 repeats them verbatim: "They believed in the existence of spirits or souls that could become visible at night but were not tangible. These spirits were malevolent, and the natives associated them with sickness and death. They used the word cashpick [kéšpix], soul, as qualifier...But the natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being" /translated from Spanish/. Elsewhere Bridges (e):332 and (i):15 adds: "Although the Yahgans had no religion, they had all kinds of superstitions. They believed in spirits who had the /1279/ form of human beings, but not their nature. They imagined that these creatures lived in caves in the woods and they believed that they hated and killed everyone who came too close to them...Persons from time to time believed they had seen these spirits and gave account of the apparition" /last sentence cited in English/. According to Bridges (h):209, there are several groups of spirits: "The Yahgans believed in apparitions, as well as in many supernatural beings, and in the existence of wild men in the woods" /translated from Spanish/. All these kéšpix however, are always distinctly different from living human beings and from the human soul after death because of their strange and peculiar nature (238).

238. This means, as Bridges (i):15 says:

/1279 cont./

776 [578]

"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kĕ́pix is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

776 778 If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word kĕ́pix he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Wataninéjwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kĕ́pix to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word fūkŏ̆pigŏna, "to say a person is cushpik [kĕ́pix] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kĕ́pix, that is, the definite kĕ́pix which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Malemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

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776 778 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kĕlpíx of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiéxaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kĕlpíx, in short, as kĕlpíx.

[756] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yĕkamuł. Even the power by means of which a yĕkamuł operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kĕlpíx.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kĕlpíx. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Rotkoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

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implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun is hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kíkpix is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kíkpix must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asúan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called inanumála, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asúan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI,289;1884) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

/1280 cont./

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strenuously deny any such commition among themselves" /cited in English/. Hyades (b): 1346 and (g):301, on the other hand, definitely asserts: "There are no traditions of anthropophagy" /translated from French/. If he means by this that the Yamana themselves do not practice cannibalism, he is perfectly right (p. 288 /untranslated/).

of solid /1281/ construction, which accommodate many men. Because all of them now, the canoe moves with extraordinary speed. The aniwa invade Yamana territory only at night. Anyone they catch at that time is dragged off and devoured. They take advantage of the dark so that they will be successful and meet no resistance. During the day they stay within their boundaries or hide in a sheltered spot in the territory of the Yamana until night falls, for only under its protection do they carry out their surprise attacks. Not only the western group but all the Yamana live in constant dread of the aniwa, precisely because they come up very swiftly and then depart again. They are also called wihapeyu, "murderers" (cf. SD:618), because they murder and eat anyone who falls into their hands. A third designation, Hayánana-yámana, "the people in Hayanandi," is derived from a myth (p. 1162). It is also pronounced "Apanandi" (p. 363 /untranslated/).

Even the young Bridges (a):207 came across traces of this belief. "Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practised by some people far to the westward, whom they call Hayánánánándi" /cited in English/. Later he (b):237 wrote more explicitly: "They believe in the existence of certain murderers in the west, called aniwa, attributing to them wondrous powers and a fabulous wickedness. They supposedly wander at night, traveling in fast and strongly built canoes, with the object of killing anyone they meet. It is said that they conceal themselves with trickery in such a way that they could never be found, but stories tell of this one and that one who, having seen them at night, succeeded in escaping from them" /translated from Spanish/ (Ed).

[946. Likewise Bridges (f):16, Dahlmann

186 /1281 cont./

(h):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of aaksiũ, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):30 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asaryu, or Ayamamuiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sioiange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asaryu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):254 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the hut, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, cooking them over the fire" /translated from French/.

186 773 Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanfulum wiruwa, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanfulum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noticed that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in Wiruwa (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

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western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 255 /unrevised/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall may have and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a *yékamuš*. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hoyowanáš (245) long before.

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor. They were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the *yékamuš* was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the *yékamuš* entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry!" Whereupon the *yékamuš* replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the wounded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1283/ *yékamuš* saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

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16 by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man re-
18 plied, "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!"
Thereupon the ghkaxuf said, quite indignantly: "I shall never
eat human flesh! What do you take me for? We came to hear
the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We
do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked
around outside until he found a piece of meat. He came back
to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he
ate it.

There was a basket hanging in the hut, and two small chil-
dren were sitting in it. When they saw the ghkaxuf, they jumped
up happily in their basket and sang: "ghkaxu haghaxa, ghkaxu
haghaxa." This means: "Today we should like to eat this man."
But the two adults replied, also very happily: "hanadikaxa
haghaxa, hanadikaxa haghaxa" (344).

344. I was told that the word "hagaxaxa" used
here by the Skidehawkay boy is unusual. The
children wanted to say to the old people that
they wanted to devour that man this very day,
whereas the old people wanted to postpone the
feast until the morrow. In order that the
stranger should not recognize what they had in
mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs
"today" and "tomorrow," in combination with
a word without any meaning whatever. This
was sufficient for the adults as well as the chil-
dren, and they understood one another. Whether
it is related to "hagaha" in 80-388 I cannot
determine. -- The noise resembling wood was
also the reason they were called "Hagaxaxa-
Taxaxa" and their territory, "Hagaxaxa"
(p. 84).

Then the ghkaxuf had an inkling of what this was supposed
to mean. He recognized the grave danger hanging over himself
and his people! Because he was a great ghkaxuf, he roasted a
piece of fat over the fire, unnoticed. While it was burning, he

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caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of the camp. Instantly all those people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The *ellusenuf* saw this quickly so his own people and told them that they all were in grave danger. They all immediately seized their things and took whatever they could that belonged to them cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and moved off as far as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that those people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They hid in *ndlovunga* (147). But the

147. This little inlet lies west of La Rencontre Bay, in the northwest branch.

Ongwenadi people noticed this and now buried a large *kpwili* [ivory] with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding place of the fugitives. It here and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (148). /1364/ The

148. This refers to the thunder-like noise or shocks, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then caused a large part of the stolen goods out of their copses to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They moved on again, always toward the east, past *Lwandle* and *Ozwendlinkosi*, until they reached *Ulundi* once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the *Ongwenadi* people continued to hot large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in *ndlovunga*, *Lwandle*, and *Ozwendlinkosi*, the *Ongwenadi* people hurled all of them at the

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drawn, using their dings. All the things that they had stolen also turned into canoes and to this day Ko wanteered about where the fugitives towed them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the shells at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the Yahgan institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Yamana (p. 345).

The entire portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Yamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (1):16 reached this view: "This A-pennsh people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is no like others we have proved to be false" /stated in English/. This much is certain, that the Halakwulup possess actual plank-bows which they have had for several decades (345). It is obvious that these carry a larger

345. Besides the plank-bow, the Halakwulup march more often naked and use the dagger. Cruikshank (1):347 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. One Yamana first became acquainted with the dagger among the Halakwulup and took it over from them (p. 197). The Yamana did not adopt the plank-bow because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of men than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (1):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halakwulup and is generally called Ushshy-ihum (cf. in HD: 180, Ushshi, "a pole, log, trunk of a tree /stated in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Fuegian natives to clear up the matter about these hyaeni-ones wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Fuegians. These hyaeni-ones were supposed to be manned by murderers who carried about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

/1284 cont./

186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wélapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakúma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Aśóulaxípa wátuwa /"Story of Aśóulaxípa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakúma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakúma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary húka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakúma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakúma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yékamus who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakúma suddenly tip over our boat as it

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776 was leaving Yaiaaśága and pull it down to the bottom with the utmost speed. It hit bottom so forcefully that it immediately bounded back to the surface. This downward and upward movement was so instantaneous that the water on both sides formed a solid wall and not a drop entered the canoe. When the yékamuś told us that, we set out in another direction." Since then Emilia avoids even mentioning the Lakúma because she is so afraid of him.

Nelly Lawrence related a personal experience. "I was still a girl when a woman from the east came to my native region [in the west]. Once I rowed out in a canoe with her. Suddenly this woman discovered a large Lakúma lying flat on the bottom of the sea. The people in the east eat the meat of the Lakúma, which is something we in the west would never do. The woman immediately reached for her crab fork śírsa (Fig. 62, p.258) and said: 'I'll spear that one, he will give us a tasty morsel!' I was terribly frightened when I saw the animal, but the woman pierced his head with her śírsa. The Lakúma acted extremely wild and swam off with the crab fork. The woman clung to the fork for a while and the whole /1286/ boat was dragged along with it. Finally the woman was obliged to let go of her śírsa and the Lakúma escaped." Bridges (a)P211 also mentioned the action of this spirit: "They believe in a sea monster they call Lucooma, who causes tides and whirlpools, and instances are known, when canoes having been in danger from a whirlpool or tide rip, of children and dogs being thrown overboard to appease the wrath of Lucooma" /cited in English/. The assertion that a child is sacrificed to the Lakúma in order to appease him was repeated by a certain Fenton from Punta Arenas who only once in his life, on a two-day journey, crossed Yamana territory, as well as by Furlong (cf. Cooper:153). Not a single Yamana could tell me personally of a definite instance of this kind; they all unanimously and positively denied that a child or a dog had ever been sacrificed to Lakúma. Fred Lawrence regarded it as absolutely impossible that the Yamana could have decided to do such a thing. It is true that out of considerations of safety, if there is grave danger, they may let a heavy piece of wood or a large sea lion fall into the water to lighten the boat (250). In doing so someone perhaps once thought of

250. Spegazzini (a):172 maintains that the

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176 Yamana believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation; the Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Lakúma, but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of veneration of Lakúma or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Yamana do not even agree about the size and shape of the Lakúma clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. Moreover, it is said that every yékamuš has favorable relations with the Lakúma, and whenever he starts singing they let him pass unharmed.

173 176 The Yamana tell the following Lakúma wátuwa. In ancient times some people traveled to Kaluwéllawaja. Here there are many Lakúma, but these people did not know it. Soon the Lakúma approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their lives to a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Lakúma lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said: "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter went too slowly, however, /1287/ and all the Lakúma submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all those people with them (250/sic/). The

250. The same strange motif is repeated in another context (p.117).

/1287 cont./

773 776 Lakúma seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuš. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yékus and kill those Lakúma down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Lakúma and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Lakúma who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tú²kīpa wátuwa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whaits (251). A girl who is tú²i may not eat berries. Now

> 251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tú²ikipa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many amáim. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

> 252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tú²ikīpa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Lakúma appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Lakúma did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Lakúma

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773 776 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakúma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the tú·ikĭpa, and shoved her overboard. Lakúma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakúma reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (253). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a

253. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coropula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whole Lakúma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakúma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a tú·ikĭpa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, wátuwa, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakúma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

3. The Forest Giants

171 773 776 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Čáskels exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 593), it is not strange that

/1288 cont./

171 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the
173 Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythologi-
176 cal material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yőĭi is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hánnuš. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hánnuš gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hánuš approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hánnuš cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep; /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hánnuš is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1289 cont./

776 catches them, he drags them into the forest where he lives. His shelter is almost always a large cave deep in the forest in which on occasion this or that Hánnuš establishes himself. Here he keeps all the children he has caught; he paints their bodies uniformly red and often plays with them. Like himself, these children are stark naked. They must stay with him the rest of their lives. This Hánnuš folk is very numerous. In exceptional cases Hánnuš will let a child whom he does not like escape, especially during the first few days after he has caught it, so that it can return to its parents. All Hánnuš are male and they are always fully mature.

Some of my informants were of the opinion that the Hánnuš had formerly lived among ordinary human beings and that they had later retired to the forest. Since then they have been hostile to human beings, especially to men. The Hánnuš slays every man he can find for the sheer pleasure of murder. Naturally, the Yamana stay away from those places where they are more often aware of a Hánnuš; under no circumstances would they spend the night in the forest.

Bridges (a):211 referred to the Hánnuš: "These Indians believe in ghosts, in wild men of the woods, called Kanoosh /sic/... Some of them pretend to have seen and killed hanoosh, but they never prove their bravery by showing any part of the body, which is said to be very dreadful. They have many hanoosh tales. Ocoko supposes the hanooshes to be men who either in madness, or after a murder, have run away into the woods, and so became wild" /cited in English/. Later he (i):15 and (k):237 supplemented this somewhat; Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):203, and Hyades (q):256 rely on his authority (254).

254. Elsewhere Bridges (e):322 writes quite vaguely: The Yamana "believed in the existence of mad people in the woods, to which they attributed supernatural powers and the greatest hostility toward the human race. They were very much afraid of them and they never dared go great distances into the woods alone." This best fits the forest giants.

/1289 cont./

776 Still earlier Fitz-Roy (a):180 learned of these forest giants and reported a story that fits them, but he did not call them by their right name: /1290/ "A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action; who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct. York related a curious story of his own brother who had committed a murder. 'In woods of my country,' said he, 'some men go about alone; very wild men -- have no belly (meaning probably that they were very thin), live by stealing from other men.' He then went on to say, that his brother had been getting birds out of a cliff, and, on coming down, hid them among some long rushes, and went away. Soon afterwards he returned, and, seeing feathers blown away by the wind from the spot, suspected what was going on; so taking a large stone in his hand, he crept stealthily towards the place, and there saw one of these wild men plucking a bird which he had got out of the cliff. Without saying a word, he dashed the stone at the wild man's head, and killed him on the spot. Afterwards York's brother was very sorry for what he had done, particularly when it began to blow very hard. York said, in telling the story, 'rain come down -- snow come down -- hail come down -- wind blow very much. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry.' At the word 'blow,' York imitated the sound of a strong wind; and he told the whole story in a very low tone of voice, and with a mysterious manner; considering it an extremely serious affair" /cited in English/ (255).

255. Darwin (d):247 repeated some of this verbatim.

As may be gathered from this story, a Yamana will now and then tell about his personal encounter with Hánnus, of his struggle and combat with him (256). Nelly Lawrence repeated

256. Bridges (k):237 made the same observation: "Anecdotes about the exploits of the Hannushes pass from mouth to mouth

/1290 cont./

776

and tell how one person or another met one of these beings, how he fought, conquered, and killed him, and other stories of the same kind" /translated from Spanish/.

the following to me on April 10, 1923: "My uncle was once staying on an island and was looking for trees in which cormorants were perched; he wanted to catch a few. He carefully noted the individual spots. In the evening he went back there and saw an unusually thick ball on a tree. He immediately threw his sling at it and the ball fell to the ground with a loud bang. Frightened, he hurried back to his hut; the night was dark. The next morning by daylight he and his brother [Nelly's father] went back to that spot. Very close to it there was a deep, inconspicuous cave. Here lay the disfigured body of a Hánnuš. To this day the large heavy bones of the Hánnuš are lying there; I saw them with my own eyes."

Somewhat later Nelly told me of another incident. "Many years ago my father hunted in the forest for bark for a new canoe. He was weary and sat down on a tree trunk and fell asleep. Softly a Hánnuš crept up and gave him a heavy blow on the head with his club. My father sank down and lay motionless. /1291/ Then the Hánnuš felt him all over and believed him to be dead. He laid my father on a grassy spot in the woods and covered him with brush. He left my father lying there and hastened away. Although my father was severely wounded, he carefully observed what the Hánnuš was doing and pretended to be dead. It was only after two days that he carefully got up and, unobserved, dragged himself back to his hut. On the beach his wife and we children had waited for him for a long time with anxious concern. We thought he had had an accident, for he was away three days. Then he told us what had happened. It was a long time before he recovered from that blow." Old Whaits told me in the presence of a few families: "I know a boy among my kinsmen who was very reckless and unafraid. Once, in the canoe with his family, he came to a place where there were a few Hánnuš. The boy did not know anything about it, so he walked all around freely and fearlessly. His mother warned him: 'Be careful and do not go too far away from us into the forest!' The boy paid

/1291 cont./

1176 no attention to this warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a Hánnuš surprised this boy and dragged him away with him."

There are even two actual myths which are devoted to
1176 Hánnuš. The first one goes as follows. Once a Hánnuš fell in
1173 love with Maxutuwēr'elakīpa. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. She herself would have nothing to do with Hánnuš and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so often in vain to the hut of Maxutuwēr'elakīpa. Finally he threatened to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived on an island. It happened to be winter. When the Hánnuš threatened to return with many other Hánnuš to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put brush in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-forks, šírsa (Fig. 62), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the Hánnuš again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the Hánnuš approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when Hánnuš entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully thrust a crab fork into his seat. The Hánnuš cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1292/ narrow entrance. Another Hánnuš pushed into the hut; he wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Maxutuwēr'elakīpa either. When he, too, bent over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous stab, drove a šírsa into his seat, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the šírsa with him, sticking in his seat. The other Hánnuš were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

/1292 cont./

116 113 hut, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hánnuš: "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to slide out, Maxutuwér'elakīpa from her hiding place thrust a crab fork into his seat also. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the sísa had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the sísa in his seat with him until another Hánnuš pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hánnuš began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxutuwér'elakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hánnuš were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick coating of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hánnuš arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxutuwér'elakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxutuwér'elakīpa called mockingly to the Hánnuš: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the ones who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hánnuš sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hánnuš on the shore saw the first ones drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxutuwér'elakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hánnuš tribe as loutish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Yamana. Moreover, the Hánnuš are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1293/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

/1293 cont./

116 113 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

/1293 cont./

776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuĭ accompanied his son back to
773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuĭ folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuĭ
538 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuĭ were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuĭ and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuĭ. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuĭ?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuĭ and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuĭ; much less were we molested by Hánnuĭ!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1294 cont./

776 538 belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm conviction their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hámuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóšl (Vol. I, 697).

4. The Guardian Spirits

776 Yamana ideas about the Yeſíčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hámuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yeſíčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yeſíčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yeſíčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Mašemišem was alone in the opinion that the Yeſíčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yeſíčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yeſíčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yeſíčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yeſíčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yeſíčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yeſíčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yeſíčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next hínna yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

/1295 cont./

776 Yeñkĕel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yeñkĕel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [83] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yeñkĕel. Immediately a yĕkamul is requested to do this. A person who has a Yeñkĕel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yeñkĕel!" When a human being dies, his Yeñkĕel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yeñkĕel. The yĕkamul, however, add that the orphaned Yeñkĕel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yĕkamul and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yeñkĕel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yĕkamul has an even closer association with his Yeñkĕel. Although the yĕkamul assign a Yeñkĕel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was amazed with great earnestness, however, that all Yeñkĕel must obey Wonagindĕwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yeñkĕel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Wonagindĕwa also has his Yeñkĕel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yeñkĕel to Wonagindĕwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yeñkĕel yĕkĕs, "little spirit." Many indians use the word Yeñkĕel instead.

776 Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times
796 and /1296/ always only in connection with the yĕkamul. It is true that the Yeñkĕel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (x):113 it is said: The Yeñkĕel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

L: Gamble--1183 8-6 (1919-1956) 1957 898 Tzotzil 5116

/1196 cont./

776 156 in their dreams, with them many things" /cited in English/ (159).

> 159. And again on (p).158: "The pevenuuh claims to have dealings with beings called yepalchiel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In HD-641 one reads: "Tzotilel, a being of more than human power and capacity whom the yilonomil claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in Eng-lish/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship be-tween a yilonomil and his Tzotilel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. There it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in church-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Tzotilel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Tzotzil belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is one use of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstances.

1. Dreams

787 157 The fact that the Tzotzils dream a great deal must be traced back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1296 cont./

787 but will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuf may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuf pursue their calling in dreams. The Yamana believe that the
[289] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (260).

260. Hyades (4):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuf, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Yamana believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (261).

261. Bridges (2):14 has reliably declared: "The Tehgam had great faith in dreams

/1497 cont./

781 and were consequently often confined with anticipation of death without reason" /cited in English/.

This is chiefly the case when one's own life or that of his immediate family is in any way threatened. The Tarasco regards the dream figures, whether they be spirits from the groups named above, friendly and hostile acquaintances, souls of the dead, or even animals, as actual manifestations, as living creatures which present themselves on occasion, as alleged. Hence he mans their words, takes their warnings into consideration, fears their threats, and quietly reconciles himself to the trouble they announce. Our Indians are considerably strengthened in their confident belief in dreams by the fact that now and then some premonition awakened by the dream is fulfilled or some foreboding comes true. They remember such so-called proofs of the reliability of dreams or of their faith in them throughout their lives and point them out over and over again on suitable occasions. Almost any Tarasco is able to point to such an experience, that is to say, to show the credibility of a dream. They attach the full merit of such especially to the dreams of the aforesaid.

Bridges realized this: "Dreaming of a doctor is much dreaded by these Indians, since they believe it surely foreboding ill -- either sorrow and disaster, or death caused by the doctor dreamt of. Umapeneek told me that his mother, the day she died, told him that she had dreamt of a doctor" /cited in English/ (VSA,XI,188,1884). Much earlier Fitz-Roy (II)161 described Jemmy Button as /1498/ "a great believer in dreams" /cited in English/ and subsequently this as follows: "While at sea, on board the 'Beagle,' about the middle of the year 1833, he said one morning to Mr. Byrne, whispered to him out that his father was dead. Mr. Byrne tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in the Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously. He did not forget to remind Mr. Byrne of their former conversation, and, with a significant shake of the head said, it was 'bad'. After that

/1938 cont./

781 crew he said no more about his father" /travel in English/.

The first belief in dreams, which I was able to observe directly in Nelly Lawrence, is characteristic of all Yuroms. A few more examples follow. On July 18, 1933, Nelly told me sadly that she had dreamed very bad things the night before: "A few families came here [to Puna Kenoilima] from Wejilikwen [on Ravenlau Island] and told me that there was universal mourning over there. Today someone will surely come from there and tell us who has died. After this dream I woke up and did not go back to sleep again." She spoke with great firmness and could not shake off her depressed mood even when I tried to convince her that dreams are meaningless. It was true that for several days absolutely no visitors had arrived from Wejilikwen; we feared a sickness had broken out. To the surprise of everyone, Alejandro landed in Puna Kenoilima toward noon of the same day and immediately told us: "Last night two women died over there among us, Anina, the wife of Willem, and here, the wife of Waikenchiem. Waikenchiem and old Emilia are seriously ill and will probably also succumb [to the sudden epidemic of grippe] !" After Alejandro had had a heart-to-heart talk with Nelly for about an hour, she immediately came to me and told me in detail what she had just heard. "So you see my dream of last night, which I told you about this morning, came true," she said with sad earnestness. "I knew that something [worse yet] would have to come today! Whatever I dream always comes true, no matter how distressing! I am never mistaken in my dreams! How terrible this news is. Now we must fear that still more people will be taken away in this epidemic. The poor child of Waikenchiem has now lost its mother and if the father, too, dies, the girl will be orphaned (383). Now it is to be feared that even

> 383. This girl, Eva, about seven years old, is the only child of here who has just died and of old Pedro Waikenchiem who is now very ill.

the last of my countrymen will pass away. Then I shall be the only one left and soon feel the hard, tragic fate of my countrymen. I, myself, as the only one, will be here for a short time,

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/[158 cont.]/
and with me the last survivor of the Yaraana will sink into the grave." Anyone would have been startled to see the woman in her anxious grief over her own people. /[159]/ The primary aim here, however, was to show that the Yaraana attribute a great measure of truth to their dreams.

On my fourth journey I interrupted my stay in Beagle Channel by a prolonged visit to the Selk'nam (p. 19) /unconcerned/. When I returned to Puerto Bandolino, Emily said to me one morning: "Last night I dreamed again, but it was nothing worth mentioning. Why is it that we sometimes have very good dreams in which we see the future? Yet, when we so often see in dreams a newly-born! — But I haven't told you about the two dreams I had while you were with the Selk'nam." Emily now told me: "At that time [in March, 1858] I dreamed that Mollenhauer came here to Puerto Bandolino for a short visit. While he lay in bed he said to me: 'I feel as though we were seeing each other today for the last time. You are a good woman, willing to help, and I should like to come again soon, but I feel that we shall probably not see each other again!' That is what Mollenhauer said. Sure enough, he did not come to Puerto Bandolino after that and later [in August] he died." Emily mentioned another incident. "One morning Mercedes came to me all excited. It was the day before her death. She said to me: 'Last night I had very bad dreams. My brother Tom [brother of Ibbeconnad and brother of A.Ibeakel] came to me and said: "Where is A.Ibeakel?" I said: "He is staying in the south!' I, too, would be glad if he would come back soon and tell me what friend [Ibeakel] a few stories. The letter is soon returning from the region of the Selk'nam." Tom: "It may be a long time before he comes. But I must go soon." Mercedes: "Stay a while!" Tom: "I can't, my kelgashasa /[his whale]/ is waiting for me; he is in a great hurry and will not permit me to stay." Mercedes: "Oh, well, the kelgashasa can wait." Tom: "He won't allow that. I must leave immediately with kelgashasa. I came to tell you!" Mercedes: "But I want to stay here for a bit!" Tom: "But I must go again. kelgashasa is in a hurry and will grant me no further delay!" ... When he had given a certain distance, he waved his hand toward me, as though to say: "We shall see each other soon!" He removed further and

/1390 cont./

787 farther and finally disappeared completely. "...All this Manocha told me and wept and sobbed as she did so. Then she took three little baskets which she had made the day before and handed them to me, saying: 'Take these little baskets. If I should really die soon, I could not give you anything any more. I would rather you take these little baskets and keep them!' I took the little baskets. On the afternoon of the same day Manocha felt very ill; she was stricken with fever and the next morning she was dead. All this happened just as I told it to you!" Each word had the tone of utter conviction.

The kalgwéipa mentioned above is to be explained as follows. This /1394/ is the common name of the mighty blue whale, Balaenoptera schlegelii (p. 36 /unexplored/). This Tom, Manocha's brother, had died long before her conversation with Holly; he came to his sister Manocha in a dream. It is said of him: One day, as he was walking along the shore, a kalgwéipa emerged from the water and for some time kept staring at Tom. Tom died that same year; the kalgwéipa took along his shoyá. From that time on the two were [somehow] connected. Tom, accompanied by that kalgwéipa, appeared to his sister Manocha in a dream. On this occasion kalgwéipa took her shoyá along, just as he had previously taken the shoyá of Tom. That is why Manocha died soon after her dream in which, actually, kalgwéipa carried her off. This strange interpretation must be regarded, according to the principles of the medicine men, as an isolated case. Accordingly, it does not run counter to the general conception of the shoyá, the human soul after death.

It is the individual person himself who more or less endows his dream image, giving it greater or lesser significance. He lends a certain reality to those images that give him a vision of the future. Conjectures and forebodings that first appeared as dreams and afterward came to pass in some way strengthen him anew in his belief and increase his confidence in dreams.

5. Superstitious Ideas

811 In the simple mental life of the Fuegians there is no lack of certain views and opinions which must be regarded as true

/1300 cont./

811 superstition in the strictest sense of the word. No one will find this surprising. An attempt to offer an explanation or a reason for the many notions and customs would be tantamount to robbing them of their superstitious character. They simply exist and one acts accordingly. I shall list here the considerable number of superstitious ideas by which our Yamana are governed in individual instances, including a few magical practices. The superstitions mentioned above in the section on the care of infants and children and in connection with the description of the material culture of the Yamana will not be repeated, and the belief in the various groups of spirits and individual fantasy images will not be discussed. A few earlier observers have noted that the Yamana are easily tempted to superstition (263).

811 263. Fitz-Roy (a):180 writes, and Darwin
821 (f):I, 123 agrees: "The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence. I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Bynoe, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck -- come wind -- come rain -- blow -- very much blow'" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):149 expresses himself in more general terms: "They are superstitious; they fear the wind and perhaps regard the elements in general as vindictive agents" /translated from Italian/. Hyades
811 (q):253 also writes in this vein and asserts (q):387 that the efforts of the Anglican missionaries did not change anything concerning the superstitions of the Yamana: "The superstitions are the same as in former times"

/1300 cont./

811 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

825 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

825 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time,
787 its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as stones and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetete... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

825 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1301 cont./

825 the first Argentinian ships came to Ushuaia [in the '80's], ravaging diseases broke out (p. 300 /untranslated/). Practically all the Indians settled there lay around on the beach and in their huts, unable to help themselves. Many of them died. Sickness spread to the north shore of Navarino Island, and there, too, the beach was soon strewn with corpses. The many sick people saw the foxes coming out of the forest and gnawing at the corpses, /1302/ but no one was able to ward them off and chase them away. A woman already near death had her little son beside her, but he could not help her. One of the foxes even dared to start devouring this woman, although she was still alive. The little son threw a knife at the fox, whereupon it stopped. She died soon afterward, and the boy immediately started three signal fires. Soon a canoe arrived and took him aboard. Scarcely had the canoe left the shore when the fox again came up to the corpse of the woman and started devouring it.

The Yamana find the apawáta, the bat, almost disgusting because of its resemblance to the rat, wēsána (p.323). If it flies past the huts the people feel sick; they all remain silent until it has flown off again. Everyone turns his eyes away in loathing. Bridges (l):7 also confirms this: "There is a small Bat, loathed by the natives on account of its compound nature" /cited in English/. (Cf. Vol. I, 707.)

The Yamana regard the whale along with the many ever-present fish accompanying it (p. 37 /untranslated/) as a large family. They are particularly alert for the restless, raging aśōula, the smaller whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/), and the ēpáiači (Orcinus orca /the killer whale/). Our Indians are afraid of both. Bridges (a):208 thinks differently: The whales are killed "by swordfish, which they consequently esteem sacred" /cited in English/. On October 9, 1871, Lewis reported a "small whale, which ran ashore in the inlet. I hastened out, and heard a continuous thumping on the water, which Lucca informed me was a swordfish; he also observed, that if the dog barked, he [the swordfish] would be frightened and take the whale away. At early dawn we descended, and found the whale, minus any appearance of having been molested by a swordfish" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872).

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deśka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor wĕ'iyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okálla (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okálla screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing; both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítа (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítа on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kĭt, kĭt, kĭt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 781 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sĭta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 821 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch hĕ́pul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 787 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tĭ́wux (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tĭ́wux is venerated everywhere.

825 821 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles *in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for* rough seas and foul weather.

825 777 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged a Molinas goose lĕ́kuš (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p. 509).

825 788 A solitary sea duck, dĕ́ka (Tachyeres patachonicus), flying over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dĕ́ka will take with it the kĕ́pif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ɣ sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the késpiɣ of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the déɣka (p. 503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lɛ́xuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, lɛ́xuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lɛ́xuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pɨ́iakakɨ̄pa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pɨ́iaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pɨ́iakakɨ̄pa sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watauinɛ́iwa.

/1305/ β. Superstitions in Everyday Life

821 From careful, continuous observation the Yamana are familiar with their natural surroundings. Every unusual phenomenon attracts their attention more or less, and some have occasioned superstitious interpretations. They do not occupy themselves nearly as much or as thoroughly with the heavenly bodies as do the Selk'nam. If an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, they all pick up some čílerɣ /fine Berberis shavings/. Amid much shouting, men, women, and children rub their faces with it, as though they were washing and cleansing themselves. They shout and expect the sun or moon to become clean and shining once more. Since they themselves cannot reach that heavenly body, but it must nevertheless be cleaned, they rub their own faces continuously, for, to them, an eclipse of the sun or moon means an unclean, dirty face of that celestial body. They designate an eclipse of the sun (or moon) with lēm (or hā́nuxa) arugáta, meaning "sun or moon with a dirty, very disorderly, and unclean face" (compare ārugáta in BD:61). Similarly, they designate a star that conspicuously changes its color, or a shooting star and a comet with a visible tail, as apé·nix ārugáta, "a star that is in disorder." If there is a ring around the moon and an opening in the ring at one point of the compass, they expect bad weather from this direction for the next few days. Children may not stare at a full moon for any length of time. The Yamana believe that while the child is gazing steadily at the moon it will see the moon's large mouth and invariably call out: "You, moon, open your mouth!" This would result in the child's soon becoming ill. The Yamana, too, see an entire face, with eyes and mouth, in the disk of the full moon.

Our Indians, of course, are also attentively concerned about the weather. If a number of people are traveling in their canoe and they eat something, they may not throw refuse and food remains into the water, for this would immediately cause high waves or storm. The remains are carefully burned in the canoe fire.

821 When a child is born, the Yamana notice whether there is
189 good or bad weather. A child born in good weather has prospects of a happy life; above all he is capable of stopping bad weather.

/1305 cont./

821 789 If a few families are detained in an inlet because of storms and showers and are prevented from traveling on, they paint a club, a spear shaft, or an oar with red earth, accompany the "fair-weather child" to the beach, and give it the painted article, telling it to beat the sea with it and ask for favorable weather. If the child acts shy or ashamed, or if it is too young to do this, the father takes the child in his arms and sets it upright against his legs. He himself then recites the particular words /1306/ and administers the blows against the sea, making the child's arms help him a bit. It is absolutely necessary that the object used for beating be painted. The words addressed to the bad weather are to the effect that it should go away quickly, cease bothering people, and make way for good weather. A request is even sent up to Watauinéjwa that he change the weather situation as soon as possible, for after all he is responsible for unfavorable weather. For example, they say:

wéla	mataúgu	íkamána	yelaíigu
At once	to come to the beach	snowfall	good-weather

xéola,	sigája	kakúpa	áki.
child	set off	from here	you.

This is to say: "In order that you, bad weather, shall immediately go away from here, a privileged fair-weather child has come down to the beach and is beating you." Meanwhile the child stretches out its arms and reaches out into space as though it were grasping the clouds, tearing the fog asunder, and pushing back showers of rain. At the same time it utters forceful, hissing sounds. These efforts serve the purpose of quickly driving away the bad weather. The words used are clothed in a definite formula; an adult tells it to the child who repeats it several times while it beats the water.

821 A child born when the weather is unfavorable or when there are heavy storms arouses a slight uneasiness among people in the neighborhood as a result of this fact alone. They never forget this coincidence and in later years tell the child himself about it. Such a child must be reserved and moderate in its behavior when

/1306 cont./

821 the weather is calm and there is bright sunshine. The Fuegians generally hope that the good weather, which in any case is scarce, will last for a short time once it has set in, especially the warm quiet days. For this reason a "bad-weather child" must avoid noisy conduct along the beach, running gaily along the edge of the water, throwing stones into the sea, beating the waves with a stick or paddle, or dropping an object and letting it strike hard on the ground. To violate these rules would soon bring a change of weather. The adults do not fail to watch a "bad-weather child" carefully and to admonish it to behave cautiously. If a strong headwind and high waves make it im-

824 789 possible for a family to travel on, the wife will try a ceremony of her own to remove these obstacles. She rubs one of her daughters who is not yet five years old from head to foot with íimi, accompanies her down to the beach, pushes her into the water several times and ducks her repeatedly. The woman continues this procedure until her small daughter grows tired of it and begins to cry and scream. Only then does she release her daughter who, /1307/ yelling loudly, rushes out of the water to warm herself at the hut fire. The mother, however, stays on the beach a bit longer and addresses the following lament to the sea:

Yelaĺ́gu	xóolan	sigéla	wéla	tumúru
Fair-weather	child	set off	immediately	have pity

ĺkamána.
snowfall.

In other words: "You, bad weather, have pity on that 'fair-weather child' and set off immediately, taking with you this abundant snowfall." With this act, especially the ducking, the mother pretends that her child is drowning in the sea because of the bad weather.

The winter of mid-1923 was unusually severe and brought with it a great deal of snow. I was staying on Navarino Island, and the Indians often complained to me about the burden of the large masses of snow. One day they again tried an ancient ceremony which serves to ward it off. Near the huts two men erected

/1307 cont./

821
789

a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, *anu' shiow spoons shots ai; anu'shomoshin' ai-wish* paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA XII, 6.1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lesapwiosm, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1307 cont./

821 779 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1308/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what *facai* [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after its stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called *tawuwa*, or the arm of wind; the man who met him was called *tamawawuwa*, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13;1875).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their *Watayinéiwa* is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 Ed In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers *ensigo* at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reprimanded in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
[821] and find large quantities of amájm may neither pick them nor eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the berries would portend ánačiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxáčis, Rubus geoides (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tájina who has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person who picks the palaxáčix without such permission or in /1309/ rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement, hánečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many palaxáčix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino -- and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries. The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a punishment for this.

262 It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is customary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a family is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

264 The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
821 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
484 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoálox decreed this.

/1309 cont./

264 821 487 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as incessantly as did the child of Yoflos (p. 1146). Moreover, other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather. Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

823 Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakšma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakšma and the malevolent Haušella, certain animals who are in contact with the yékamuš make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuš warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yékamuš is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lapatija there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Stenienjis had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying xapicoomh, xapicoomh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM.XXII, 80; 1878).

/1319 cont./

781 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their kikpúi prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Mallemikens had run away with some other girls (p. 981). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[105] BD:274 gives hunîf as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

[54] Young Darwin (f) ill, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (d) 256 refers to this and asserts: "The Fuegians throw into the fire /1321/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is eminently concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 713), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a sihkomuk might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off; I succeeded in doing this.

/1311 cont./

§23 There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This mass named to name there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Howe Island behind the tall snow peak on Dutton Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /tried in English/.

[13] It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cave on Tobinlike Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Telugan dare any there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /tried in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions

777 which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (1:340, 80-82 given, for example, mayeshim, "successful in hunting" /tried in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be timid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1312/ 8. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the perpetuance of the social order of our Peoples is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the Kina is obviously a continuance of pawaal moving beyond the narrow confines of the family ties, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p. 91). Even so, the knowledge that they have obtained

/1913 comm./

about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kina, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kina, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kina fundamentally different from the čiéuaga. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (366 /xix/).

[vii]

366. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. There Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde pp.941 and pp.957.

[96]

Fig. 68. Ona Lama, Chorlo pileno.

1: Gusinde--1304 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 S98 Tehgue S98

X 58 171

/1312 cont./

The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the Xárage and the kina are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kina embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the kiléketen of the Selk'nam. This kiléketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the kiléketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kina from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a curious coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last kiléketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1910, and the last kina, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (287).

X 575 123

287. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Kloketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places, compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (4):975 and (4):277.

a. Information through Europeans

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The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kina is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

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o enough to explain why none of the English missionaries, who
Whites who have been settled there for a number of decades, or
occidental visitors to that region become acquainted with the
Kina of the natives. In these days the average European who
traveled among primitive peoples had far less appreciation for
secret ceremonies than for many other arrangements which were
easy to observe with the naked eye. These travelers generally
rejected such things as products of a diseased imagination and an
undeveloped intellect, and they made no effort to understand
them. Thus, there were reasons on both sides to explain why the
Kina of the Tenenes, like the secret ceremonies of other primitive
peoples, did not become known earlier to Europeans. During my
third journey, as my informants, the Tenenes decided to hold such
a celebration (p. 188 /unreviewed/). They had not held it for a
long time and were therefore not quite sure about many of the de-
tails. Nevertheless, I have been able to ascertain the essential
parts and to present the basic ideas of this complicated secret
ceremony.

1. Earlier Accounts

The majority of the travelers who reported on the Tenenes
were more or less completely dependent on the English missio-
aries, and almost exclusively on the Reverend Thomas Bridges,
in their description of the many details of the culture of these
natives. Therefore, their accounts, like the little that was
set down about the Kina, are vague and convey only hints.
Throughout, all the witnesses /114/ have at best offered only
short, obscure references. These unreliable allusions are all the
more curious because they do not make the underlying ideas of this
ceremony comprehensible.

Here again, as has been shown with regard to many other
important things in the heritage of the Tenenes, only Bridges
among the missionaries furnished any details worth mentioning
about the Kina celebration (308). In 1888 he (p.324 himself) it

308. Besides Bridges, the missionary
Aspinall (70) very briefly mentions. "In
order to maintain their rights and their

L Custodia—GSM 6-6 (1914-1954) 1957 Hill Religion Hill

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authority as lords of creation, the men resort to secret acts which are carried on in a large group from which women are excluded." Here, in passing, Lewis mentioned that he happened to have conducted a religious service on the Williamson Islands in 1888, "in a Tsimshian wife, i.e., playhouse, formerly called a 'kwaw,' a large edgewise, erected not to live in, but in which to perform certain initiatory rites with the youth, etc." /cited in English/ (MM.XXII, 110.1889).

for the first time in the following words: "When boys and girls come to the years of nubility, they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching....It is called Ceeme. During the time the father and son is at Ceeme, which is from a few days to about two weeks, neither father nor son own any female. Food was then by the women, though some men or other, daily. The ceremonies here conducted are to impose upon the women, to effect which the men make large conical masks of bark which completely cover the head; they also paint their bodies peculiarly, and when all is ready they rush out of the Ceeme, and dance and jump about as quickly as they can in view of the women, who look upon them as beings from another world" /cited in English/. He (p.111 supplements these sentences with the following: "There is a female, a woman who comes up out of the sea, into the Ceeme, and does certain strange things. There is also a being who is supposed to come from above, and he also visits the Ceeme during the time the discipline of the youths is being conducted" /cited in English/ (1909). In these references it should be kept in

1915. The passage continues: "When the youths attain thirteen or fourteen years, they are taken by their fathers or uncles to the Ksemo, where they sit with their eyes fixed on the floor for a long time.... The youths make training called Gudwanda.

/1914 vnm./

At the end of the day they come to the Kasma to sleep, and to have a very insufficient repast. No women enter or even go near to the Kasma, only men sleep there. Sometimes the youths are made to lie down with their faces downward, and Lingalampa, an evil spirit being, is summoned. The youth is very frightened, and does not turn his head in order to look at the dreadful being, who is supposed to come up out of the sea. The sings a great deal, and with her club beats the earth violently close by the frightened previous youth, who expects every succeeding blow to fall upon him. At last Lingalampa goes away, and he is allowed to sit up again" /typed in English/.

mind — as I have already emphasized on p.[illegible] — that Bridges consciously regards the so-called "trial of discipline and seeking" /typed in English/ as the only communal ceremony of the Yanadis. Actually, Pallegu and Kha are two entirely different institutions.

These youths have to exercise "the wigwam called Kasma, and is wholly set apart for celebrating religious ceremonies and superstitious practices. It is in these places that the youths receive their severe training, which /1915/ is so immediately dear to the privileges of man's estate, and every young fellow has to undergo it" /typed in English/ (VP.III, 116.1919). Bridges (a).100 and (b).100 explains the customary and frequent rumbling on this occasion as follows. The men "also portrayed half-demonic, half-religious embodiments of various evil forces, but these performances, which in them were a source of excitement and amusement, took place only when a large number of them were assembled. The performers put on their masks in separate buildings which the women and children were not permitted to approach, and they were expected to show great fear of the things performed in front of them by the demons, during which he threatened them with all kinds of violence." The following in (b).17 and (b).200 belongs to this description. "The men would be occupied in the

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house, painting and variously disguising themselves with barbhats, and smearing themselves with blood, proceed by pricking the inside of their noses, to represent various characters. Some would appear as an evil being called Chimongon, others as another evil spirit known as Tsenowa, others again represented Uhoumeenia, and others Loiseuleuge, a female demon. When all was ready, the women and children being moved outside their wigwams, these variously disguised men, unrecognizable even to their nearest relatives, would rush forth with club, spear or bow in hand, dancing and leaping about frantically, threatening the women with their weapons...In the kwana they would rest and, amidst roars of laughter, discuss the merits of the different actors. All dances and amusements were accompanied with singing or chanting for the variation of which they had special names, derived from birds and plants" /typed in English/. To supplement this, Bridges (b):330 adds: "The Tehgan have a number of dramas of a semi-superstitious nature, and for each of them there are appropriate disguises, kind of performance, and style of special songs...The personages represented are all mythological beings who are supposed to have existed in other epochs; all are perverse and have come from different places. One of them, for example, arrived on the scene from the woods, another came out of the sea, some came from the clouds, and others came out of the ground" /translated from Spanish/. The names of many Kina spirits are mentioned in BD. Altogether, therefore, Bridges gathered a considerable number of details about the Kina, although he lacked the understanding to go into them very far, to organize them, and to grasp their significance.

In comparison with what Bridges gathered through personal experience, the scant references from the pens of other travelers are negligible. The latter, without exception, depend on him. It is surprising to find in Martial:314 some ideas taken from the myth of the upheaval, in which there is a reference to the time when "women were in power" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):301 does no more than to repeat this verbatim. Hahn (c):340 and (d):44 expressed himself more specifically: "The Tehgan celebrate a festival called Kina, commemorative of the revolt of the men /(:314)/ against the women who, before that, had the authority in the family and held the secrets of sorcery. They

/1316 cont./

X 575 114 masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength permitted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridges. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (a):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieghardt:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X 575 123 The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because čiéxaus and kina are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Yamana themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had ended the čiéxaus, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the tactful manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual uwíala. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the čiéxaus. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p. 658). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to anticipate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Yamana who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

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/1316 cont./
we were together again in the summer of 1922. At that time it was my special goal to repeat the čiéxaus and immediately to follow it with the kĭna (p. 186 /untranslated/). Both events came about, and so I learned about the men's festival from direct participation at that time. This festival was nowhere near what it had been back in the days when the Yamana were completely independent and not yet decimated. The reason for this was largely the inexperience of most of the participants concerning the actual program, for a good 20 years had gone by since the last ceremony of this kind, and for all the men of middle age the Kina of March, /1317/ 1922, was the first of their lives, exactly as it was for me. It is understandable that a good deal of uncertainty about the many details had a decidedly paralyzing effect on the few old people who felt responsible for the smooth running of the affair. Formerly an unaffected, unconstrained joy and satisfaction made the heart of every Yamana man beat faster when he had been able to play a real trick in this secret hut on the defenseless women, but this time it did not fully develop. The constant pressure I exerted to bring about this affair had a decisive effect, I must confess. The old people became more and more timid the nearer we came to the planned opening. I schemingly worked on a few young men and persuaded them that they, in turn, must try to influence the old men to let them, at long last, experience a Kina. Yielding to pressure from two sides, Pedro Mašemikens was finally won over, and in Puerto Mejillones in March, 1922, the men's ceremony took place. It was truly the last of its kind for the few surviving Yamana. At that time it immediately followed the čiéxaus and was limited to an unusually short period. The details have been described in Gusinde (c):426 (p. 186 /untranslated/). Despite many obstacles, the nature and goal, the program and procedure of this intrinsically complex affair could be observed and established in all its details. On my fourth journey I was privileged to take part in the lŏima-yékamuš. On this occasion I was given the complete version of the myth of the upheaval, which tells of the origin of the kĭna and many other things (270). In the following pages I have set down in logical

270. The specific conditions and circumstances are described in Gusinde (u):968.

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575 /1317 cont./
123 order the facts that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Yamana about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

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575 From whatever point of view one looks at kína, it is far behind the čjéxaus in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalities of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied čjéxaus. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the kína are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the čjéxaus for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

/1318/ 1. Occasion and Duration

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575 From the point of view of character and aim, in other words,
885 for subjective reasons, the Kina is by no means as necessary for a given group within Yamana society as is the youth initiation. There is no really urgent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has sat in the čjéxaus but twice as an uŭwjala is an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very watchful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p.669) and even remains adamant toward a child who could not be made a čjéxaus uŭwjala and has meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p.669). The public, as well as man's kinsmen, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the Kina. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.

X 575

/1318 cont./

Again, as is so often the case in the life of these Fuegians, there are circumstances which, quite unforeseen, furnish the occasion for a Kina celebration. Merely a sudden inclination and desire, whipped up to enthusiasm within a small group by this or that man, may bring about the decision. A few dilatory neighbors are soon won over; no one dares to oppose it. If, for example, many people have been assembled in the čí·ɛxaus for a few weeks and have grown tired of being together, new visitors bring a fresh spirit, and if the campsite has certain advantages which none of the assembled families wishes to forgo, they simply remain in the same place and, for a change, start the Kina. This affair also comes about quite naturally, however, if several families settle down beside a stranded whale and if they had from the start made up their minds, possibly because it is winter, to stay here as long as possible. If a considerable number of adults have been brought together by a yamalaĭemóina /general mourning ceremony/ and if they soon find out that the food supply at this place is surprisingly convenient, they quickly decide to remain, and a Kina festival offers them pleasant amusement. Thus there is no pressure or obligation concerning the men's secret ceremony which may take place here or there, this year or after an interval of several years. It is true that one or another external, purely accidental opportunity may be a stronger stimulus than another, but such opportunities never give the decisive impetus.

In consideration of all this, it becomes obvious that the duration of such a men's festival cannot be predetermined in any given case and is simply unpredictable. The /1319/ natural circumstances that bring about the gathering of men remain effective for a longer time on one occasion and for a shorter time on another. Here in the kína as in the čí·ɛxaus, the mood that prevails after a certain time tips the scales. Of course, the question of the food supply is a very grave factor. For instance, if many families had gathered around a stranded whale so that all the fat and meat were consumed in a short time and if the site does not offer an abundance of mussels and birds to insure food for the large assembly, then the families are obliged to scatter to the four winds, no matter how enthusiastic, happy, and amused they were by the Kina. I was assured that formerly

/1319 cont./

X575 small groups of men sometimes stayed as long as four months in the Great Hut, but ordinarily these performances lasted only a few weeks.

One must not attach too little importance to the following circumstances. The Yamana offer almost no resistance to their restless instinct for moving hither and yon; it is impossible for them by nature, so to speak, to remain settled anywhere for any length of time. When they have stayed in one place for a few weeks, certain sources of food in the vicinity become depleted to such an extent that they must exert themselves beyond their strength in hunting and gathering. Since they cannot endure this state of affairs, and indeed are not obliged to, they soon change their abode. Finally, the presence of many people and the large amounts of refuse from meals make a place so dirty after a certain time that everyone is driven away from the place, although the Yamana generally are almost entirely indifferent to such things. Moreover, one must remember that the Kina does not have a definite goal that must be achieved in one way or another. Every young man who is privileged to be there for the first time becomes sufficiently familiar with its basic ideas and its dominant aim after a few days. None of the organizers, therefore, would be able to predict or definitely to determine how many weeks or months the assembly will be together. At best, he will assume -- and probably rightly so -- that winter will keep it together longer than a fair summer.

2. The Participants

X575 562 The Kina of the Yamana, as an actual men's ceremony, is, on principle, reserved for men, but for some time now exceptions have been made and a trustworthy woman may also be admitted. The original, consistent rejection of any woman may be explained with reference to the so-called myth of origin. The men should and must prevent the female population from ever again gaining possession of this secret ceremony. It can no longer be determined just when a milder attitude /1320/ in favor of a few women gained ground and some of them were given the secrets, but the fact as such is clear proof that the basic misogynic idea of the Kina of the

/1320 cont./

Yamana is not nearly as strict as that with which the Selk'nam exclude their women from the Kloketen (Vol. I, 827).

The sole condition imposed on a young man who is accepted as a candidate into the Kina hut has frequently been mentioned: he is obliged to have proved himself twice as an uŏwĭ́ala in the youth initiation. This legally valid principle has been applied without exception from ancient times, but the change in the living conditions of the Yamana, caused by European settlers, has obliged them to relax the strict demands in some cases so that for several decades now lads have been admitted to the Kina who attended the čiéxaus only once as uŏwĭ́ala (271). Despite

271. I was thoroughly aware of this condition. Hence I presented myself for the initiation a second time, because I wanted to experience it once more to become more familiar with the facts -- I was greatly hampered the first time (p. 179 /untranslated/) -- and wanted, so to speak, to force the friendly Indian group to conduct the men's ceremonies as they had promised (p. 184 /untranslated/).

their yielding on many points, even in most recent times our Fuegians have not deviated from this minimum demand. It will not come as a surprise when I say that the old, influential men know very accurately which boys had become acquainted with the Kina and which had not. Those who are permitted to enter the Great Hut of the Kina for the first time are called uŏwĭ́ala, just like the candidates in the čiéxaus. In SD:419 one finds tămŏm "a lad who has not yet been subjected to the ceena discipline" /cited in English/.

Every young man who has once patiently taken part in the kina as an actual uŏwĭ́ala is now regarded as an adept. As such he has the right to be admitted to any subsequent men's celebration wherever it is held. In reality, every adult male Yamana has previously become familiar with it, although there is no obligation and no pressure was exercised. It is taken for

/1320 cont./
granted that every man is sufficiently familiar with the wealth of information that is reserved for the male population. The desire for fellowship and the fun they have at this strange performance are, in themselves, strong enough to make everyone hasten to the spot where a men's ceremony is being held, provided that the distance is not too great or that a man is not prevented from attending by illness. Even if it is only curiosity that impels this or that man to join a particular group that is holding this affair, he is inevitably drawn to the gathering-place. The length of time that each individual stays depends on his personal inclination. For this reason one cannot generalize about the number of participants or give a minimum number for any particular day. /1321/ Even at the place where a Kina celebration is held, individual families constantly come and go in an indefinite, unpredictable succession, which is naturally more active when the influx to this celebration as such is stronger. Personal wishes and tendencies also play a part in that one man will almost never be absent and will stay from beginning to end while another will find little pleasure in it and, having had enough after a few days, will again seek the open spaces.

Every group that has finally decided to hold a men's ceremony must find an experienced old man who is willing to assume the office of leader, which demands skill and thorough familiarity with the many details. In addition, considerable moral superiority over all the men taking part stands the leader in good stead. Finally, he must be very alert mentally in order to direct the motley assortment of many spirits and their appearances. Certainly not every older Yamana makes a useful kĭna tagắguwa, as the leader is called. He also is responsible for providing the candidates with everything in the way of training and admonitions that ancient custom demands. It is the leader alone who determines the order of events and the program for each day. He does not have a proxy. If he were unable to act for any length of time or if, for any reason, he had to quit altogether, the assembly looks for another kĭna tagắguwa or disbands. There is no definite rule about it, but actually, without exception, a yĕkamŭ́ takes over the office of Kina leader. The basic ideas in the Kina are compatible with the conceptual world of the medicine man. The very fact that the leader is a yĕkamŭ́ gives him a decided advantage.

/1321 cont./

X 575 562 It has just been pointed out that in exceptional cases a woman may be admitted to the men's secret celebration. The group of older men grants this privilege only to a woman who has proved herself worthy of such confidence. The assumption is that the men need not fear that their Kina secret will be misused by the woman or that their superiority is endangered if they are betrayed. These privileged women are treated exactly like the male ulwala in the Great Hut; outside it they are all similarly pledged to strict silence. Long discussions among influential men precede the permision to introduce a woman into the Kina hut. Anyone who is given this great measure of confidence by the men feels honored. A woman is not permitted to ask for this distinction; it is always her own husband or a close relative who proposes it to the men assembled. If he obtains an affirmative answer, he tells the woman in strict confidence, /1322/ and she immediately makes preparations to enter the secret hut of the men. In the Kina of March, 1922, only Gertie was singled out and introduced. I was told that she was the only woman in her age group who was trustworthy.

X 575 The larger the number of participants, the more stimulating and varied the festival is. The rather long list of spirits can be more or less completely portrayed only if there are many men, each of whom throws himself into a definite role. Many a man is sufficiently ambitious to demonstrate his ability and to display his agility. He enjoys appearing first as one spirit and then as another. There are also some performances which can be put on only if several men participate. Thus, the more participants there are in a Kina festival, the easier is the choice among the players, and the more complex the individual pantomimes are.

3. The Campsite

If a good-sized group of families have decided to put on the Kina celebration, they soon notify their nearest neighbors by definite invitation. A man will almost never miss an opportunity to amuse himself in the company of his own sex by clownishly intimidating the women, and thus in a short time even a few families from a distant local group are assembled. Moreover, if a famous yekamuf

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has been obtained as the leader, he exercises his own power of attraction. Thus, many families wait for definite instructions, according to which they will remain where they are or travel to another place.

The leader, of course, has the decisive word. He uses his own judgment to determine when the proper moment has come for the move and when the more immediate preparations must begin. He perhaps delays the decision until the arrival of a good friend who is reliably informed about the whole procedure of the festival and who is often consulted. A few other experienced old men gather around this leader and influence and advise him without any kind of importunity. The kine tagkgows makes his arrangements with the good-natured agreement of the older men, and the younger men comply without opposition. This explains the unobtrusive beginning and the smooth course of the whole affair, and, above all, the genial, jolly mood of the participants during the whole period.

X 575 361

They do or do not move to a special place, depending on the external reasons that led to the decision to celebrate the Kine. It depends on the given locality in which the families have been camping. Certain conditions are demanded. The Kine hut must /1322/ stand on open land and on a slight rise so that the spirit appearing in front of the hut can easily be seen by the women and children who have remained behind in the dwellings. The open place itself must be as level as possible so that the men do not risk stumbling or falling while dancing. Of course, certain general conditions for a longer stay must also be fulfilled, namely, the availability of drinking water and firewood in the immediate vicinity, the convenience of getting food, and the complete lack of disturbance by strangers and curiosity-seekers. There are not many places on the Cape Horo Archipelago that meet these vital demands. A group of families prefers to meet at a place that has previously proved favorable for a Kine. The leader decides whether the people who happen to be settled at a certain place may stay there and simply move their huts a bit or whether a general move to a distant place is necessary. Everyone follows his instructions.

1: Gusinde--1318 S-6 (1918-1934) 1937 5098 Tafelgut 5098

X 515 361 /1363 cont./

Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 15 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (371). The closer the

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371. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kloiwam celebration of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, XII). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family huts (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

X 515 345 Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of rocks, low bushes, and many a /1364/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings, from now on they may come no closer.

1. Gumbo--(313 8-6 (1850-1954) 1937 S116 Tahgan S116

/1954 rem./

Almost every Kiva hut has the shape of a more or less
sloping cone, depending on the dimensions of the always circular
groundplan. First the Tewans set up two strong trunks which
mark off the wide entrance. Each of these has a short fork at
the top, and the forks interlock. They are called mósalëy dígwina.
At the place where the tops of these two trunks meet there rests a
third, usually longer trunk which extends more or less obliquely
to the ground toward the rear, which is called bëëlun dígwina (272).

272. Compare on p. 6 the term for the main
posts of the Green Hut for the youth initiation.

This results in the more or less sloping conical shape of the
framework, depending on how much longer this third trunk is
than the height of the other two posts. If the groundplan is small
to begin with, the Kiva hut has a very regular conical shape.
These three main trunks are the supporting framework; hence they
are inserted a few centimeters into the ground. The two large
free areas on either side of the opening up to the long center post
are filled in with more or less thick trunks set close together. The
men put each one on the ground, giving due consideration to the
circular groundplan, without digging it in, and they lean it
against the free ends of all the posts, forming a cluster on top.
Each of these by its own weight helps to support all of them to-
gether. It is unavoidable that small gaps remain between the
individual trunks. In order to fill them, clumps of turf are piled
around the outside, from the ground upward and against the
framework, and pressed close together about a meter high.
This area above this is covered with long pieces of leather stitched
together and extending almost to the peak where the smoke from
the hut fire can escape freely. With all this the Great Hut seems
adequately closed; not a ray of light reveals to outsiders the
doings of the men inside and not a current of air disturbs the quiet
glow of the hut fire. Usually the wide entrance, idna dïya, is
open to the east because bad storms most often come from the west.
It is no longer possible to determine whether the idea that this
sacred ceremony came into the Tewaata territory from the east
played any part in this arrangement. The entrance to the

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K 375 345 Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the Chiloe hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A [104] layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ Ilka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p. 85), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mi'yenka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (6):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mi'yenka (275).

[111] 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 838).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

K 515 353 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1335 cont./

X 58 163 overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae); the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones; and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Kiskenen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 538). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Tenenes. Compare Gusinde (MAI 366.

X 58 365 Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Tenenes territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the [illegible] hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a [illegible] hut. The reason for this is obvious: the man wearing tall masks must be able to duck in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Further north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1336/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (op 288. There is the west, a different kind of environment affects the shape of the ordinary huts used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Tenenes territory (p. ?). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

/1956 copy./

It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, [illegible] -- as seen by the spectator -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the awed initiates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kina hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is carried beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be entrusted with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a bonal hut for five day and night.

The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kina performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the more essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

The chief goal of the group of men at their Kina is to remind the female population anew of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

/CSSD cont./

an an old myth and is supposed to renew and strengthen the women's erroneous belief that their men are intimately associated with certain spirits who are helping them keep the women in subjection. For centuries the men have strictly guarded their secret.

Throughout the whole course of the festival, all the women and children /CSSD/ are wrecked with relentless severity. While it is necessary for the men gathered in the Grove that no adhere to their daily program, the persons left behind in the camp are strictly controlled in their freedom so that they will under no circumstances discover the Kine secret. During this time the men are ruthlessly strict with all the women and children, but they do offer them enough stimulation and variety so that these days and weeks are not in any way a period of unmerciful agony. Every woman knows that forward behavior and impertinent curiosity would be severely punished.

The program of the Kine festival is carried out according to definite rules that have developed from a long past. The many kinds of women and spirit appearances in successive weeks are very necessary different from the others through greater diversity in the production of every animated participation by the performers. Otherwise, the peculiar talents of the leader and the number of male participants provide reasons for many differences. The basic features, however, are always the same. No regional differences have developed in the various parts of the Tonowa homeland, but in individual areas sometimes one and sometimes another spirit-appearance has been given preference.

In the course of the following description many points of agreement between the Kine of our Tonowa and the Ndhlavu of the Ndhlavu will come to light. A brief reference to this similarity should be made now. It would lead me far afield, however, to point out each individual detail. There is also considerable resemblance between the two versions of the so-called origin myth.

After repeated urging, old Ndhlovukazi finally, in March, 1953, declared himself willing to undertake the leadership of the Kine festival. He was really the only noteworthy man who could reliably carry out the many duties and responsibilities connected with this post. A few of the older Tonowa will remember that the man's secret ceremony was once held here in Pwana Mujibwana.

/1837 cont./

and they gathered on the place where the Great Sun had stood. Since this place was still unoccupied, the Kiva Sun was once again erected on the same spot. The only difference was that the dimensions of the groundplan were smaller, namely, eight corners, which was adequate for the small number of participants. The size of the groundplan, of course, is always adapted to the number of men assembled for the secret festival.

3. The Beginning

When the construction of the Great Sun and the work on the interior are near completion, a few men inconspicuously and individually assemble the necessary articles in their own dwellings and take them to the Kiva Sun. These articles include a number of pieces of leather for the /1837/ sleeping place, weapons and implements, and finally abundant quantities of pigments. Gradually all the men of the camp gather in the secret Sun and wear a heated fire. When the first clouds of smoke appear, the women and children in the camp interpret this to mean that the festival has begun. Without a special summons and without noise or conspicuous movements, the men have assembled in the Kiva Sun, simply following their palpable sense to warn of affairs and guided by their own awareness that the preparations have ended.

The Initiates do not have a special waiting arrangement for the men present in the secret Sun. The leader alongside at the south post beside the entrance because from there he can easily survey the path marked out for the dancers, which starts at the entrance. He can also conveniently spy out whenever he wants to safely the camp. The experienced men choose their places on the spot of the assembly without making any special demands, but sometimes friends or close relatives sit beside each other. In the back, that is, opposite the entrance, a few places are left open for the young men who are to be introduced for the first time as [illegible].

In time as the men fell silent and have given themselves up entirely to their own thoughts and received the ire of this

L: Gamble--1938 E-6 (1918-1954) 1957 Ethn Telugus 1962

X575 /1938 cont./
performance, the leader begins with a talk. It is his duty to win over the men who are suited for the role of a spirit and who must soon commence rehearsing. It is no less important to select the lads who may be allowed on this occasion. The unanimous agreement of the influential old men decides this question. In former times a chap must have attended the Vēlaṅgu twice; nowadays there is more leniency in this respect, and the old men are satisfied if the youth has submitted to the initiation once. Actually, none of these lads is refused admission if he is halfway discreet and regarded as trustworthy. If suitable boys are present in the camp, the old men soon agree to admit them. Unlike the Vēlaṅgu, however, the kīlu can take place even if onlookers are lurking. Since in the past few decades a dependable woman may also be invited into the secret hut, the men consult on this, too, at the beginning of the affair.

X575 A2 Preparations are immediately begun for the appearance of the so-called spirits. This requires large amounts of pigment, which each man has secretly bought along. Masks are also indispensible. A large piece of bark cut in the shape of a longitudinal triangle is used in making them. The free edges are tied together over the peak with whalebone; the lower edge, which rests on the shoulders of the wearer, forms a shallow arc. /Pl. 4 appears here./ /1939/ At the proper height small holes are cut out for the two eyes. This conical-shaped mask of bark is called kīrīṭa kīlu (178) and is 60 to 80 centimeters high. If for any reason the

178. Originally the term means: bark quiver for arrows, also quiver made of leather (p. 59). ED:280 confirms the one designation for quiver and mask.

required pieces of bark cannot be obtained, a piece of leather may be substituted for the mask. The latter is called ulōlāṅgu and has the same shape and size as the bark mask, but the lower part is usually wider and the whole piece comes to a sharp point at the top. Compare ulōlāṅgu to ED:115. Bridges (1):17 mentioned the masks and called them "workbags" /cited in English/. If the Kīlu celebration is prolonged, the bark masks must be repeatedly

1. Canada—1938 0-0 (1910-1939) 1937 Old Tobique Site

/1.888/ Plate 6

E95
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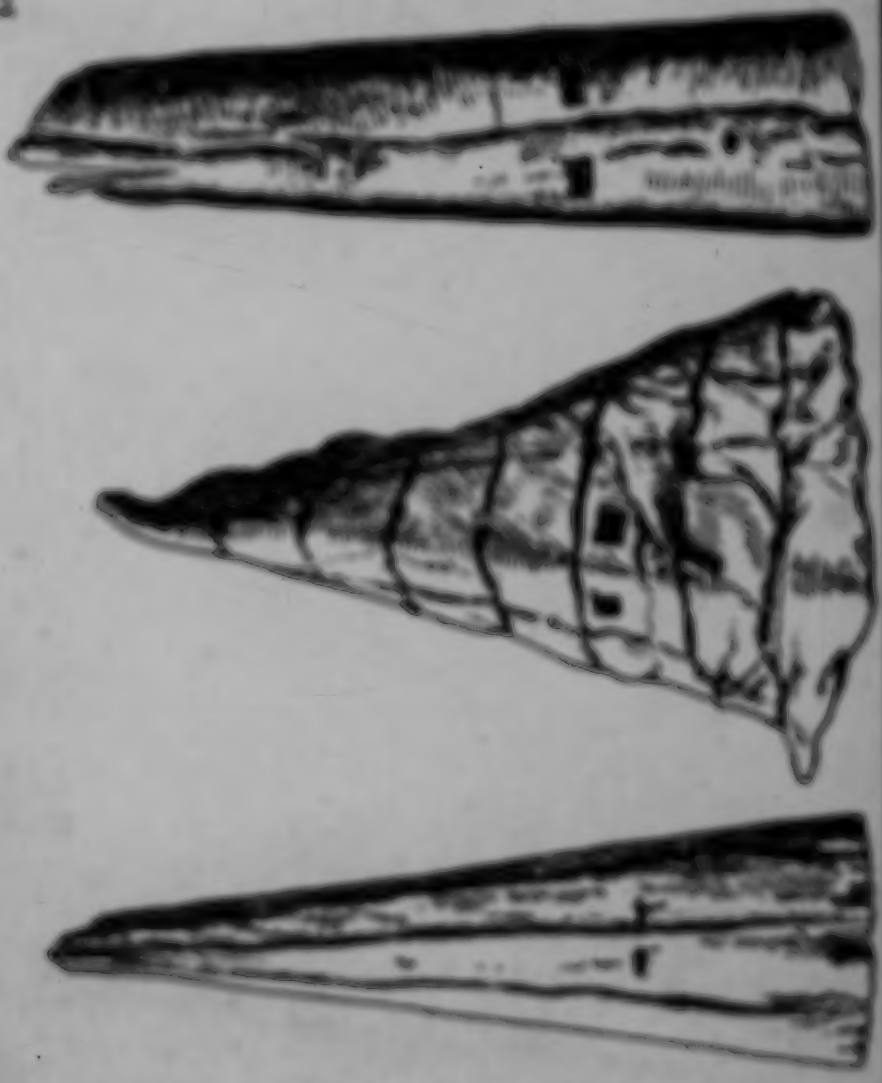

Slender Ovate Bone Pin

[illegible]
replaced, for in the heat of the hot fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more valuable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully protected and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p.[illegible]).

While the discussions and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uneasy feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end; they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kize with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women, some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first masks appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1933, the men present began their painting about five in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /[illegible]/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint themselves with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kize hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1938 cont./
dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately mid-way between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tšuwa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, maltreating, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Mawuntšuwa places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kinamjšma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Mawuntšuwa again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampšlš has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hšj hšlš, hšj hšlš in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arm over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1330 cont./
goes straight out to the dance place. Here it halts for about two minutes, merely repeating hāj huǔu...constantly. At a sign from the leader this Kalampáša troupe withdraws, singing, and its rhythmic call slowly dies away. A few minutes later it reappears in /1331/ exactly the same way. While it is still outside repeating its uninterrupted hāj huǔu, a very loud yelling begins inside the Great Hut with a clearly distinguishable rhythmic pux, pux, which soon drowns out the call of the Kalampáša group. The latter now marches slowly back into the Kina hut. By way of explanation it must be added here that this row does not represent the Kalampáša spirit himself, but that the men are putting on this dance at his direction.

Scarcely has this group disappeared when all the men begin howling in an unusually alarming way. Since I am sitting among them, I can observe how Santiago rolls up a thick, dry sea lion skin and vigorously beats it against the smooth ground. Each beat is followed by a sudden outcry of the men, which is repeated several times. The whole procedure is supposed to fool the women and say to them: The Támuwa spirit present in this Kina hut in its malicious rage intend to strike down all the men. But they are defending themselves, so that with their united superior strength they will succeed this time in freeing themselves from this mighty spirit and in suppressing it. But every man is wounded in the bitter struggle. Two old women who are permitted to be in the Kina hut dash out, filled with terror. Previously they have poked their nostrils with a small pointed stick, and thick drops of blood are falling for all to see. They run toward the women and children still assembled in front of the Kina hut. The group clearly recognizes the situation and is alarmed by it. Indeed, they all get up and hasten to their dwellings where they shut themselves in and remain quiet. Someone summons the courage to ask the two old women compassionately: "Whatever has happened to you?" The two answer with feigned terror: "We had to struggle with Támuwa over there; it beat us until we bled, we had great difficulty in saving ourselves!" These words fill everygody with terror.

For half an hour the women and children are given a little respite in their dwellings. Now and then a few howling cries are

/1331 cont./
X 375 repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampáła will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical
[502] stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Maḷemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the
[535] son of the Kalampáła spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps sidewise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Maḷemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō hō... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la la... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā gā... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1332 cont./

X575 302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent Tâmuwa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

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279. The Selk'nam also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Kloketen spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X575 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1333/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Mañemikem, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalampáia mîm would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1333 cont./

closely at the faces of the men. Kalampála mám could be translated as "visit of Kalampála." SD:348 gives mám, "to come as crabs do into shallower water when the winter is past, to come as any special season" /cited in English/. Actually the whole performance is a procession of men going over to the camp. The younger people are already trembling with curiosity and enthusiasm. Finally Maŋemikem once more steps out beside the entrance to the Kina hut, looks down toward the camp, and shouts "Have you gone to bed yet? -- I take it for granted that you are still up and about! -- So wait, something else is soon to happen!" During the next ten minutes the men confer and discuss the planned performance. Then Maŋemikem cries out into the still night: "Kalampála has just come down. I don't know what he has in mind. Possibly he will now visit your huts. Lie down [on the sleeping place] and cover yourself well. Beware of looking up or even moving if Kalampála should step into your hut!" These instructions to the women are followed by a loud hō hō... by the men from the Kina hut. They take off their footgear, place themselves one behind the other, and creep in single file out of the hut. Each one is silent and his facial expression shows deep seriousness. A few women and children are gathered in Chris's dwelling. The men know this and the long line sets out for that hut. Carefully they creep inside. Sure enough, everyone in the hut is lying on the ground and is completely covered. The men make a closed circle around the fire; they have made sure that the women and children are well covered and do not stir. At a mute signal from the leader they all utter a loud sustained pē and at the same time stamp hard on the ground. For about two minutes the men stand absolutely motionless, then they again utter the loud pē. After another pause they start making short, rapid hō hō... calls, again stamp hard on the ground, and move out of the hut with short quick steps in the same formation with which they entered, straight toward the Kina hut. Scarcely are they safely there when their hitherto suppressed satisfaction over the very successful joke breaks out with complete abandon. For a long time they divert themselves with the /1334/ few and, to them, precious details and congratulate one another on the complete success of their prank. The younger men are almost

/1324 cont./

beside themselves with joy; they discuss with great earnestness the appearance planned for the following day.

The first day ends with the appearance of the spirits described above. Malemiliuma, who is looking in an extremely good mood, now starts to tell the enthusiastically attentive group of men a few personal experiences from earlier Kina festivals which are still fresh in his mind. From that he leads into the old myth which describes the origin of this secret performance. Until about eleven o'clock we sit happily together in the spacious Kina hut. Malemiliuma now is obviously overcome with sleepiness and leaves; the rest of the participants soon follow. In former times all the men were obliged to spend the night in the secret hut. Today they go to the much more comfortable beds in their own dwellings.

Even in former times every Kina festival began in the manner just described. After the customary announcement by the leader, some "spirit" would step before the assembled women and children, and thereafter others of this kind would follow in no particular order. At the start there is never a definite, binding program; the mood of the moment or the happy thought of one of the participants decides the succession of events each day and almost every hour.

2. Introduction of the Candidates

Immediately at the start of the Kina festival the responsible adults, in an informal conversation among themselves, select the young lads who are to be admitted as ulwala. They must, of course, be sufficiently mature mentally, since, as a rule, they have already been through the Tabuya twice. Whoever has been granted this privilege is pleased about the distinction no less than about learning the strange secrets which shall now be disclosed to him. The father or a close relative informs the young man that he may take part in the Kina this time as ulwala.

After he has been notified, he remains almost continually in his dwelling, for he will be called soon after the start of the festival, although he does not know exactly when. A certain

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formality must be observed. In March, 1922, this was done only when Gertie was introduced, at which time I became acquainted with it from personal observation. In former times, at any rate, it was required. After the performance has been going on for a day or two, the leader decides the hour when each uĭwĭ́ala is to be fetched. A relative hastens over to the camp, finds the chosen lad in his dwelling, and blindfolds him with a wide strip of leather, whereupon he accompanies him to the Kina hut. Here, meanwhile, the fire has been removed and the hearth sprinkled with earth; /1335/ this has been done to make some room. With a few pieces of leather a sort of curtain is made beside the entrance, and behind it hide two painted men with masks over their heads. The uĭwĭ́ala, led by a man, now steps in through the wide entrance and is led up to the opposite wall. A loud howling and yelling begin. Meanwhile the candidate and his guide sit down at the place designated, with their backs to the entrance. A few moments later the guide has his protégé lie down with his face to the ground so that he cannot see what is going on around him. After a while, when the yelling has subsided somewhat, all the men present get up; the two "spirits" step out of their hiding-place behind the curtain and jump on the ground beside the fire, at the same time uttering a loud cry of pax.

The uĭwĭ́ala is still lying down, facing the inside wall. Behind his back, that is to say, in the center of the hut, the two spirits dance and leap. All the rest of the men can easily watch this because they form a tight circle around these dancers. The men yell and howl with brief interruptions during which the leader gives a few commands and speaks a few words of encouragement. Then he orders the uĭwĭ́ala and his guide to get up. Scarcely has this happened when one spirit after the other leaps angrily at the uĭwĭ́ala, as though they wanted to knock him over. Each of them comes so close to the youth that he is pushed back a little. It is a regular attack by the spirit which the uĭwĭ́ala can feel plainly enough, but cannot see. The howling of all the men and the quick stamping on the ground produce a weird effect. This excited movement continues for a few minutes. Finally the guide removes the blindfold from the eyes of the uĭwĭ́ala

/1235 cont./

575 who now sees the two "spirits" in front of him. Again he is terror-stricken. The leader calls to him: "Grab him by the head!" Resolutely the lad stretches out his hand and pulls the mask off the "spirit." Now he recognizes the man and winces in astonishment. He must immediately unmask the other "spirit" in the same way. This whole procedure has the effect of a revelation; he stands in front of the men who have been unmasked as though he had turned to stone. While this is going on, the tight circle of participants all around him yell and stamp with all their might. Now the ulwíala knows the nature of the spirits; further explanation is unnecessary.

The ulwíala must now sit down. As he does so, he can see that the two "spirits" take their places in the circle of men. Again his face is covered. Now all the men dance around the fire in wild haste and howl quite dreadfully (280). Suddenly they

[71]

280. It is noteworthy that in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam the candidate who has just been introduced unveils the secret of the so-called spirits in the same way, namely, by pulling off the mask himself (Vol. I, 853).

stop, jump once where they stand, utter a long-drawn out hó, /1236/ and the whole circle breaks up. Everyone sits down in his place; the two spirits sit in front of the ulwíala, and the guide next to him. Once again the ulwíala faces the wall and turns his back to the entrance. If two or three young men are introduced for the first time on the same occasion, the procedure described above is followed, except that one spirit dances in front of each ulwíala and the masks are pulled off by the ulwíala at the same moment, following a signal from the leader.

This unmasking is followed by a brief pause during which the frightened candidates calm down somewhat. The next few minutes are devoted entirely to their instruction. This is regularly given by the leader and actually consists only of an urgent admonition that the youths faithfully and conscientiously guard the Kina secret. The leader either has the candidates assemble in front of him,

/1326 cont./

X 515 squatting in a semicircle at his feet, or he sits beside the uwǐ́ala if only one is present. Several times he repeats in all seriousness: "You are now here in the Great Hut. You know now what our performances mean. It is only men who portray such [so-called] spirit. They do not come down from above nor do they arise out of the earth. Each [spirit] that appears to the women and children outside this hut is always merely one of us men. Now you know our secret. But beware of revealing it to anyone outside. This is a matter that only we men may know. Take care and be on your guard; the old people will watch you closely to see whether you are silent!" In March, 1922, Gertie was introduced to the Kina. Old Maʔemiłkem squatted down on the ground beside her and spoke these words of urgent warning to her. He also added: "Everyone knows you as a good Yamana woman. You cling faithfully to what is customary among us; that is why men and women esteem you. You now know the secret of the men. What is your opinion now about this Hut? You have just grasped the masks of one and the other ["spirit"]; afterwards you recognized the two men. So it will not be necessary for me to enlighten you further. From the [illegible] you know that no one may tell what goes on in this secret hut. Anyone who does will be murdered. You know that in many a swamp in which tall reeds grow there is a foul odor. Do you know why? I shall tell you. Long ago a young woman learned the Kina secret and told it. She was led to the swamp and she sank. The same punishment will overtake you if you reveal anything. Other men will disclose many more things to you; I am an old man and must limit myself to little. Say nothing about it to any other women. Never misuse the confidence that we men are entrusting to you today!" While these admonitions were being given, there was deep seriousness on the faces of all /1327/ present; they listened without moving and without saying a word. Usually considerable time elapses before the men make the transition from this intense self-reflection to the jovial mood of their amusing hoaxes. The subsequent treatment of the uwǐ́ala will be described later.

/1337 cont./

3. The Origin Myth

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The entire conceptual world of the Kina rests on an old legend which also establishes the misogynic trend of this secret ceremony. On that first evening, after the group of men has introduced the festival with a few spirit-appearances and has taken roguish delight in the initial nervousness, the leader in the ensuing conversation quite freely and naturally starts talking about the origin of the Kina. As I personally learned, back there in March, 1923, there are only a few principal ideas which he offers in condensed form. This suffices for the men who have long been familiar with the material. It is as though this were a justification of the secret gathering and the hostile attitude of the men toward the women, the former justifying their strange behavior before themselves, as it were.

Once the performance has begun, the introduction of the young lads chosen as ulu'ala does not take long. Thus one evening, at the very beginning of the celebration, they are told the origin myth in its entirety and in its traditional form. This is the first time that these chaps hear it, and some formality is required. The leader, of course, is not always capable or talented enough to tell the story accurately and impressively. In any case, it is his duty to see to it that it is presented to the ulu'ala properly. If he himself does not feel able to do this, he asks one of the elderly participants who has perhaps done it before on a previous occasion. It is largely due to this that the wording of the myth has remained the same throughout the centuries. It was not until my fourth journey that I heard it from Masemikens exactly as I have set it down here in the following pages (281). He repeated it to me in the presence of several

281. This version has already been published by Gusinde (a):278 and (b):337.

men in connection with the medicine-man school. It has a lasting effect on every young man who hears it for the first time. I give it here in the most literal translation possible.

Up in the northern part of Isla Grande (282) and then beyond

282. This definite statement clearly

X /1937 cont./
915
773 designates the northern part of the native country of the Selk'nam.

on the beautiful wide pampas of Tenetéten (393) the women were

393. This is the name of the flat country around Bahía Thetis.

the first to perform Kina. At that time /1938/ the women had sole power; they gave orders to the men who were obedient, just as today the women obey the men. The men also set to work at the start, the women in front at the bow of the canoe. All the work in the hut was performed by the men, with the women giving orders. They took care of the children, tended the fire, and cleaned the skins. That is the way it was always to be. For this reason the women invented this Great Hill and everything that goes on in it. They said to the men: "We seek Thówen! We are trying to see whether she will let herself be found, whether she will come out of the earth and enter the Great Hut!" The men regarded this as the truth. They had to follow whenever the women broke up camp somewhere.

But they did not find Thówen in that region. So they traveled to another place, first along the north shore of Isla Grande up to the northeast tip. Whenever they stopped they built the Kina hut and performed once more. From there they wandered along the eastern shore of Isla Grande to the south. Wherever they performed, they made a wide, flat pampas. Everywhere they looked for the mighty, evil Thówen. They continued southward until they came to the vicinity of Cabo San Pablo. From here on they no longer traveled along the coast; that is the reason why even today one sees only woodland and mountainous country south of this cape. Then the women set out in a southwesterly direction, crossed the mountains, and reached Beagle Channel on the southern coast of this Isla Grande, in the region of Puerto Harberton. From here they traveled westward. Wherever they erected their Kina Hut and performed Kina, as at Puerto Brown, the surface of the ground changed and the country became level and open. They went along the [northern] coast

L. Gusinde—1389 6-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5116 Yahgan 5116

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/1388 cont./
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of Beagle Channel, always westward, until they finally came to Yáhgulga (Bay). There they performed their Kina for a very long

284. Today commonly called "Bocs del Infierno," [illegible] solely under the influence of their myth. This place is on the peninsula jutting out toward the south in Ushuaia Bay.

time. They stepped out of the Great Hut, only one woman or several, painted all over, with a hílix [mask] on their heads. Each time, a shrewd woman would call to the men: "That is Sine-yáka!", or again "That is Vasfoim-yáka!" And many other spirits came out. The men believed this. But actually the women had painted themselves, and since they covered their faces with the masks, none of the men recognized them.

Despite their performances and their search, which continued for a long time, they could not find Tánuwa and bring her out of the earth. So they decided not to travel farther, but to remain here in Yáhgulga. This place has a lovely pampas plain; they liked it very much and said: "We want to stay here! We shall now find the men and call to them: "We found Tánuwa; she just now came out of the earth and is with us in the Great Hut!" Immediately they rolled up a few dried skins, beat the earth with them so that it shook, and yelled, roared, and howled as though they were terribly frightened. The men heard this, /1339/ hastened into their huts, and hid, full of fear. They only whispered to each other quite softly: "Sure enough, our wives have now discovered Tánuwa! before this they never yelled so loudly and persistently when the spirits appeared." When this terrible howling commenced and the earth shook, the men said to themselves, fully convinced: "That is surely Tánuwa coming out of the earth. So the women found her after all!" The women then continued their performances in Yáhgulga. The men were held in fear and submission and continued to do all the work as the women ordered.

Lém, the sun-man, was an excellent hunter. Again and again he was sent to hunt. He brought home abundant game. The many women in the Kina hut needed a great deal of meat. One day he had again killed a large guanaco while hunting (285)

285. It should be pointed out that in the

1: Gumbs--1940 8-6 (1918-1994) 1987 0186 Yahgan 0186

/1339 com./

central part of the Yamana territory our Fuegians almost never built gamashos which are seen there very rarely (p.266).

and hoisted it on his back. As he was approaching the camp he passed a lagoon and heard the voices of two girls. Lêm grew curious and said to himself: "I wonder what those two are going here." He crept up softly, hidden by bushes. Then he saw that the girls were washing off painting that was characteristic of the "spirits" when they appeared. At the same time they were practicing imitations of the voice and manner of his two daughters (the daughters of Lêm) (286), for she played a prominent role in

286. At this point in the story old Whaim mentioned only "one daughter of the woman."

the Kina house. The girls said: "We want to practice hard so that we can perfectly imitate the daughter of Lêm. Then we shall help her sing and help her fool the men." They went on rehearsing and talking about the doings of the women in the Kina hut.

Suddenly Lêm leaped out of his hiding-place. He placed himself so close to the girls that they could not escape. He rebuked them and was extremely serious: "What are you doing here?" Frightened, they were silent. Then he commanded them: "You must tell me everything you are doing here, what you have talked about and what goes on in the Kina hut! I know quite a bit, because I have been eavesdropping." Then the girls blushed with shame and a cold sweat broke out on their foreheads. Finally they told Lêm everything and confessed: "It is the women themselves who paint themselves and put on masks; then they step out of the hut and show themselves to the men. There are no other spirits there. It is the women themselves who yell and howl; in this way they frighten the men. But Tînuwa does not do such things." The girls told him many other things. Then Lêm said: "Out of gratitude I shall give you a bit of advice. Stay here at the lagoon and do not go back to the camp or to the

L: Gwinde--1941 E-6 (1919-1936) 1937 0SB Telugu 0SB

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/1939 cont./
Kina hut, something bad is now going to happen!" So the girls stayed behind; later they turned into small fresh-water ducks /1941/ (397).

397. Back in January, 1938, old Wlaito told me this part of the myth in somewhat different form. The sun-man was an excellent hunter. Although he always brought abundant game back from the hunt, there was soon a shortage of meat again. So he had to go hunting constantly. Too soon, the meat was stolen by the women. One day when he turned toward the camp, laden with a heavy game-sack, he passed a lagoon in which two girls were bathing. Undetected he crept up and listened to their conversation. Then he heard them say: "Ilbu always brings much meat back from the hunt. Today he is out again and will surely not come home empty-handed. But the crafty women steal all his meat and take it to the Kina hut where they all consume it. Ilbu knows nothing about this." Now when the sun-man suddenly stepped out of his hiding-place, the girls saw him. Frightened, they ducked down under water. But he called to them: "I've already seen you and recognized you, so come here!" Frightened, they approached. Ilbu said to them: "What are you saying? I overheard you!" They stammered: "We only said: Ilbu always brings home a lot of meat, here it is stolen and that is why he must hunt every day." Then Ilbu demanded: "Since you know who steals my meat you must tell me who these [persons] are!" The girls, with fear and trembling, told him: "All the women gathered in the Kina hut steal the meat that you bring and consume it. That is why they stay in the Kina hut such a long time, whey they go on performing and frightening the men!"

[illegible]

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Likn. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Likn angrily hoisted his guanaco on his shoulders once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the guanaco and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all on me?" "They take our meat away from us as though it were for themselves, but they themselves consume it in the Kino hut!" All the women who were standing near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Likn talking about? Why is he so angry?"

[illegible] (388) happened to be sitting nearby and was

388. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

warbling on a harpoon point. She heard the excited words of Likn and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Likn be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. The woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up, she after all, did not have to crawl under the cover (389). So when

389. During the Kalampuss performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of the spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1323.

L Gontalo—1960 E-6 (1010-1050) 1957 048 Tulagan 030

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/Obi said:/

Ubo entered the hut, the woman in a roundabout way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking. She said to him: "We women have just given the men here a /big/ terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalanguhk." She said this to confuse Ubo and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

She then ran back to the Kiva hut and told the women: "Ubo knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, pulled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to testify there more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but secretly peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their noses close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but remained motionless. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalanguhk, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Ubo told the men in detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and slipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Kalalalilm; today he is a small bird (190).

[Bird]

190- This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places; its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. BO:152 also mentions it.

/[illegible]/
He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tripping over all the mats. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women expected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their mats have fallen over? They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Kalalaklina told the men: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tripped over all the mats. But I did not see Thomas. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The men listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only deceiving them with all that they had maintained about Thomas. /[illegible]/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller men, then the bigger ones. Each of them crept in on one side, whirled through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women soon noticed this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow after every man who ran through the hut and looked over their mats. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals [which at that time were men] in particular were easy to hit with an arrow. That is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the arrow. That is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Tsikstsa shrub (291)

Ill. This is Winter's herb, Drosera wineri
(= Ill /[illegible]/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and set out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed; all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

1: Gustafson--1963 E-6 (1918-1956) 1987 USM Tolagan USM

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/1363 cont./

One can tell that all of them at that time suffered heavy blows. While this struggle was going on, Lêm poured great quantities of water on the Kina but in order to extinguish the fire, for the hut had started burning. He poured out a great deal of water. It became a huge wave. This wave surged far out to sea and took along the big marine animals, for there is no place for them [to move about] on the earth. To this day one can see this wave: these are the heavy breakers that dash against the high outlying rocks. Into this conflagration Lêm tossed a bucket, ellin, filled to the brim with water. It made a great hissing noise. This hissing also went out to sea and to this day one can hear it even through the mighty booming of the waves.

All the women were killed or transformed, a few escaped, and only the small children remained unharmed. Soon after this great struggle, Lêm, the sun-man, ascended to the firmament along with his brother Akêmix, the rainbow, and the latter's wife Tấnuwa, the moon-woman. From that time on the men perform in the Kina hut; they do this in the same manner as the women before them.

By way of supplement I shall now give the short version of the myth of the upheaval, which Mal'amikem told on the evening of March 8, 1922, when the secret celebration had just begun. He explained: "We men long ago took the kina away from the women. High up in the northern part of /1363/ Isla Grande, in the region of Yaiyúkan the women performed their first kina. Who can tell whether or not these were Selk'nam women? Perhaps at that time the Selk'nam were not yet as different from us Yamana here in this country as they quite obviously are today. On their journey down here from the north the women looked everywhere for Tấnuwa, but could not find her. In vain they tried at the various places where they erected their Great Hut. Finally they came to Yáiasáiga. They liked it here and decided to stay. Immediately they fooled all the men and pretended they had finally found Tấnuwa here. All of them made a lot of noise, yelled, leaped, and danced very excitedly. The men were supposed to believe that Tấnuwa was causing all this, but she did not do it. The things that Tấnuwa really brought about are the considerable slopes of stones, gravel, and rubble which one

/(1943 comm.)/

773 still more want of Témawe. It was Témawe who lifted all this mess, drank it up, and moved it. If she herself had raged as wildly and smelt out as excitedly as those women in the Kina hut, the whole region would have been demolished and destroyed. All the noise and fury were carried on by the women themselves; they made the men believe that Témawe was giving vent to her fury in this dreadful way.

"One day when Lêm returned from the hunt he eavesdropped on two girls beside a lagoon. While he kept himself hidden in the tall reeds, the girls chatted: 'Let's practice some more.' At the same time they kept trilling their le le le... Finally they said: 'Now we can do it just as well as the women in the Kina hut!' When they were ready to end their vocal practice, Lêm rose from his hiding-place and stepped up to them. In his anger he addressed them gruffly and reproachfully: 'So it is our own women who deceive us men with their singing! The xlamína (285)

285. A particular kind of Kina spirit. Concerning this designation HD:113 says: "Certain men or beings supposed to be the sons of a certain xllapéna, who acted parts in the ceremonial drama" /cited in English/. Thus here, too, there is again a reference to the Kalampasa-appearance (p. 1228 and p. 1242), as in the other version of this myth.

also do not come down from above into the Kina hut! I shall inform all the men of this without delay!' The girls trembled with fear and dismay. But Lêm commanded them: 'Now tell me everything!' In their helplessness they revealed to him: 'Only our women are staying there in the Kina hut; they alone are the ones who put on everything. But the men are deceived and their false belief maintained.' Lêm was satisfied with this and assured the girls: 'All right, I shall save you two. Stay here at this lagoon and hide, then you will escape with your lives!' When Lêm reached the camp, he angrily tossed the guanaco on the ground and said distinctly: 'As far as the meat is concerned,

/1343 cont./

X 575 773 the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled Tešur'kīpa. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lēm must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalampása mátu]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

X 575 773 825 "Soon the great struggle began there in Yáiaašága. The men ousted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a tail (293). The man who was trying to hit čilawáiakīpa no

293. In the first version of this myth (p. 1244) the same Mašemikens said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yékēslĕf ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (294).

294. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). BD:646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or horn" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The hafēim behaved in exactly the same way; to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (295). Likewise the tēpē'akīpa (296). The wēmar'kīpa

295. This is a trunkfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

X-575 773 825

/1344 cont./

296. The formation of the snout of this fur seal, Arctocephalus australis (p. 41 /untranslated/, is interpreted as a mask that was formerly worn by the animal.

(Larus glaucodes) was hit by many arrows; this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing coverts. The small whale asóula (Pseudorca crassidens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: 'Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!' He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

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"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Yáiaašága; they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth stones; these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Lēm left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Akáinix and the latter's wife Hánuxa, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1345/ stars. Since then the men rule in the Kina hut and no woman may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the sun-man resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the men came into possession of this secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp. 731, 747), or stars. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

/1345 cont./
transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (297).

297. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 859), Yamana, and Halakwulup. All three are juxtaposed in Gusinde (q):261. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d):995.

Another familiar idea should be repeated here: Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Yamana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p.855). The text of the two versions given above differs in details and in minor incidents. Naturally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

To this day the Yamana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their vindication upon it. While the esteem that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

X575 /1345 cont./
worthy one in all respects, during the Kina celebration all these innate considerations and traditional customs are cast aside as though they had been completely eradicated from memory. Naturally, this causes an inner conflict which they do feel in one way or another.

/1346/ Nevertheless, during the secret ceremony all the men cling steadfastly to the goal which they strive for by means of it, namely, to force all the women into subjection and submission. The men once again want to make the women aware of their superior position and make them feel their greater power. The feeling of solidarity among all the men is amazingly absolute and effective on this occasion; they regard themselves as the guardians of the existing social order and feel responsible as such, hence also their inner unity and smooth co-operation as they strive for the goal of the Kina festival.

The mental attitude described here is characterized outwardly by the unwavering and decisive seriousness with which the tight group of men insists on the traditional daily program with its manifold details. Up to the present nothing has been changed in the basic essentials and none of the principal ideas has been weakened. This is not by any means to imply that the men regard their position as threatened; rather, they wish, in accordance with their natural inclination, to do justice to the demands of an obligation handed down from ancient times and, incidentally, for their personal advantage, to put on an air of importance. It must be conceded that they are very punctilious, as has been shown, in bringing forth the individual so-called spirits and in the duties imposed by the daily program. By and large, however, their secret gathering is still an enjoyable affair with an unrestrained exchange of ideas and free surrender to carefree loafing, particularly -- as in most cases -- when the Kina festival has been initiated in the immediate vicinity of a stranded whale. While the men luxuriate in comfort and ease behind the scenes, so to speak, all the women and children in the camp must put up with many an uncomfortable restriction of their personal liberty and their otherwise generally conceded freedom to roam about. The men do not feel that there is any injustice in this situation.

In order to make this description sufficiently complete, it is advisable to describe in detail how the men in the Great Hut and

/1346 cont./

X 575 the women and children in the camp must conduct themselves during this celebration. This will be followed by a reference to the treatment of the uswáala who participate for the first time. After that an account will be given of the things that go on during each day and a considerable part of the night.

a. Daily Program for the Men

Every Yamana man who has passed through the čiéxaus twice as an uswáala thereby obtains the right to experience the kína on the next occasion. Taking this lawful formality for granted, it always depends on the /1347/ opinion of the influential old people whether a particular boy is admitted to the present festival or whether they will have him wait for the next occasion. In one way or another the boy must have proved himself absolutely reliable. For example, since a kína now and then directly follows a čiéxaus, an uswáala of the latter would not have had an opportunity to test himself with regard to the principles he has just been taught. Thus the old people, wisely cautious, give him an opportunity to do so by letting him wait until the next kína.

Anyone who has once proved himself as an uswáala in the Kina enjoys unrestricted freedom for the rest of his life to take part in every affair of this kind. Moreover, his presence is always desired, for the affair is more enjoyable and more varied when many participants are assembled. The greatest advantage, however, is gained by each man personally because he is offered a great deal of stimulation and his whole inner being is renewed and enriched; therefore, everyone of his own accord gladly hastens to a Kina festival. A fellow-tribesman has never been formally excluded. Anyone who has made himself unpopular because of his quarrelsome nature or who must fear revenge and just punishment from others avoids a gathering of men who would rise up against him in a body.

From among the circle of participants an experienced, mature man is selected without any definite formality to conduct the whole performance as leader. He is not chosen and named according to certain rules, such as prevail among the Selk'nam,

/1347 cont./

X515 for example (Vol. I, 829). The more or less accidental choice among the Yamana is, however, a better guarantee that a competent man will take over the direction of this affair. His arrangements and instructions, his commands and assignments are followed by every participant. This need not be specifically demonstrated in view of the innate submissiveness of our Yamana.

If one closely observes the personal attitudes of individuals among the sometimes considerable number of participants, it is easy to see that everyone as conveniently and deliberately as possible, surrenders himself to carefree idleness. Here the so-called struggle for existence does not touch him at all, and he lulls himself with the belief that now he need not bother about his family in the camp; genuine manly duties await him here in the Kina hut, which as such, however, are anything but strenuous. After all, the leader will see that everyone has plenty to eat. If the necessary food must now and then be brought from a distance, he assigns this duty exclusively to younger people who find pleasure in joint hunting expeditions. Similarly no one here lets himself be harassed by unavoidable tasks. Merely to pass the time, a man will sometimes busy himself with his tools or weapons, but he does not by any means work at it seriously or urgently. For /1348/ most of the day each man is left to himself; the appearances of individual spirits occur almost entirely during the period from sundown to midnight. Anyone who prefers to give himself up to undisturbed idleness simply wraps himself in his blankets at any hour of the day and stretches out on his sleeping-place. No one will molest him; in fact, many another will follow his example. During the period from sunrise until after the noon hour almost no one is active in the Great Hut. During the late hours of the night, however, when the spirit appearances are over and everyone present has taken part directly or indirectly, the whole company is very alive and jolly, the men describe their observations and experiences to one another, and they hardly know when to stop with their stories and jokes.

This unrestricted independence and the greatest possible comfort to which every participant surrenders himself are perfectly in accord with the program of the celebration, provided certain demands are fulfilled. First and foremost is the duty of

/1348 cont./

X515 making one or another spirit appear before the eyes of the inhabitants of the camp almost daily. This performance provides so much personal enjoyment and satisfaction to the one who plays the role of the spirit that the middle-aged men vie for it. They must practice the unusual dance movements for a considerable time, however. For this they choose the late hours of the night when they cannot be observed by the people in the camp. Even during the day some of the men engage in these exercises in the Great Hut when there are only a few persons present and there is plenty of room. They all find them an enjoyable pastime. Occasionally, however, as has just been said, the younger people must go on joint hunting expeditions. Thus, for every man the time spent in the Kina hut is refreshment for body and soul, a rest and a renewal of the whole person. They are all equally obliged to be very alert to see that no woman or child approaches the secret gathering, that they hear and see nothing that might give away the huge deception, but this certainly does not require the slightest exertion on the part of the men. The Great Hut may never be completely empty, not even for a few hours; at least one man must remain behind and guard it. Someone is always willing to do this.

Not even the seating is compulsory. Everyone likes to select a place beside a relative or intimate friend and thus from the start be assured of a good time. During the day everyone is free to sit here or there, to sit in front of the Great Hut, or to go over to the camp. Naturally, no one is forced to be present throughout the entire festival. Anyone who finds something not to his taste, who for personal reasons feels uncomfortable, or who is annoyed by the presence of an enemy will inconspicuously gather up his few belongings, /1349/ notify his wife and children in the camp, and again seek the open spaces. Not a single Kina participant will interfere with him in any way.

A general rule, however, requires the participants to spend the night in the Great Hut. Concern about guarding the Kina secret has probably given rise to this rule. It is too likely to happen that someone would not completely wash off his body painting, that someone, in his excitement, would become talkative and drop suspicious hints or would dream aloud and blurt out the secret. Of course, sleeping beside one another is

X 575 /1349 cont./ somewhat difficult and uncomfortable because of the limited space, but to make up for it a man can rest undistrubed during the day. Actually, a few old men will take the liberty of spending the night in their dwelling; no one can stop them, and everyone grants them this slight comfort without envy. In March, 1922, all the participants, without exception, sought their family huts for the night. To me this is silent proof that much of the former seriousness of this obligation has been lost. There is another reason why the men should spend the night in the Great Hut. Formerly they tried to gather the women and children into community huts if possible. There was more room for many people if special sleeping places did not have to be reserved for the men. Keeping watch over the camp inhabitants was also easier when more persons were housed in a community hut.

The women are very much deceived about the manner in which the men in the Kina hut get their food. They are made to believe that the men do not eat anything at all in their secret hut. If a man wishes to satisfy his hunger, he goes to his own dwelling and has his wife wait on him. Of course, he pretends that he is excruciatingly hungry and fills up each time. Even though he is not hungry at all, he must nevertheless give the appearance of being hungry to confirm the belief of the women and children that every man is tortured and maltreated by the spirits, that he has over-exerted himself and is weak. Their pity is supposed to be aroused and their fear of the spirits intensified. Since the uxwíala may not leave the Great Hut, a relative or an acquaintance of his mother or wife gets his meals for him several times a day and carries them over to the Great Hut. This man who brings his meals always assures the woman that some spirit almost always seizes the meal and consumes it; hence the uxwíala is at a disadvantage. Impressed by these words, the woman sends a great deal of food to the Great Hut at frequent intervals, hoping that some portion of it will reach the right person. The fact is -- and this is strictly concealed from the women -- that secretly the men provide themselves with large quantities of food, gathered chiefly on joint hunting expeditions. /1350/ They first drag their booty to the vicinity of the Kina hut and then transfer it inside under cover of darkness. Here they immediately fall to and almost

/1350 cont./

X575

always feast in abundance. The men also consume a large part of what the women have prepared for the uswala. they let the latter have only a small amount. Every indication that there has been not only eating but lavish feasting in the Kina hut is carefully removed by the men. Nevertheless, not a day goes by when they do not, by word or gesture, arouse the sympathy of their wives, chiefly because of the alleged pangs of hunger that the spirits make them suffer.

The men are extraordinarily sly in playing their deceptive roles in front of the women, and they cover up their jolly doings in the Great Hut with amazing discretion. In order to prevent any possible carelessness, younger men are advised to avoid contact with their relatives in camp as much as possible and to appear there only for urgent reasons. Many a man actually stays away from his dwelling for the duration of the Kina. In front of the women the men invariably wear a serious expression to remind them of the tortures and the mistreatment by the many spirits to which each of them is exposed in the Great Hut. Hence there is a somber, oppressive mood in the dwellings, brought about by the concern of the women and children for their husbands, fathers, and relatives. The men consciously strive for this with their cleverly planned dissimulation and their sly deception, without hurting themselves in the least or exerting any effort.

β. Daily Program for the Candid[illegible]

The young lads who have endured the čiexaus twice as uswala are introduced to the kina for the purpose of making them familiar with the secrets reserved for the men only. At the very beginning they hear the so-called origin myth which tells them the meaning of the whole affair. Moreover, they may now view with open eyes all that goes on behind the scenes, as it were. Beyond this primary and principal goal, the uswala are also given training if necessary. In view of these two considerations, the kina proves to be a continuation of the čiexaus, just as the latter is a continuation of parental rearing in the small family group. The treatment given the uswala in the kina coincides

/1350 cont./
exactly with that experienced by all the uswáala without exception in the čiéxaus, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p. 717). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yoálox family. They heard some of them earlier in the čiéxaus (p. 767).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1214), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1233). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as uswáala. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the čiéxaus, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the kina are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the čiéxaus. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the uswáala; there is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each uswáala selected; no particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the uswáala of the čiéxaus, those of the kina are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 55 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

X 575 302 292

/1351 cont./ the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

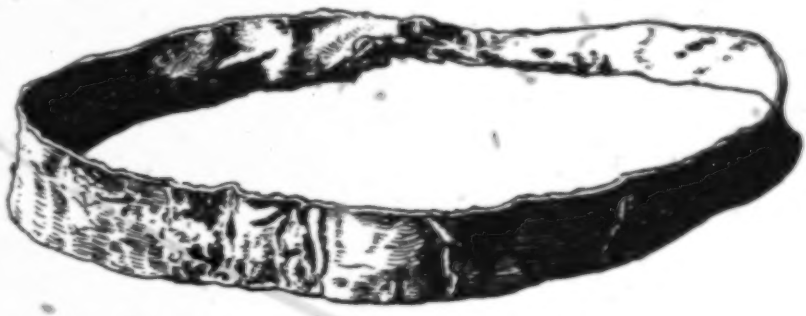

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X 575 293

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoŕlox stories, the candidate holds

X 575 293

/1352 cont./ one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 718).

X 575 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uwfala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1353 cont./

X S15 S16 T85 without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the uŭwĕala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an uŭwĕala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X S15 T85 While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The uŭwĕala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits, but as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The uŭwĕala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1354/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 20

X 575 775 /1304 cont./ muscle and at the same time as much water as the shell of a Voluta snail will hold. In the late afternoon, before the spirit scenes begin, he again gives his protégé a few bites. If at one time or another during the day the candidate is again thirsty, he may ask for water and it is given to him, but he does not get more than the small quantities of meat mentioned. The men present repeatedly express their satisfaction over the fact that the ulwéala is visibly wasting away and has become physically weak. They believe that in this condition he is more receptive to the teachings and the seriousness of the impressions he receives will be more deeply engraved (301).

> 301. For the same purpose the candidates in the youth initiation become weak from hunger and are more receptive to the teachings (p. 709).

X 575 At the request of the leader the candidates are delegated to do the necessary work in the Great Hut. The boys are then always under the supervision of the sponsor or a group of younger men. Considerable piles of firewood are required, which must sometimes be brought from a distance. The necessary amounts of meat are procured on joint hunting expeditions. In all this the men see to it that the candidates exert themselves far beyond their strength and become exceedingly weary. Other chores are easier. Every morning and at night after the spirit appearances, they must sweep the Great Hut, rearrange the fire, carefully scrape off all the spattered color, and smooth out many pieces of skin. Besides these tasks, one man or another will call upon an ulwéala for small personal services when he is devoting himself to manual work or fixing a weapon. Such tasks and the long walks are obviously advantageous and desirable for the candidates. The dull, nearly motionless crouching on the same spot exhausts them far more than a strenuous hunt with plenty of physical exercise. The following rule is conscientiously carried out as soon as the ulwéala have been introduced. They may go in and out of the Great Hut only on the side that lies north of the fire. Everyone can easily conform to this duty since the broad entrance, as is

L. Gentede--1361 8-5 (1919-1924) 1937 GMS Tahgan SH6

/1364 cont./

X575 known, opens toward the east (p. 1219). The Tomana can give no other reason for this rule than that the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kina was still in their hands. "In this Great Hut we men stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

> 302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kina celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth clearly shows (p. 1237).

X575 /1365/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try
868 out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work at them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Great Hut; under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very lithely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which man is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

X575 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining
867 to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that ulwalo will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an ulwalo dismissed from the Tubuya is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weaknesses and improper behavior on

X-575 867 /1355 cont./
his part and they tell each other about it quite openly with a view to correcting the lad's mistakes at the next Kina festival. Naturally this is always only a matter of the individual personality of the uŭwĕala in question and certain weaknesses of character. Usually a close relative takes it upon himself to impress the lad with exhortations and to correct whatever has given cause for worry and complaints. A Kina festival is truly the last opportunity at which a young man can be seriously influenced by the weight of authority enjoyed by an older fellow-tribesman. Here, after all, he is an uŭwĕala, and as such he is at the mercy of the entire assembly, to be supervised and taught by them. Out of honest conviction and far-seeing concern for the public welfare, the old people are anxious to repress thoroughly those inclinations and tendencies among the young people which might develop into serious faults of character. That is why the man who takes care of the candidate and who is also related to him asks one or another of the participants to help him, not infrequently the leader himself. All of them, one today and another tomorrow, talk seriously to the uŭwĕala insofar as his faults or his weaknesses of character demand it. They teach him in all kindness, solicitously warn him and do not hesitate to /1356/ predict that his faulty development will lead to a bad end. A person who takes an interest in an uŭwĕala in this way feels that he is fully justified and obligated to do so. If it is shown years later that his efforts have been without success, this man justifies himself before the group and reminds them of all the things he did for the uŭwĕala back in the Kina. Thus, even during the men's celebration at least a few young people are taught according to the general principles that they were given in the čiexaus. One is surprised at the general solicitude shown once again in the Kina for the rising generation, to make each one "a good and useful human being."

X-575 It has already been mentioned that in exceptional cases the Yamana also admit a woman to their men's celebration (p. 1216). They explain this strange lenience as follows. In former times a woman would occasionally approach the Great Hut out of curiosity. Instantly several men set upon her and dragged her away with them by force. As punishment they held her captive in the Great Hut for a few days. Although she was blindfolded and the men behaved

X 575

/1356 cont./
very cautiously during the spirit performances, the nevertheless recognized their action as a crafty fraud. Hence the men had no alternative but to expose themselves before this woman and to enjoin her, on pain of death, to guard the secret. From that time on, this woman was permitted to come to the Kina but on later occasions, for she was now amply informed about everything. Later some other inquisitive woman suffered the same punishment: a few men dragged her to the Great Hut by force where they let her sit at one side with her eyes blindfolded and made her go without food for a long time. Such inconsiderate treatment was intended also to warn the rest of the inmates of the camp. Clara and Flora also suffered this fate when they were still middle-aged women. The decisive reason, however, is probably the one mentioned to me in March, 1922, when Gertie was initiated: in the presence of at least one trustworthy woman the men want to drop the mask of their deception with which they have consciously duped all the women, and it seems almost as though they wished in this way to make amends to a certain extent for their undignified behavior. I myself observed the formality with which the two women mentioned above introduced Gertie into the men's group (p. 1233). After that they were obliged to conduct themselves in the Great Hut exactly like every young man who is present for the first time as ůwůjala. Naturally none of these women is called upon to assume the role of a spirit, but they learn the complete origin myth. An outside observer can confidently infer from the fact that a woman is admitted at all to the men's secret gathering-place that the Yamana are not as serious as the Selk'nam about keeping their Kina secret strictly to themselves.

/1357/ The details given above show that the daily program with all its duties is quite strenuous for the ůwůjala. It is intended that the young men should once again experience strict discipline and strenuous trials. The picture of a young man's mistakes and shortcomings which have already aroused misgivings in the group is held up before him as a final warning. Every Yamana who has become acquainted with the Kina thereby becomes a full-fledged man because he has now been entrusted with the secrets reserved for the male world. With this final

/1927 cont./

1575 tent the public has fulfilled its educational obligations with honest effort, for it has trained the young man thoroughly enough so that it can expect him to prove himself a good and useful member of the community.

Y. Daily Program of the Women

Basically the secret Kina performance is consciously and emphatically misogynous. The men try to deprive the women of any opportunity to recognize and expose this fraudulent game for what it is. As a matter of principle, therefore, women are excluded from taking part. The few who have earned the men's confidence and have obtained the privilege of entering the Kina hut are pledged to strict silence about everything that they experience there. Similarly dire punishment awaits every male outsider who dared divulge the Kina secret. It is neither difficult nor onerous to live up to this strict duty of silence. In everyday life no one talks about the Kina festival.

While it is going on, the men supervise the women and children very strictly. Their freedom of movement is considerably curtailed. From the start the men try to put several families together in community huts huddled close together, as are the individual huts. Since the Kina hut is erected on a slight rise, the camp can be easily and inconspicuously surveyed from this vantage point. Whenever the women wish to look for the indispensable firewood and to gather morels, they must make a wide arc around the Great Hut, so that under no circumstances will they cast glances inside the wide entrance. Any woman who comes too close knows from the start that the men will severely punish and mistreat her. In the late afternoon, before the spirit appearances begin, a man calls from the Great Hut to all the women and children, ordering them to creep immediately into their dwellings. In anxious haste young and old in the camp seek their own dwellings, hang something over the entrance, and, intimidated, remain almost motionless beside the fire. After some time another call from the Great Hut announces how the women and children are to conduct themselves further. If

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/1927 cont./

X595 a few spirits appear on the scene, the women and children may /1358/ come halfway toward the Great Hut in a tight group and from this point observe all the proceedings. They may until a man from the Kina hut again orders them back to the dwellings. During other spirit appearances they must remain in their sleeping-places and crawl under the covers. At any hour of the day, if the men are busy with complicated preparations for a major performance, the women must be content not to step out of their huts during this time. They all know that a few spies are watching closely to see that every woman and child complies with the loudly conveyed instructions. It need not be specifically pointed out that with such restrictions the men arbitrarily give vent to their arrogance toward the women (362).

> 363. If one compares this with the inconsiderate treatment of the Seli'taru men toward their women during the Kinkatan ceremony (Vol. I, 827, 836), he will find that the Tamata women are much luckier and are treated incomparably more gently.

In spite of all this, not only must the women continue to take care of their families and provide food, but the men also demand some chores of them in the service of the Kina hut. They are often requested by a loud announcement to gather firewood. Several women immediately hasten into the forest, load themselves down with good-sized bundles, and place them approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. A few young men step out of the Kina hut and carry all the wood inside while the women hasten back to their dwellings. Whenever the men run short of rations, one of them will step outside the Great Hut and shout down to the camp: "The spirits again need meat!" Several women, in any case all the younger ones, comply with this request without hesitation. Whatever they have gathered along the beach is put down a good distance from the Great Hut. While they silently move off, the men gather up all the animals and take them away. Along with these occasional general requests there are also frequent personal wishes which every man

/1358 cont./

addresses to his wife. She must often give him small quantities of white and red clay, secure meat for the Kina but beyond that used in her own dwelling, and perhaps even hand over a large piece of leather which the man appropriates and uses for a mask.

One can say that throughout the entire Kina celebration the women are under orders day after day, and in general they feel very much burdened. Their freedom is considerably curtailed and they realize that they are threatened by the very irritable and harsh behavior of the men. The latter also do not want anyone in the camp to mention the things that go on in the Great Hut or to talk about them in detail in a group. Everything that the women say is secretly overheard by individual men. If the latter /1359/ catch some suspicious statement, they immediately inform the secret gathering in the Kina hut, and they, in turn, instantly take a stand. Since the women know how much suspicion surrounds them, they do not say a word about what goes on during the Kina celebration and are obviously reserved. This is the very thing that the anxious, mistrustful men wish and work for. Again and again they insistently demand, even intercourse-ly, that the children be strictly supervised and held in check. Even though all the spirit appearances may offer the women considerable enjoyment, the Kina celebration as such is disagreeable to them and unwelcome. Their consent, however, is never requested when the men wish to assemble for these lessons. They breathe a sigh of relief when the festival is over.

5. The Spirit Appearances

Unavoidably the following description must be treated schematically, so to speak, in order to be complete. This procedure is justified by the fact that the preparation and the presentation of the spirit appearances are by and large quite uniform. Even though a long list of spirits is presented, most of them differ from each other only in slight peculiarities of body painting, but they are exactly alike in their movements. For this reason the Kina celebration becomes monotonous after a time. This becomes obvious and the men taking part, as well as the women in the camp, do not by any means conceal it.

/1359 cont./

a. Preparation and Presentation

X575 The men assembled in the Kina hut see to it that a few spirits are presented to the women every day. They choose the evening hours as a suitable time for this, when people stay at home anyway. The obscurity of the night is also supposed to contribute its share in covering the performer so well that he cannot be recognized by the audience in the camp. If the men are in a good mood, the spirit appearances go on until long after midnight. Rain and snow often interrupt and hinder the men's performance, but they will not let their gay mood be spoiled, and on another occasion they fully make up for what was impossible earlier. In any case they can prolong the entire affair at will.

Even though women may be admitted to the Great Hut, it is a matter of principle that only men may assume the role of spirit. It gives each of them great satisfaction to be able to appear before the others. Older men, however, are not so bent on doing it, and no one is permitted to step outside who has not learned the remarkable dance of the spirit to be portrayed. Again and again the younger men /1360/ rehearse, also merely for their own entertainment; the men present instruct and criticize them. Each one has a favorite role in which he feels most comfortable. This means that some spirits are presented to the women much oftener than others for which it is not easy to find a performer.

X575 535 It is strange that the Yamana content themselves with a single type of movement for the great majority of spirits to be portrayed. The performer draws the bark mask over his head and supports it on either side with the palms of his hands pressed against the region of the ears. He holds his bent arms at shoulder level. The movement itself is a sidewise stride. One leg is placed far to one side, the body is inclined in the same direction, and the other leg is slowly drawn in. It is a light, springy dance and at the same time a gentle skip and a lively stride up and down the long dance course. At the end of the course the performer, without stopping, merely changes direction and once more disappears into the Great Hut. In exceptional cases a

/1360 cont./
X 575 535 spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

X 575 302 If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance
X 575 522 the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Hístuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Mašemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Mašemikens himself.

X 515 /1361 cont./

While the men were still busy with their painting, Mašemikens requested his wife Sara to get the women out of their dwellings and lead them to the middle of the field, for soon the spirits would appear. Sara may not have summoned the women sternly enough or the women themselves may not have taken her words seriously -- who knows? In any case, no one appeared. Annoyed, Mašemikens placed himself beside the Great Hut and hurled a few threatening words at the women in the camp. The rogue in him soon gained the upper hand, however; he was obliged to withdraw quickly and pour out his hearty laughter in front of the men in the Great Hut.

As has been said several times, the same type of performance by the individual spirits is repeated again and again. The leader or an older man selected by him stands beside the entrance of the Great Hut and looks out at the camp. If the women are not yet assembled, he calls them together. Then he immediately makes a brief announcement about the spirit that will soon appear; at least he mentions the spirit's name. For example, he will call out: "Kalampása has just announced himself. I don't know what draws him here to our hut. Now he is keeping us waiting again!" Or: "Kinamjáma is at present here among us. He is being very friendly, soon you [women] shall see him!" Once I heard: "Several spirits are coming up, they are acting very restless and impetuous. If only they would not annoy us so terribly!" Another cry: "Strange, at such a late hour a spirit is approaching our hut; he is coming down from above. Who could it be? We men would prefer to be left in peace. Sure enough, he is already arriving; it is Asepakájaka. He has a message for you [women] and says that he has come a great distance. Look closely at him." Finally, the following: "Just now two spirits have come down to our hut simultaneously. I don't recognize them yet. They seem to be in a good mood, however, and enjoying themselves here." After such an announcement or a similar one the leader turns about-face with his back to the women. He peers into the Great Hut and, with a sharp hissing sound accompanied by a sweeping gesture of the arm, be brings the spirit out. The latter has been waiting for such a sign as he sits among the group of men. He now moves back and forth along the dance

/1361 cont./

X575 course and soon disappears again. The leader follows him into the hut immediately, without any words or any kind of sign to the spectators. If this spirit or another one is supposed to appear again, the leader calls him out in the manner just described. A spirit never steps out of the Great Hut suddenly before the eyes of the women.

X575 /1362/ In exceptional cases a yẽkamuš will accompany some spirit along the dance course. Shortly before the end of the Kina celebration in 1922, Asikansis unexpectedly stepped into the Great Hut and announced that he had been requested in a dream to let Calderon portray the spirit of a particular fish. No one dared to contradict this old man who was already somewhat feeble mentally or to point out to him that the night was far advanced. So Calderon painted his whole body and the mask white, and over this he drew several vertical red lines two fingers wide. Asikansis, who is a yẽkamuš, wore his feather diadem; his face and the upper part of his body were painted white, with a red horizontal line extending from below the nose to either ear lobe. The two men stood facing each other. Calderon, as is customary, supported his mask, while Asikansis stretched his two arms out sidewise at shoulder height. Then Asikansis indicated the rhythm with low sustained cries of hõhõng. First they danced inside the hut as though they were practicing; then they performed their short, leaps sideways along the dance course. They stepped out five times and moved back and forth, each time after a pause of a few minutes. Asikansis always turned his back to the camp and unavoidably hid Calderon a little. After both had ended their dance, Asikansis sat down by the fire and softly sang on for a long time, completely absorbed. Calderon washed off his painting.

X575 Just as the leader calls together the women and children at the beginning of the spirit appearances, so he also announces the end of the performance with a brief word. He says: "Now the last spirit has left this hut, not a single one is now sitting among the group of men. You, too, go back to your huts!" The men regularly announced the entrance of a spirit into the Kina hut with a warbling lalala..., which warned the women to be on their guard; now all is silent there, a sign that the spirits have all withdrawn.

/1362 cont./

β. The Individual Spirits

The various personalities which are presented as spirits comprise an astonishingly large number. They are not definite character types with pronounced characteristics, such as the Kloketen spirits, but rather are portrayed chiefly as spirits of well-known animals with slight indications of the characteristic coloring of the skin or feathers of these animals. The spirit is not recognizable by his peculiar behavior or characteristic dance, but the leader designates him loudly by name. The body painting of the dancer also suggests the natural outward appearance of whatever animal is portrayed.

Each spirit that is in any way mentioned in the Kina performance, even if it should not appear before the women, has a name. Usually this is nothing more than the customary designation for a particular animal species, /1363/ combined with the word yāka, "performance" (305). A few spirits also have their

305. In BD:659 one finds yāga and yāka, "Imitation of resembling, after the different names of birds which or rather the traditional accounts of which were acted in the various drama like scenes of the ceena and murana and others" /cited in English/.

own proper names. These are the personalities to whom special power is ascribed here in the Kina, and their names indicate their distinctiveness or ranking. The long list that I became acquainted with follows.

At the top of the list is Lēxakīpa. According to the Yamana, she is the guardian spirit that rules over everything here in the Great Hut. She assumes importance solely during the Kina celebration, and otherwise she is not even mentioned, much less invoked. During the course of the celebration, however, she proves to be a helper and rescuer for all the participants. This female guardian spirit is favorably disposed toward the men and invariably benevolent. I was told: "Just as Watauinēiwa stands over everything in the čiēxaus [over the whole affair], observes [ruling] all

X 575 776

/1363 cont./ the participants, and is kindly disposed toward everyone, so Lẹ́xakīpa stands in relation to the Kina hut. She regulates everything, guides all the participants, and protects everyone. Therefore everyone must yield to her. In the Kina we do not speak of Watauinẹ̄́wa, but of Lẹ́xakīpa. Our ancient tradition determines how each participant should behave during this celebration; this is our law, the way Watauinẹ̄́wa wants it. Anyone who acts contrary to these rules and divulges the secret is called to account by Watauinẹ̄́wa and is punished by an untimely death." Accordingly, the Supreme Being is the ultimate basis for the Kina arrangement, too, but without any direct connection with this celebration or with Lẹ́xakīpa. In answer to my question as to how this guardian spirit became connected with the Great Hut, I was told: "We do not know that. This festival was taken over by the men exactly as the women performed the kína at Ušuwáia. We ourselves have added nothing new. So Lẹ́xakīpa must have been a guardian spirit of the Kina even at that time!" To the extent that Lẹ́xakīpa possesses supreme power, she towers above mighty Tánuwa and all the spirits. The Yamana do not say that these spirits are commanded by her or directly subservient to her. As a guardian spirit it is incumbent upon her to defend the men present against the illusory arbitrariness and torture of the other spirits, to heal the wounded men, and to restore to life those who have been killed. Such details are shouted over to the camp by the leader who each time places himself beside the Great Hut. He puts as much seriousness and conviction into his words as though real events were taking place, yet his explanations are nothing more than conscious attempts to dupe the women. Lẹ́xakīpa is never shown in any form to the others outside the Great Hut (306).

306. The same superior position that Lexakipa occupies in the Kina is accorded to Xalpen in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 916).

One of the dangerous Kina spirits is Tánuwa who surpasses all the others in brutality /1364/ and is therefore feared the most. Only Lẹ́xakīpa is able to curtail his actions effectively. The men

/1364 cont./

X 575 776 imitate his temporary sojourn in the Great Hut in noisy excitement. They call attention to him chiefly when they want to frighten and warn the uswáala. During an alleged appearance of Tánuwa in the Great Hut, the faces of the candidates are covered, and they are all required to lie down so that the salutary dread induced by this spirit will penetrate deeply and last a long time. The men then communicate with one another only by signs. The anxiously trilled lalala...does not lead one to expect a good-natured spirit. The women outside soon recognize the various signs that mean Tánuwa has arrived.

X 575 To begin with, in order to intimidate the candidates, the leader pours a small amount of water on the embers of the hut fire to produce a soft sizzling. He asks distinctly for the benefit of the uswáala: "What's going on here?" Soon afterward a broad stream of water is poured on the embers. A cloud of steam with a quantity of ashes rises up with a loud sizzling, and the men set up an alarming roar. They get up hastily and dance around the fire in wild leaps while a single man beats on the ground a few times with a wad of dry leather. This noise suddenly ceases and complete silence follows. After about ten minutes old Thomas goes outside and stands in front of the hut entrance. He cries sorrowfully: "Attention! I do not know what has happened here and what we must be prepared for. Something is soon going to happen. Watch out!" Sure enough, soon all the men get up, leap back and forth and stamp on the ground, seize one another and struggle amid a frightful howling and bellowing cries of desperation. Some of them beat the ground with a ball of leather, while amidst all this shrill cries of alarm resound; the greatest effort is made to feign dreadful confusion. Then the noise gradually subsides and finally ceases altogether with faint gurgling sounds. At the same time the men lie down on their sides and remain motionless in an irregular heap. The air is filled with an impenetrable cloud of dust and ashes.

After many minutes Santiago gets up and asks in a loud voice so that the pupils in the Kina hut as well as the people in the camp can hear his words: "What a picture before me! All the men around me have been slain. Woe is me, I, too, feel weak because I have suffered a bad blow. This man and that one are dead, all of them lie there motionless. I go from one to the

X 575

/1364 cont./
other, I feel them, shake them. No one moves, they are all dead; truly, all are dead!" After a brief pause he continues in a broken but audible voice: "Oh, woe is me, I, too, am about to die." His /1365/ words fade away like those of a dying man. At a mute sign from the leader two men start poking around violently in their noses so that blood flows. They let all the men have plenty of it and they rub it on their faces. Some of them cannot suppress a contented smirk at this crafty hoax which is not recognized as such by the blindfolded uŝwą́ala present or by the women outside in the camp.

Ten minutes pass, then a soft, light lalala...begins, performed by two men. It is supposed to announce the arrival of Lę́xakīpa from the heavens. Then the men get up slowly, as though they were waking from a deep sleep. They stretch as though they were still suffering considerable pain. One of them complains pitifully: "Tą́nuwa seized me unmercifully when I offered resistance. He beat me with a thick club. I tried to parry the blow, but he forced me down. I defended myself for a long time, but he quickly overcame me and threw me out of the hut, trampled on me, and mistreated me dreadfully. I have such pains I can scarcely move!" Another groans: "All my limbs ache, for Tą́nuwa choked me dreadfully. I don't even dare lift my arms, I would have to cry out in pain!" A third man complains: "What can I say, I feel so crushed? Tą́nuwa has broken all my bones. I am only slowly getting better!" With these words he indicates the healing and recovery that Lę́xakīpa will bring about. Others among the men complain in similar fashion, but let a ray of hope for speedy recovery break through. Everyone says something in a weak voice, suitable to his "condition." That is enough, however, and the uŝwą́ala hear every word. After a few minutes the men break into a loud hohū́, hohū́...They pause for a few seconds and repeat this cry more forcefully. Soon after that they bawl out their hoihõhū́...loud and long. This is meant to announce that in their great need Lę́xakīpa has finally hastened to them and that, at her approach, Tą́nuwa has fled from the Great Hut, that Lę́xakīpa has brought all the men back to life and quickly healed them.

/1365 cont./

X 575 They finally all get up, arrange themselves in a row, one behind the other, and, in a stooped position and with short steps, they go over to the camp. In a monotone and with a well-defined rhythm they constantly repeat sakamakasá... They go close to the huts so that every woman can see their bleeding faces and their pitiful expressions. After completing the circuit of the huts they again disappear into the Great Hut. Then without making a sound but in very explicit pantomime they give full expression to their satisfaction over the successful prank. It is not until later that one of the men finally removes the blindfolds from the uš̌wā́ala. The latter are still trembling in fear of Tā́nuwa and believe that he and Lḗxakīpa have actually appeared. Obviously the purpose is to frighten first the candidates and second the women with Tā́nuwa, in order to fill everyone with fear and respect fot the Kina secret. /1366/ Thus a person who is in the Great Hut for the first time as an uš̌wā́ala does not learn the true nature of Tā́nuwa; this is revealed to him only when he participates later at another ceremony. This spirit is never portrayed in any kind of mask. BD:421 says of Tā́nuwa, "a being personified in the ceena drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

[776] Čīníku, who is also a man-murdering spirit, is more malevolent than Tā́nuwa. He comes down from heaven to attend a Čīníku-yā́ka; the men announce his arrival with very frightened hóho calls. He likes best to murder the men and drag them away, just as a hunter kills sea lions and loads them up. This spirit is painted red all over, with a few white spots the size of the palm of one's hand. His head is covered with a loosely hanging piece of leather painted white. His son is decked out in the same way. He scarcely steps inside the circle of men when they set up a frightened howling and desperate screaming. One after another yells as though he were being murdered and then falls completely silent. Čīníku now rolls all these men to the hut entrance where they lie in a confused heap without moving; they have been "murdered" by him! He pushes the last few men farther away from the hut entrance. The women watch his fit of rage against

/1366 cont./

X575 them all from the vantage point of the camp. He has leaned several harpoons against one of the entrance posts so that they are visible from afar; the women are supposed to believe that Čīníku has murdered all the men with these weapons. Before-
[824] hand a long, thin stalk of Macrocystis alga smeared with blood had been fastened to one of the harpoons. Now Čīníku himself steps out, looks at the man lying farthest to one side, and screams: "It seems to me this man is not yet dead. So I shall finish him off with the harpoon!" He reaches for the harpoon just mentioned and throws it at the man. He pretends to be using a lot of force, but he aims close by, hurls the weapon, and almost simultaneously runs after it in order to cover his deceptive action. He quickly unfastens the alga stalk and pulls it up in such a way that the spectators at a distance have the impression he is pulling the man's entrails out of his belly. Frightened and horrified, the women cry out, shouting to Čīníku: "Do you think you have a sea lion in front of you? You villainous murderer, how can you murder our husbands so brutally! Get away from here at last and release us!" Angrily Čīníku seizes the man and pretends that he wants to drag him into the Great Hut. At the same moment, as though by chance -- this had been prearranged without the women's knowledge -- a yékamuš steps out of one of the dwellings and conspicuously takes a few steps in the direction of the Great Hut. Čīníku notices him and hastily disappears inside. /1367/ The performer has now concluded his role; he sits down beside the fire and rests. The circle of men is pleased with the successful hoax.

After a very brief pause the so-called son of Čīníku appears before all the women, decked out exactly like his alleged father. The man chosen for this role is somewhat shorter than the one who portrayed the first Čīníku. He merely leaps back and forth along the dance course three times, then disappears. This happens because meanwhile the yékamuš has arrived at the Great Hut. He circles several times around the heap of men who are still lying there motionless, makes sweeping motions with his arms, and is very active until all the men have been brought back to life and get up again. They drag themselves into the Great Hut as though they had lost their strength. All the women, who up

/1367 cont./

to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yékamuš paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yékamuš, the men crowd together and the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating šikušúli in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yékamuš the two groups disperse and separate (307).

307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives čínūgū, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamąalakęmana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

X 575 /1367 cont./ sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Lḛ́xakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Lḛ́xakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamą́alakẹmana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutulā́ikīpa, a murderess. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamą́alakemana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X 575 776 302 Besides Lḛ́xakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all

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/1368 cont./
kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the Kina hut. Kínamiáma chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their shanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tulḗa-yáka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tulḗatḗčix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukáči-yáka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kīnaiagēllum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. BD:165 also briefly mentions kīnaiagōllum without giving any explanation.

Ulamiēaka, the performance of the forest spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. BD:88 says of ūlōmína, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wɔŋgoalēaka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

X 375 776 302

/1369 cont./

and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yámana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ímí outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

308. This description reminds one of the performance of Haše in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mëˀarā́ka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagáruwa-yā́ka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hā́ni-yā́ka, the performance of the northern sky. This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kína hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. BD:270 says: "hāniaka, a play enacted in the ceena drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

X /1370 cont./
575 Asepakā̆jaka, the performance of the southern sky. The
776 painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed
302 with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

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575 Haĭ̆ywā̆pisa-yā̆ka, the performance of the mighty blue
776 whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with
302 blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines,
825 the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hā̆ŭ̆pisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceena drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyā̆nux-yā̆ka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kíxinteka-yā̆ka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagā̆ja-yā̆ka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kílaxī̆la-yā̆ka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo poliosomus). Dry īmi powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lī̆rux-yā̆ka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Cloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with īmi powder and is light red.

Kī̆mpa-yā̆ka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

/1370 cont./

/help goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alaiuš-yáka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wémar-kipa-yáka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tonwiliwa-yáka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilaulóaka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilaulla (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gérápu-yáka, the performance of the white albetross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. SD:246 writes "górápli čis, the initiatory rite of the ceena drama" /cited in English/. -- The gérápu-lóima-yáka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The uléala are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

/1371 cont./

X 375 776 302 825

worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yĕkuĭ, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yĕkuĭ between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katámux-yáka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Taperóla-yáka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yĕšex-yáka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, hauwurĭ means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 233.

Wāsénim-yáka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

X 575 776 302 825

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Ûwülër-yāka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD 117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 825.

Šūŕia-yāka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD 160 gives tuśia-lama.

Hĕjmus-yāka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD 261 also mentions haimuš-yaka.

Šūna-yāka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ilĕšči-yāka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yāka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampāia-yāka, the performance of the fish Kalampāia. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

/1973 comm./

of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalompóla-máte, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. HD:178 also lists Mlispóla-iaka.

Jepúluf-yéka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalíla-yéka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Hóka-yéka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Fínika, rubs dry ími powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the painted mask.

Yóhilf-yéka, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yóhilfkipa escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that the were at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kínjuf-yéka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black all over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to HD:165, kínjuk also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wo[illegible]ka-yéka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. HD:488 gives wéjgus-gímata, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

/1973 cont./

The Hámatsa performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hâya, hâya... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1974/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been murdered by the women. Hámatsa is the spirit of the far west, the Cannibal (Dzoneqwakwa) supernatural. At the time of the great struggle in Tłaxodáxu he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hámatsa scene in the Kloloem of the Seik'umi (Vol. I, 99f). BD:382 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /typed in English/.

All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:370, hiłłgwéłaka, the performance of the sea

/1974 cont./
gull kiwẽge (Larus dominicanus). BD:413, tẽkelaiska, the performance of the loud tẽkele (Larus heilcheri /a gull/); BD:112, ẽlẽgiaiska, the performance of the whale ẽlẽgie (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:268, haiyeiga, BD:277, lamẽkaiska, the performance of the whale, BD:278; laiakẽkipe, and BD:247, ghoama, or "tẽkẽwe'i ant, one of opening scenes and characters in the kwoma drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanation of ẽlẽgi in BD:212.

In conclusion the so-called kine-tẽkegwẽje, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tẽkegwẽje for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yẽkaamẽ appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1932, Maiemikema, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1975/ by his painting. On the evening of a tẽkegwẽje the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Tamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the ẽlẽgie of the deceased person who is being mourned, the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

The Tamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

/1375 cont./
X 575 776 825 302
This applies to the raven vulture wē'wiyáu, the hawk yo'okalía, the gerfalcon kētéla, the common sea gull kiwágu (312), and

312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

d. End of the Festival

X 575 Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 832). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1376 cont./

X575 variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the same evening or the next evening for the so-called Makáinkĭna, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield; the uŝwáala are particularly pleased to be freed from their unnatural position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all melevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the [302] men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which starts below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apawé̱ŋa around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential yékamuŝ [293] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the čiẽxaus (p. 694) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a baton, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hit hit... which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill š sounds which are followed by croaking cries of te te... in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

X 575 /1376 cont./ a time the cries revert to the initial hit hit... and continue in the manner described above, but much louder and more excited. The men go on like this for about half an hour and conclude with a very loud pū. Immediately each of them seizes a club which is at least a meter long, strikes the ground passionately with it, and at the same time stamps hard with both feet.

/1377/ This noise and stamping have not yet ceased when the whole group moves out of the Kina hut in one long row to the free space in front of it. The leader heads the row, followed by the yěkamuš, the older and younger men, and finally the uš̌wā̆ala. As they go out, each one seizes a club that is scarcely one and a half meters long. As soon as the first men in this row become visible, the loud hit hit... begins again, followed by the shrill š sounds and the croaking te te... cries. All this goes on amid very excited warding-off motions, with each man swinging his club threateningly in the air. Remarkably enough, this raging and storming are at first very emphatically directed toward the north, signifying that all the malevolent spirits should if possible be forced back and driven in a northerly direction. Whereas up to this point the men stood next to each other facing north, they now, in conclusion, crowd together to form a closed circle. They hit the ground vigorously with their clubs and stamp hard with rapid movements of both feet. In due time the women and children also form a tight group in front of the camp, approximately opposite the men whom they accompany with loud cries and a wild beating-about with their arms. Their warding-off motions are also directed toward the north. The circle of men breaks up and forms a long row facing north. They all utter a very loud pū and accompany it with a vigorous outward thrust of both arms. The men do not stop to rest, but turn in the row in such a way that the leader, as an end man, slowly makes a half turn to the right on the same spot, which each man, to the very last in the row, follows exactly. Now this long row faces east. Again the cries and warding-off motions begin as before, this time toward the east. All this, too, ceases with heavy stamping after about twenty minutes. Then the men drop their clubs, bend their heads low, and utter a howling hū against the earth. At the same time they thrust their outstretched hands

/1377 cont./
X575 downward a few times as though they wanted to press all the spirits into the earth. This concludes their warding off of the spirits, and they return to the Great Hut in no particular order.

They enter singly, first the leader, then one after the other, and finally the uŝwā́ala. They all stand in the middle in a crowded circle. The wild hit hit...cries, the shrill š š... sounds, and finally the croaking te te...are repeated with a gesture that resembles blind fury, and this is concluded with a stamping on the ground amid the loudest hō hō...cries. As though in fits of frenzy, each man places both flattened hands against his head and, with light pressure, lets them slide down along the sides of his body. Once again he places both hands on his head and makes a loud crack by snapping his tensed fingers. /1378/ Immediately he shakes his head violently in a sideways motion and utters a sustained, shrill šʷ. Finally the men end their contortions with a madly furious brandishing of their arms, for "now the spirits have been driven away." Everyone, completely exhausted, washes off his body painting and rests for a few minutes. A normal conversation does not begin again. Each one looks around for his things, quickly gathers them together, and silently leaves. He goes straight to his dwelling in which he inconspicuously disappears. The Kina hut becomes empty in a few minutes. The leader is the last to leave; he has had the masks destroyed in the fire and every suspicious sign removed, so that nothing is left to reveal to the women and children the deceptive performances of the men.

After that no one visits the Kina hut. From then on it is exposed to the disintegrating influences of natural forces. A day or two after the Makā́inkīna most of the families are already preparing to leave, and soon the whole camp breaks up. The return to the daily routine means a release and liberation from the oppressive bonds of the program of the men's festival for all the families. No one says a word about what has gone on during the preceding days and weeks; each family is again content in its familiar occupations and its complete detachment from others. There is not a single sign among these people to indicate that they have just performed and experienced a Kina celebration. Only the uŝwā́ala have gained something worth mentioning, since

/1378 cont./
X575 they are now full-fledged members of the men's group. From now on they will have free access to every Kina festival, and those details which up to now have remained unexplained or undisclosed will be presented openly before them on the next occasion.

In March, 1922, the Kina was held for the last time among the Yamana. The men who took part crowded it all into a few days, but nevertheless displayed the rich variety of this festival. Although up to that time it was not known in detail among Europeans, it was, thanks to a kind fate, rescued from total oblivion by this final repetition on my third journey.

e. Significance for Culture History

X575 196 The entire Kina arrangement must be briefly characterized with respect to its place in the general social order of the Yamana. On the whole, but also on account of many details, it strikes one as strange; its peculiar significance is unmistakably obvious. This is confirmed by the very word kína, for whose original meaning I did not find a satisfactory explanation. /1379/ In BD:165 it is equated with "flock, troop, herd" /cited in English/, as well as with "wigwam built apart and of logs always for superstitious purposes" /cited in English/, in fact, even with "to burn, flame up, kindle, to be burning up as a fire to catch" /cited in English/. One asks himself, how can the same word at one time mean "herd, troop, flock" and at another time, as a verb, "to burn, flame up..."? Even if one concedes that the fire is always burning in the Great Hut or that the meaning of "wigwam" /cited in English/ could be related to "grouped together" /cited in English/, nevertheless "hut, flock, burn" cannot be the same. A comparison of the other expressions relating to the Kina that are given in BD makes it easy to believe that Bridges consciously put the "superstitious purposes" /cited in English/ into the foreground. This judgment is correct insofar as the many Kina spirits actually do live in the belief and imagination of the Yamana. The Kina does originate in the realm of myth and fantasy, and its origin is told in the so-called myth of the upheaval (p. 1237).

/1379 cont./

X575 The narrative of this myth about the origin of the secret ceremony has been handed down as the conviction of the men from one generation to the next. The Yamana attach the same value to the events related in it as they do to the content of any one of their many myths, and they gather together to celebrate the Kina believing that they are obliged to do so. This obligation arises less from the fear that the women might once again reverse the present social order than from their respect for a traditional custom. It is only because the preceding generation now and then gathered in the Great Hut and acquainted the young men as uš̌wa̯ala with their secret doings that the present generation does likewise. A serious or even threatening obligation arising from the basic ideas of this deceptive affair has certainly never driven the men into the Kina hut.

The opinion of the women moves along the same line of unequivocal thinking characteristic of the Yamana. One need only ask how they themselves feel about the Kina in general and to what extent they are familiar with its basic ideas. The terse answer is that the women without doubt are more or less definitely informed about the deceptive performance of the men, but that at the same time they cling to their firm faith in the existence and activity of the spirits that are mentioned or that appear. In particular it cannot be determined which of the two opinions predominates in this or that person and whether there is any kind of common evaluation of the many different details, for the women never exchange detailed opinions among themselves. Many of them probably know that the spirits mentioned so often neither enter the Great Hut nor sit among the group of men gathered there, but they never talk about it specifically.

The following story is told among the women. Once a /1380/ woman spoke in a disdainfully mocking way about her husband because, as she said, he was ugly and crippled, his appearance was all wrong, and he had a bad gait. The man's relatives were annoyed at this and finally told the man about his wife's disapproving opinions. He quickly decided on revenge. He proposed to his relatives and friends that they prepare for a Kina, in the course of which he would intimidate and frighten his wife. Sure enough, many men soon assembled for the secret

/1380 cont./

X 575 festival. The woman was very crafty, however; she soon noticed that this time the men were plotting against her. She did not hesitate to defend herself. In the dead of night she painted her whole body exactly the way she assumed that the men inside the Great Hut would be painted, and, unnoticed, she crept up on them. The men were sitting crowded around the fire, their heads bent very low in serious meditation. Very softly she slipped in on one side of the entrance, quickly crept along behind all the men and in passing drew a line on the back of each of them, and disappeared again on the other side of the exit. In the camp she told all the women that she had put an identical mark on the back of each man by means of which the women could see that only their husbands were sitting in the Kina hut, not spirits. Sure enough, when the men stepped out, each bore the line drawn on his back. Since then all the women have known the true state of affairs.

It must be admitted that probably all the women actually recognize their own husbands in their roles as individual spirits, but nevertheless their faith in these spirits is unshakable. A European observer can hardly explain how their knowledge and their faith can be reconciled. Since all the women and children are convinced that the men are in communication with the Kina spirits, they naturally acknowledge and obey all the instructions of the men as commands of the spirits. They are decisively guided in this judgment and attitude by the example of former generations, for the living generation regards every general view and custom handed down from the preceding one as immutable law. It is precisely for this reason that no woman would dare alter her conduct in any way during a Kina celebration (313).

> 313. The faith of the Selk'nam women in the Kloketen spirits is deeper and more certain (Vol. I, 901), but for them, too, the duty to conform to traditional rules of behavior is of decisive importance.

X 575 756 In judging the basic ideas upon which this men's secret ceremony rests, it is important to keep in mind the active participation of the yékamuš. One of them, as a rule, takes over not only

/1380 cont./
the leadership of the entire Kina, but also, nearly always, the duty of calling each of the spirits out of the Great Hut with the customary arm movement. /1381/ In all the deliberations and decisions of the men the yẽkamuš have the decisive voice (314).

[17]

314. It is exactly the same in the Kolketen. -- A detailed comparison of the men's festivals among the Selk'nam and the Yamana may be omitted here, since this has already been done by Gusinde (q):291, with the secret ceremony of the Halakwulup also included. At first glance it is striking that among the Selk'nam the actual youth initiation and the characteristic celebration of the men are united in a single affair (Vol. 1, 1083).

They are regarded as closely associated with the spirits. It is only one of them, one who feels an urge to do so, who is permitted to perform the customary dance with one of the spirits outside the Great Hut. Again and again this or that yẽkamuš will approach a dancer or performer and give him renewed strength and firmness of limbs by means of his peculiar kind of magic massage. Among the Yamana there is no other sizeable group affair whose program, so to speak, is so entirely in the hands of the yẽkamuš as it is in the Kina.

With all the curious peculiarities of the Kina, it must not be overlooked that candidates are almost always introduced and are subject to strict treatment. The chief purpose is to familiarize them with the origin myth; actual training is only secondary. Only those chaps who have shown serious defects of character or whose behavior leads one to fear bad consequences are subject to strict discipline and personal influence. Out of consideration for the general welfare, the older members of the tribe may not miss any opportunity to protect the individual and the group as a whole from harm and injury. The Kina festival is not required to fulfill the task of educating all the uš̌wã́ala.

Finally, if one regards the Kina in connection with the entire social order, it clearly seems to be a foreign body. Even if one is not inclined to attribute historical value to the origin myth, nevertheless the suggestion that the Kina is supposed to

/1381 cont./

X575 have been brought into the present homeland of the Yamana from the northernmost part of the Selk'nam territory demands some consideration. The prevailing form of household management with its division of labor within the family between husband and wife is so fortunate, sensible, and altogether natural that a reversal would obviously endanger the existence of the whole group. Not a single man seriously feels that there is any danger, for instance, of reversion to the original conditions described in the myth; nor would it enter a woman's head to reverse the state of affairs and shake off her truly not very oppressive subordination to the men, as it is vital to the permanence and well-being of the family. The activity of the men during their secret gathering does not even remotely indicate any urgently necessary resistance /1382/ against any kind of threat to their superior position on the part of the women. The women devote themselves to this performance with less seriousness and enthusiasm than do the men, and the attitude of both sexes cannot be compared to that which they display for the čiéxaus, for example. After all, this secret festival is not, as elsewhere, put on by a permanently active men's society, but every chap who has experienced the strict čiéxaus twice is lawfully admitted to it as often as it is held, first in the role of ušwáala, later as a full-fledged participant. For the men, all the restrictions of personal liberty imposed on the woman during the daily program and spirit appearances mean no more than an amusing farce at the women's expense, which they allow themselves after the long interval between one Kina and the next. Any serious hostility is completely foreign to them.

X575 77b Since, as has been said, the yékamuš have a prominent place in the Kina activities, there is no direct reference to the Supreme Being. This omission during such an elaborate affair is all the more striking since there are many even insignificant details in daily life which the Yamana link up with their Watauinéiwa. Not a single one of the many so-called spirits is mentioned in any way outside this men's celebration; even less do they have any influence on the social life or the behavior of the individual, for they are merely those kéšpix which were in part portrayed by the women in former times or which belonged to the women who were at that time transformed into animals.

X 575 /1382 cont./ When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indi- [177] cations that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X 756 171 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yékamuš. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yékamuš and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the xon of the

/1383 cont./

X 756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yékamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yékamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Pešére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X 756 [123] It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yékamuš conceptions. I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being permitted to attend the so-called lóima-yékamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yékamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yékamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yékamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yékamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to

X 756

/1383 cont./ definite principles was undertaken in Gusinde (kk):286. In the many references to the yekamus, the names constantly vary. Compare the source material assembled in Cooper: 159, as well as Bridges (i):18 and Outes (g):54.

account /1384/ justifies the translation of the word yẽkamuš which has been chosen here. Although for a number of decades the entire culture of the Yamana has yielded to steady, progressive deterioration, the medicine-man system continued to the time when I made my observations without surrendering its essential parts. I was still able to comprehend its characteristics fully. Even middle-aged men who, through much contact with Europeans, sometimes showed perfectly clear signs of something like "emancipation" from traditional views and customs remained firmly and unshakably firm about their conceptions of their yẽkamuš system.

a. Personality of the Medicine Man

The Yamana ascribe an extraordinary power to their yẽkamuš, a power which, under certain circumstances, is really used to the harm and detriment of a tribal member. Although the yẽkamuš work perhaps even more frequently to the advantage of their immediate neighborhood and render great services to many a person, nevertheless the attitude of the individual Fuegian toward the yẽkamuš is such as is dictated by respect and awe, mistrust and fear (316). More specifically, the people know little about the

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316. The same situation exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 718). This is mentioned only in passing, since detailed comparisons would be too long.

medicine men's method of operation or about their connection with the many spirits with whom they co-operate, to say nothing of the manner of their influence on natural forces which they purport to control. This supposition explains the feeling of

X756 /1384 cont./
uncertainty that everyone has in dealing with the yékamuš and the individual's fear which is sometimes extreme. The yékamuš are also said to be wholly different physically from the other members of the tribe, and this belief widens the gulf between them. In daily association the restraint of the people, inspired by their fear of the yékamuš, is almost never clearly recognizable, and the latter's activity is usually quite inconspicuous. Nevertheless, no one forgets that the medicine man, as a creature of a strange species, is to be carefully treated and most wisely avoided, because he has forces at his disposal and is equipped with capabilities which are denied the majority of Yamana and against which they are defenseless.

1. His Relation to the People

If one were to count all the natives of both sexes in the Cape Horn Archipelago who work in one way or another as yékamuš, either with their whole personality or /1385/ with less ability, even down to the ones who make bungling attempts, he would arrive at a considerable figure. A closer look reveals [887] that many an aged man more or less confidently regards himself as a medicine man (317), but this does not mean that each of

317. Bridges observed that "most of the older men are doctors, but very seldom a young man, unless he is particularly cunning and clever" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864). Later he (h):209 and (i):18 asserts more definitely: "Men over thirty or forty years of age usually entered the ranks of doctors or exorcists" /translated from Spanish/. Even a third time he (e):332 says briefly: "Almost every older man was a sorcerer." Cf. Hyades (q):256.

them is fully accepted as such by the public and by his neighbors. The call to this office in younger years is an unavoidable condition. In BD:73 one finds the term ūaana, "a man who is not a

/1385 cont./
X756 yecamoosh" /cited in English/.

The yékamuš are not united in a group or society; rather, each one is independent and operates by himself. It is a general rule that each family group, that is, the combination of a few related families, has its own yékamuš. In this group, of course, he has a certain superiority. Such a distinction has no legal basis, but exists in fact. In this sense blood ties bind the yékamuš to his group for the time being. He profits by his greater age no less than by his rich experience and the many superior achievements which he has to his credit. His sphere of duty is extensive, and the family group with which he is connected expects all kinds of help from him. If he grants this willingly and successfully, his reputation steadily grows. Finally they all become so generally dependent upon him that he seems like a legally appointed person of authority (318), but it

> 318. Fitz-Roy (a):211 accurately judged this state of affairs: "I never could distinctly ascertain whether the eldest man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions" /cited in English/.

would be false to assume that the individual is to any extent hindered in his freedom of movement or in his independent way of life by the yékamuš. It is only occasionally that the medicine man acts in such a way that the tribal member who displeases him must give in or is forced in a direction contrary to his desires. In the main the yékamuš extends a great deal of help to his group and relatives in the exigencies and sorrows of everyday life. He, as well as those around him, sees this as the primary duty of his calling.

X756 754 578 The benevolent influence of the yékamuš is cheerfully admitted, but beyond that he is definitely a cause of great

X 756 /1385 cont./
754 disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of having caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread
578 sickness. For many people a yékamuš may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuš extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1893: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57;1893). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuš fight each other in their own peculiar way.

X 756 In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuš at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuš is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuš is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuš, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuš is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

X 756 Although the natives themselves speak of women who act
462 as yékamuš, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mašemikens, were pointed out to me as yékamuš (319). Neither

319. Hyades (q):257 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

/1386 cont./

Y156 462 adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuš. Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuš only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

Y156 554 The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuš, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuš with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuš and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuš say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

/1387 cont./

X756 S54 about their effectiveness that it was bound to shock everyone, especially the medicine men. After biding their time, two of the insulted yékamuš decided to avenge the slander cast upon their calling, and said: "We shall have our revenge! Perhaps we shall succeed in inflicting real harm on that European (320)!"

320. They are here expressing doubt as to whether their ability can reach beyond their own countrymen and affect a European stranger.

Then each of them hurled a yékuš which supposedly hit Bridges and penetrated deep into his abdomen. From that time on Bridges was ill, and to the end of his life he complained of a severe abdominal ailment. All the Yamana are convinced that his illness was inflicted by those two yékamuš, named Kalasakun and Kalakein; they had met in Lapataia and from there they hurled their yékuš against Bridges who was living in Ushuaia. The people also told me: "The moment the two yékuš entered his belly he felt violent pain; he immediately realized the actual cause and cried: 'Ah, woe is me! I made fun of the yékamuš, that is why they have avenged themselves on me. Now I know that they have great power!' Although Bridges twice traveled far away [to Buenos Aires], he never got rid of that complaint. Those two yékamuš really wanted to make him feel their revenge for the rest of his life." This incident was repeated to me several times, /1388/ in order that I, too, should be convinced of the superior accomplishments and the successful operations of the yékamuš (321).

321. In February, 1878, Bridges (i):18 declared: "The natives, strange as it may seem, had great faith in these doctors' alleged powers and entertained some fear of them" /cited in English/. He himself is convincing counterevidence for the incorrectness of the following assertion: "But this state of things has long

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since passed away, there are no more doctors" /cited in English/. Bove (e): 158 depends altogether on Bridges' words when he declares: "In the Ushuaia Mission the Jakumusch are already so ashamed of their trade that they go out only at night and practice their trade without fanfare, without song and without any kind of noise." The medicine men of the Yamana are as extensively active today as formerly; I need say no more about this.

K756 My informants quite frankly expressed their conviction that the yĕkamuĭ, broadly speaking, were formerly cleverer and more skilled in their arts. Present-day medicine men do not deny such assertions; they admit their inferiority in comparison with their predecessors without getting excited about it and excuse themselves by saying that they personally did not have the services of the really great masters. When I asked the men why they lacked capable yĕkamuĭ at the present time, I received a characteristic answer: "It is because of the abundant and good [nourishing] food that the Europeans eat and that we, too, have now learned to prefer. It makes body and spirit heavy, our dreams are no longer so vivid. In former times the yĕkamuĭ did not take any nourishment until noon and were satisfied with two or three mussels a day when they wanted to heal a sick person or drive out an evil spirit or question their guardian spirits in a dream. They did not know about wine or tea or coffee, whereas now we often drink these things. Those capable yĕkamuĭ of former days were content with a few drops of water; at night they permitted themselves only a short period of rest and took this in a squatting position. The yĕkamuĭ of the present time have abandoned all that."

In order to illustrate the competence of the earlier yĕkamuĭ, Nelly Lawrence told me the following story which she had heard from her aunt Flora. Among Flora's relatives were two yĕkamuĭ who must be regarded as the most capable of all time. Once the people in the west were in great distress, for they were unable to hunt sea lions or gather mussels for a long time because of bad

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X156 weather. The yêkamuf were aware of this emergency. Therefore one of them gave himself up to sleep in order to be active in his dream. The next morning he said to his people: "Travel farther to the west and keep to the southern shore!" Immediately all the families packed up and set out for that place. The next night that yêkamuf again had a dream and the next morning he said: "I saw [in the dream] two whales approaching us. They are sisters. Both of them are with young, each of them has an almost mature offspring in in belly. Out on the open sea an ahôyis [the small whale, /1389/ Pseudorca crassidens] approached them and angrily threatened them. The two sisters pleaded with him: 'Do not kill us! If you should kill us, the little ones in our belly will also die, and you would be bringing death to four living creatures at once!' But the ahôyis would not be moved and mercilessly killed the two whales. Soon they will come into view and be driven up to this beach." The people were extremely happy about what their yêkamuf had told them. Sure enough, on that same evening the flood tide deposited two mighty whales there on the shallow coast. They were females. When their bellies were opened, the people found an offspring in each one. The people could not get over their amazement for a long time. -- When Nelly had concluded this story, she very clearly reaffirmed her own faith in the power of the yêkamuf and several times expressed regret that nowadays not a single medicine man is capable of such accomplishments. As this story reports, a yêkamuf who bestows such benefits upon his group obviously gains the high esteem and gratitude of everyone.

2. His Physical Nature

The yêkamuf do not form an association or a separate social class any more than they live apart from the rest of their fellow-tribesmen. Nothing differentiates them from the latter in everyday life, neither special behavior nor any outward sign. Each of them, just like any other Tanana, must procure food, his hut and his material possessions in all respects resemble those of his neighbors (322). In a group of other men a medicine man

322. Spegazzini (a):169 is wrong when he

/1389 cont./

maintain that their huts "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes inconspicuously given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

Whenever the *yñamuñ* is working toward some goal in connection with his sexual calling, he puts on an ornament which he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the *yñamuñ* is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (353). As Despard (b):717 briefly states, he

353. What Bridges (b):327 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with ruranyu" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, *ayewlye*, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the eight known *ñkeyg* (Merrimees /1388/ *ahcuruñ*), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The *yñamuñ* ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his *ayewlye*, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when Bridges (c):222 reports that the medicine men "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

/1390 cont./

it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to various meditation. Most often the yékamuf rube his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he contents himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his eyewear. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yékamuf for white (304).

304. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (a):165, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

It is difficult to explain how the Yamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Yamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yékamuf, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Yamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yékamuf, for it is said: "the yékamuf knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Yamana also say: "If a yékamuf wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body.

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X-756 but in reality it is not the same in the case of a yékamuš." No
826 one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Yamana
/1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception
of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It
[171] seems to me that a reference to the view of the Selk'nam about
their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 740). Many details that
they attribute to their xon exactly fit the yékamuš of our Yamana,
for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so
easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more sup-
plementary remarks about this strange conception of the Yamana
concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up,
of their yékamuš.

3. His Psychic Nature

X-756 In view of the preceding description it is not surprising
that the Yamana are able to say little about the mental side and
the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to
penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content
themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about
the operations of the yékamuš. The latter is primarily dependent
upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images,
which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words.
Thus one can only describe the manner in which the yékamuš
operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Selk'nam
have a lucid body of ideas about their xon and their basic thoughts
about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this
respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the per-
sonality of the yékamuš are far inferior. This difference in scope
as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of
the medicine-man system between the two Fuegian tribes is of
decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the
sphere of action of the yékamuš will at least permit a clear
judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is
a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only
a refined type of deception and minutely calculated swindle.

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X 756 Let it be stated with all firmness that every yékamuš is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and in an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the yékamuš is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

X 756 518 764 Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people /1392/ know and name those few yékamuš who have performed impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Yamana, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one yékamuš has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose yékamuš is not as highly regarded. The one who feels insulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A yékamuš throws an object, for example, a yékuš, at his adversary. In case the yékamuš who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the yékuš far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yamana. The latter learn only as much as the competing yékamuš themselves tell them and only as much as they choose to reveal.

X 756 173 On March 19, 1923, the Yamana told me the following ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable yékamuš. For a long time they lived together peaceably, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

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456 773 people who were together with these brothers in Agáia-wáia [a coastal strip in Seno Ponsonby] likewise split into two groups, each joining the yékamuš they preferred. Each of these two groups left that place. They both selected a long channel in the west. One group settled on the south shore, the other on the north shore. The hostility between the two brothers and the opposition of the two groups continued; each of the two yékamuš regarded himself as more capable than the other and each group praised the one whom they had joined. Finally the one said (325)

> 325. All this took place in a vision or in a dream state, and each of the two opponents was as well informed about it as though it were happening in everyday life. That is the peculiar way in which the medicine men operate.

to the other there in that long channel: "I shall now prove to you that I am stronger and can do more than you!" Immediately they both prepared themselves [for the test of strength]. One of them left his hut [in his dream], boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. Here he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle with him and hurled a pointed yékuš into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The other brother had also dreamed that he left his hut, boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. Here he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle /1393/ with him and hurled a pointed yékuš into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The next morning both of the yékamuš woke up. Each of them felt very weak and weary, each of them said to those around him: "I shall soon die, much blood is flowing from my mouth and my nose. Last night my brother mortally wounded me!" Sure enough, the yékamuš died even before the sun reached the zenith. Immediately his people lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a lōima would soon be sung here. At exactly the same time the people on the other shore also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore

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X756 T73 also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a lóima would soon be sung here. From each of the two shores a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yékamuš has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yékamuš were equally capable.

X756 754 The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home; it overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1304), and the neighboring Selk'nam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1923. Once several Yamana were camping near Puerto Habertón. Not far from them a number of Selk'nam had erected their hut. When they saw the Yamana there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Yamana felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yékamuš said: "I shall inflict harm upon them!" Without being observed he hurled a yékuš against the last one of those Selk'nam who were retreating into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yékuš of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

X756 [828] Sufficient proof that the yékamuš themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yékamuš, the latter usually begins working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (326). After all, he has

326. Bove (g):235 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1393 cont./

X 756 (c):131 gives the following as proof: "His ability to hide objects in his mouth is surprising" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt:48 repeats this sentence verbatim, and Spegazzini (a):169 voices the same suspicion.

real and obvious /1394/ results in which he personally, as well as those around him, believes. Of course this does not explain how he achieves the desired goal. No one cares about that, but each group is very proud of the superior achievements of its own yékamuš.

b. The Calling of the Medicine Man

X 756 776 When a yékamuš acts as such, it is not he personally who works and operates, but one or more of his guardian spirits acts for him to attain the goal he desires. The individual joins these guardian spirits for the first time when he is actually called to this office. A person who has not been won over and advanced by them in his younger years will never become a capable, full-fledged yékamuš. The call is a more or less definite summons for the chosen one by a spirit to devote himself to the work of a yékamuš. The individual and those close to him or a few medicine men decide whether there has been a real call and whether the individual thus chosen must immediately respond to it.

1. Personal Calling

X 756 Our Yamana are very susceptible to stirrings and movements in their psychic life. Everything unusual agitates them very much, and they are extraordinarily easily captured by the many so-called spirits in which they believe. From the time they are children they learn about the method of operation of their yékamuš: they can observe it with their own eyes; they hear it talked about by adults; and they receive many explanations about it from the

/1394 cont./

X756 yẽkamuš themselves. It is true that ordinary people do not understand the inner relationships in the work of the medicine men, much less their alleged connection with the oft-mentioned spirits, but they do have some notion of all this and that suffices to give them some understanding of the medicine-man system. Every Yamana knows more or less accurately the sphere in which the yẽkamuš operate, what means they use, what external conditions are linked with success, and to what extent one yẽkamuš differs from another in ability. These specific facts are common property, for the yẽkamuš devote themselves to their task quite publicly and before the eyes of their close fellow-tribesmen. In this process, everyone who pays a certain amount of attention easily learns the observable techniques of a medicine man. If he supplements this with the explanations of the yẽkamuš, he will finally become acquainted with the latter's entire body of thought. If a Yamana becomes firmly convinced of his own ability, /1395/ time will decide when he will begin to work as a yẽkamuš. This brief sketch outlines the process of development of those persons who on their own initiative and later in life begin practicing the trade of medicine man within modest limits.

X756 787 Such individuals, however, do not have a calling in the strict sense of the word, and without this no one becomes a full-fledged yẽkamuš. First of all I believe that one can speak of an indirect or intermediary calling. This expression has a threefold meaning. If the relatives of a young man or yẽkamuš who are friends of his have discovered a talent in him for this office and if they feel that he is qualified to make contact easily with the čõwánni spirits by quickly putting himself into the dream state, then the people who have observed this tell the man of their conviction and advise him to become a medicine man. It can also happen that some yẽkamuš is requested by spirits in a dream to introduce to his art a man they designate, so that he may later practice it. This yẽkamuš assiduously trains the man designated, for he wants to show the spirits that he is obliging and he takes great pleasure in giving a pupil his start. Finally one must add here all those persons who on their own initiative devote themselves to the duties of yẽkamuš. They do this because they have become personally convinced that they are capable of the same accomplishments that they have observed in full-fledged yẽkamuš.

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X756 787 One can least of all speak of a calling with regard to this last class of yékamuš, to which a few women also belong. The two groups first mentioned have a somewhat higher standing. Under no circumstances need a person expect any kind of harm or fear revenge from the spirits if he decides not to adopt the vocation of yékamuš despite the above-mentioned requests, for these are regarded merely as invitations and are not compulsory. It is true that if certain spirits seriously want a man for this service, they call him with unequivocal positiveness. Similarly, no one needs to answer a summons expressed through other influences or indefinite impressions. This was explained to me in March, 1923, by Crees on the basis of a personal experience. "Years ago I once passed through a dense forest alone. Suddenly I heard very beautiful singing, like the voice of a bird. I had never heard anything like it. I started to go in the direction of the voice. When I was quite near, the singing sounded even more beautiful, but I saw no one. Then I threw a spear in the direction of that voice. I did not see anyone, but the singing suddenly ceased. Shortly after that I felt very weak and unwell; I dragged myself along with effort and reached my hut. The yékamuš in the neighborhood immediately realized that something special must have happened to me, and they advised me to become a yékamuš. But I had no desire to do this and so the men did not urge me further. A year after that I had a dream. I saw an old man who seriously /1396/ warned me: 'Never become a yékamuš! On the day that you perform as one you will die!' I do not know who that old man was; I have heeded his warning." A person who takes on the tasks of a medicine man under such circumstances always plays a subordinate role.

In contrast to this there is the uncommon or direct, or immediate call, with which there is decided compulsion. It can come about in various ways. For instance, a young man will be walking through the forest looking for a small tree trunk for his harpoon shaft. He roams about for a long time, much longer than usual, looks hither and yon, but no sapling seems just right. He does not recognize himself in this behavior, he is surprised at himself, it is almost as though he were changed and under a spell. Suddenly he stands before a little tree that he likes extraordinarily

/1396 cont./

X756 787 well and exactly suits him. He immediately applies his ax, but it is only after many a heavy blow that he reaches the center. Instantly a considerable amount of water gushes out. He is startled and recognizes this sign. Without hesitation he turns his back on the little tree and hastens back to his hut. He briefly asks his wife and children not to touch him, talk to him, or disturb him, but to remain perfectly quiet. He lies down and is immediately fast asleep. Then he again sees his kĕšpiš standing in front of that little tree in the forest, out of which abundant water is still flowing. Numerous other kĕšpiš are standing about, some of whom he knows, but not most of them. He discovers some friendly yĕkamuš among them. One or another of the yĕkamuš points to the dreamer's own kĕšpiš in the group and acts very friendly and well-meaning toward him. Gradually all the spirits sit down at that beautiful spot. Then they offer fine presents to the kĕšpiš of the dreamer and give him things to eat and drink, for everything is there in great abundance. The kĕšpiš of the dreamer is happy among them, everything is magnificent and quite in accord with his wishes, every detail is to his liking. The kĕšpiš talk together for a long time; they discuss all kinds of things and enjoy themselves. Suddenly all the spirits get up, and each one hastily bids farewell to the kĕšpiš of the dreamer. Soon the man wakes up and finds himself alone again in his hut. In an anxious voice he calls together his neighbors. They recognize his condition of spirit-loss and the yĕkamuš who are present begin the čŏwánni song. The heart of this man is filled with sorrow, and he longs and yearns for those friendly spirits in whose company he but recently felt indescribably happy. Soon the čŏwánni song brings back those friendly spirits, he again finds himself in their company and is quite happy. When the people stop their singing, the spirits go away again and the man finds himself back in everyday life. He has calmed down, for now he knows that the /1397/ spirits have accepted him in their society. The very next night he dreams again. His kĕšpiš hastens back to that little tree in the woods, from which water is still gushing. That happy company also arrives there without delay and greets him warmly as a friend and associate. One or another of the spirits is particularly friendly, offers to help this kĕšpiš, and tells him frankly that he must become a yĕkamuš. The next morning this man wakes up. All his

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X156 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that
787 company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to that experienced yékamuš whose spirit he saw the night before. He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

X156 There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If
776 someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought
787 and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves. They wave to the kĕšpiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all invite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up, and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kĕšpiš who was particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a yékamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called héšteka-yékamuš. They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around, and shake and tremble violently. These héšteka-yékamuš live in old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čŏwánni spirits. A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds himself in a visionary state, known as asikáku; before him swarms a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him, are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His kĕšpiš is communing with those čŏwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his kĕšpiš. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this kĕšpiš and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yĕkamuš, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Haučéllakīpa, the most powerful spirit in the lōima-yĕkamuš. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Haučéllakīpa appears to his kĕšpiš in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The kĕšpiš understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yĕkamuš. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikáku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his kĕšpiš often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this kĕšpiš as his yefáčel and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness. The yefáčel finally gives this kĕšpiš his song, and then the owner of the kĕšpiš is a yĕkamuš. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yĕkamuš only by way of an asikáku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

/1398 cont./

release him; hence the person must operate as a yẽkamuš. If he refuses, the yefáčel, more accurately known as yefáčel-xẽ́ọla or aṍna-xẽ́ọla, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person die. Sometimes an alert yẽkamuš can prevent this grave outcome. Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a strange, loud páx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning aṍna-xẽ́ọla waving to me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikā́ku, but for an ordinary kẽ́špiš. I dragged myself along as though I were in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and irresistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and once again that aṍna-xẽ́ọla was standing before me. It smiled at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yẽ́kuš; it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that song kept running through my head for a long time. I was weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of energy. A yẽkamuš kĩ́pa addressed me: 'How weak you are now! Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting animal!' That aṍna-xẽ́ọla had not released me since my dream; it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that I must practice as a yẽkamuš, for that is what this spirit was trying to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That yẽkamuškĩ́pa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of tea in her hands, and immediately she realized what had happened to me. 'You must become a yẽkamuš!' she said to me. This is what she saw: that aṍna-xẽ́ọla had put a fur cloak around me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

/1399 cont./
her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and asked: 'Did you have an asikáku there in the woods and since then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the aóna-xéola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikáku away from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the help of that yékamuškīpa; she saved me from imminent death." The complete designation for a person who, through a vision, has received his calling to practice as a yékamuš is, accordingly asikáku-yékamuš.

2. The Medicine-Man School

Although it is true that the yékamuš of the Yamana are not joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yékamuš who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to effect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service, for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity of a yékamuš and could not forgo it completely without harming itself. If, at a certain time, several yékamuš feel the necessity of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they instigate a lóima-yékamuš. The goal of a meeting thus designated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yékamuš now and then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

327. At that time I knew nothing about the Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 786), which, in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-man school of the Yamana.

/1400 cont./

X156 my efforts toward witnessing this noteworthy arrangement (Gusinde [n]:968). At first my Fuegian friends would not hear of this plan. They felt unsure of themselves because about 25 years had passed since the last occasion of this kind, which took place under the leadership of Ašikansis in Šowatóyawaia (Punta Pantalón on Navarino Island) and because the yékamuš of the present time regard themselves as weak and less capable than their predecessors. Nevertheless, I was accorded the rare privilege of becoming acquainted with this observance, which is very significant in some respects, through personal participation (p. 190 /untranslated/). Since then it has not been repeated and thus it was really the last lóima-yékamuš in the actual and strict sense.

a. Preparation

In case this or that group of medicine men firmly intends to initiate a lóima-yékamuš soon, they come to an agreement in ordinary conversation as to the place where they wish to gather. They have no special requirements for the location, but it must be suitable for a sojourn of several families for some time. The conditions which must be met are like those required for the čiéxaus or kína. Above all it must be a place where they need not fear major disturbances of any kind.

X156 As soon as several families have settled down in the place
34b agreed upon, the erection of the special hut begins without delay. The hut is called lóima tarnékeš, sometimes more definitely lóima tárna ékeš. It resembles the one for the kína celebration; in other words, it is a spacious hut in the usual cone shape. The base is circular or lengthened to an oval shape, depending on whether it is erected for a few or many participants. The individual small trunks of this construction /1401/ are planted a few centimeters in the ground for greater stability and are placed close together. This framework is covered on the outside with pieces of leather. If not enough of them should be available, thick beech foliage is used as a covering. The maximum interior height is about three and a half meters. The interior is decorated with a white line the width of a hand, which runs all

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X756 346 the way around about a meter above the ground. In some exceptional cases, the interior up to about two meters from the ground may be painted uniformly white. The fire is kept burning constantly in the center of the hut, and a narrow passage is left free around it. Between it and the wall there is enough space for the participants to sit or lie down. This whole area is covered with a layer, eight centimeters thick, of branches with dense foliage from the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides). On top of this is a layer of short, stiff pampas grass, mɛ̌ʷašuka (Calamagrostis), which is also used in the kína hut for the same purpose. Firewood is piled up outside the hut, furnished by younger men who take part as spectators or visitors, that is, who are neither yɛ́kamuš themselves nor intend to become such. In the seating arrangement the leader of this affair has the place to the left of the entrance; farther inside the yɛ́kamuš and candidates alternate in such a way that one to three of the latter sit between two yɛ́kamuš. Naturally the Great Hut is so situated that its broad entrance opens to the east and does not face the camp with its family dwellings.

X756 As has already been indicated, a very influential older medicine man fills the office of leader. He is called lóʲmatuɛ̌ʷnuwa. He is usually responsible for the decisive stimulus that has instigated the affair; he makes the initial preparations and gathers together a few friendly colleagues to discuss the details of the program. He automatically becomes the leader, without being definitely or formally chosen, and everyone submits to his leadership without opposition. Only a man of superior knowledge and rich experience is considered for this post; he is held in high esteem by everyone because of his great ability and his incomparable achievements. This leader then gives detailed instructions to the participants, following the traditional program with which he must be familiar. Above all he sees to it that no disturbance or distraction of any kind interferes.

In accordance with the purpose of this occasion, a number of yɛ́kamuš, of course, arrive as participants, for this is properly their own undertaking and they, obviously, are primarily concerned. They hasten to it from the surrounding vicinity, and sometimes a yɛ́kamuš will come from a great distance in case he has some friendly connection with this gathering and wishes to

/1401 cont./

X756 display his superior achievements before it. The apprentices admitted young men who, on their own initiative, wish to devote themselves to the office of yę́kamuš, /1402/ who show talent and aptitude for it, and who are introduced by their relatives. Many a chap is under pressure if a yę́kamuš has been told in a dream that he has been directly called to this office by the spirits. Thus the lṓima-yę́kamuš is a gathering of these chosen ones. Naturally persons who perform no services and simply want to satisfy their curiosity would not be permitted to remain. In the case of the so-called uš́wā́aléxamuš (derived from uš́wā́ala yę́kamuš), they must have an earnest desire to learn the skills of the yę́kamuš in order to practice them themselves later on. Many a father brings his grown son, hoping that in this school he will feel the desire to become a yę́kamuš, but no one is put under serious pressure by relatives or friends.

The wife of a medicine man may come for a few hours every day. During this time she accompanies him in the customary songs, just as she often does outside of the Great Hut. At night she goes back to the camp. Her husband may not accom-
[834] pany her; during the entire affair, which lasts a few months, they cannot sleep together or have sexual intercourse. A few middle-aged men are requested by authoritative yę́kamuš to remain throughout or for a certain period in the lṓima house. They are entrusted with the necessary work and services so that the yę́kamuš and all the apprentices may be left to themselves undisturbed and not be in the least distracted by manual work. These men who are the helpers, tend the hut fire, provide food, no matter how meager this may be, and are very alert to prevent any kind of disturbance of the lṓima tarnę́kēr. The leader alone directs these helpers, although they may also assist the other participants in these ways. More than 15 persons at least assemble for a lṓima-yę́kamuš. Besides that, a number of men are admitted on some evenings with the consent of the leader. They wish to convince themselves of the progress of the candidates and at intervals follow the proceedings with their own eyes. These visitors must be absolutely quiet; they may neither talk nor make a disturbance in any way. They sit motionless near the entrance and inconspicuously watch what goes on before them.

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X756 Finally, one or two women who have been active as yékamuľ to a limited extent come as participants to receive further instruction, so to speak, in the lóima-yékamuľ. At the beginning the leader must assure them that they may participate. From the behavior of the three women who entered the lóima house for the first time on March 19, 1923, I realized the respect and timidity that every person feels toward it. It is regarded as a particularly feared place. At first these women remained in their dwellings for two to three hours in earnest concentration; then they stepped out and turned toward the lóima house. Each woman kept /1402/ her head bowed low and her eyes more closed than open. With actual trepidation she placed one foot in front of the other as slowly as though she were feeling the earth. She glided forward about 150 centimeters and then back about 80. She stood still for a few minutes, then started moving again. From time to time she raised her head timidly and, full of fear, turned her eyes toward the lóima house. Faint-hearted and trembling, she quickly looked away again as though she had seen something dreadful. It took this woman all of an hour and a quarter until she finally reached the entrance of the lóima hut. Here she was obliged to wait a few minutes; the leader addressed her from inside and bade her enter. Frightened, she came in very slowly and sat down at the place pointed out to her. Everyone who approaches the lóima house feels that he is being delivered up, without any defense, to the power of many spirits who will severely punish even slight disrespect. Trembling and completely intimidated, of course the ulúfaléxamuľ also set out for the assembly hut. Among other women who have no particular desire to take up the vocation of yékamuľ, curiosity does not conquer the fear of the spirits; they very definitely avoid the Great Hut. Several times I was told in all seriousness: "Anyone who approaches without deep respect and serious concentration incurs severe punishment from the spirits!"

Our Yamana regard the quiet winter months which are conducive to self-reflection as the most favorable time for a lóima-yékamuľ. In any case the general desire for travel has abated then, and every family prefers to stay in the same place

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X156 as long as possible. The outward peace which prevails in nature has a favorable effect on the psychic state of the yɛ́kamuš; they consciously take this into consideration. This affair continues for several months. Sometimes it is prolonged if, according to the opinion of the masters, the apprentices' progress is slow. It is strange, in view of the restless disposition of our Yamana, that the medicine men are able to remain in one place for several months in pursuit of their goal, although day after day they are forced to maintain a uniform attitude and strict control of their mental powers.

β. The Procedure

All fully qualified participants, the really active yɛ́kamuš and the apprentices, must remain in the lo̯íma house uninterruptedly. They may not even leave it in order to work for any length of time in the family hut or to sleep there. All distractions cease during the entire period; the daily program itself serves to maintain serious concentration. The participants remain in their places all the time. Toward four o'clock, when it begins to grow dark, the general singing starts. It continues [805] without pause "until the two Yo̯álox have crossed their highest point on the heavens" /1404/ that is, until two or three o'clock. It is not until then that everyone may go to sleep. As soon as the dawn appears, everyone shakes off sleep and collects his thoughts, motionless, until after the sun has crossed the zenith. Then, on certain days, a few chores begin for the uŭwɛ́ɛlɛ́xamuš, which they perform silently. The purpose of these chores is to give them the physical exercise that nature requires, although they need sleep even more. They put the hut fire and their sleeping places in order or gather firewood in the forest and pile it up in front of the Great Hut; some of them, led by women, go down to the shore and look for mussels. About three hours are permitted for these occupations. After that everyone sits down in his place and, without moving, gives himself up to meditation. This program continues day after day without change, always with the greatest composure and strict silence.

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X756 264 785 Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the ïčima house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uw̆ăl̆ɛ́xamuĭ are given three mussels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end; he destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumărapu powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known ɛ̆mbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 709) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yɛ̆kamuĭ. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yɛ̆kamuĭ will be for his accomplishments. If a uw̆ăl̆ɛ́xamuĭ should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yɛ̆l̆ɛ̆ɛ̆l tell the yɛ̆kamuĭ of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this ïčima hut!" /1405/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 302 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yɛ̆kamuĭ and the uw̆ăl̆ɛ́xamuĭ. All of them are completely naked

1: Gusinde--1937 E-4 (1919-1924) 1937 0098 Tehuel 098

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X756 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint
382 themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for tini powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky tumpiku on their heads. Everyone ties the ayuwipa around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the yékamuč, and the strip of skin with down feathers known as kayuyú (p. 718). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women yékamuč must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the lélma house without being painted.

X756 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the
785 very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off
516 on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as kalalakúna, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, still and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position. In exceptional cases he may also sit for a

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time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, poised white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep is permitted the pre-initiate, and it comes during the four or five /1400/ hours before daybreak. An ancient custom recommends, the qualified yihanuf sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yeltfel live in the old trees from which this [illegible] wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yeltfel-rights even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed. This is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

According to Tarzana belief, a full-fledged yihanuf merely seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1304). The transformation of the body begins here in the Hyena-yihanuf for those who [illegible]yihanuf who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yihanuf, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis [illegible] (it is known as /1400/), dips it into the white [illegible] powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure, then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these exercises by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. What, after continuous

/1406 cont./

X156 D7 painting and rubbing, the new skin finally becomes visible in about three weeks, the old masters interpret it as a sign that the ʃáleasmuf in question really has a call for their vocation, and they show their joy in mutual mental visions. Now the apprentice must rub the cheek region with renewed diligence until, after another three or more weeks, this second delicate skin also disappears, and a third, still finer and more sensitive, appears. This skin is so soft and sensitive that it cannot be touched without causing penetrating pain. The ʃáleasmuf who is the first among all the apprentices to develop this third, extremely fine skin arouses the greatest hopes and is regarded as the most successful pupil. As soon as this third, extremely sensitive skin is formed among the rest of the apprentices, the elders conclude the ʃáma-yékamuf. Naturally, the experienced teachers recognize this alteration of the skin in /1407/ their mental visions and inform each other in brief words which are unintelligible to all the pupils. This is not a case of mechanically destroying the real skin of the face; rather, by a process of auto-suggestion, the ʃáleasmuf believe in the alleged changes which the old teachers audibly discuss. They also say that this extraordinary sensitivity of the facial skin gradually disappears, but that the skin remains very delicate. In connection with the alteration in the skin of the face, the rest of the skin and the entire body are transformed into that phantom body which all yékamuf are supposed to have.

X156 T89 In the course of the ʃáma-yékamuf the old masters repeatedly perform two kinds of movements for which they show great preference. They pass both cupped hands over the hut fire and capture, so to speak, a handful of warmth which they pour out, as it were, over the head of an apprentice. They do this at least three times in succession. They also catch warmth from the hut fire in only one cupped hand, with the arm outstretched, and move it along in such a way that their cupped hand rests on the mouth of an apprentice; they fairly pour warmth into him. It is said that these two movements remove a sort of impenetrable wall of fog from the eyes of the ʃáleasmuf; from now on he can see the spirits without interference and nothing can hinder his singing.

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X756 787 828 It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagination or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kĕšpix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lóima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The uš̌wā́aléxamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the uš̌wā́aléxamuš has begun to practice independently.

X756 787 S33 Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables hā́iyang hā́iyang hó are repeated to these melodies, or hŏn yŏ yŏ, or finally hainán wagán harán and similar variations.

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X756 787 533 A uśwaléxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yeſčel-xęola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yeſčel out. Nevertheless, if a yeſčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yeſčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X756 787 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost completely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yeſčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

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They also describe their own késpix in the realm of the spirits and his being with them. All this takes place in the following manner. During the common singing one man will suddenly make his voice louder and louder, his whole body starts to tremble, his eyes are fixed on one point, and he moves toward it as he slides a bit closer to the hut fire. Suddenly he cries -- I repeat Mašemikens' words: "My yefáčel is already quite close!" He gets up, goes all around the fire, with the upper part of his body bent far over. He touches one man and then another and asks: "Who are you?" Each one answers: "Karendáulum mútu, I am a native of this region!" After Mašemikens has sat down in his place, he continues: "I see my yefáčel and other yefáčel going to Anjawája; they are gathering a few yefáčel there. They are preparing all kinds of things! Be on your guard and watch everything they are going to do!" After some brief singing and wailing, Mašemikens says: "Everybody has to paint himself again!" He reaches for čílər[1] and tumarápu and rubs his cheeks with them. Meanwhile several yékamus stretch their cupped hands toward the warmth rising from the hut fire; they scoop it up, so to speak, and pour it over their bodies. Then Mašemikens, trembling all over, cries: "My yefáčel is here already, he is just stepping into this lójma house!" At the same time he slides toward the hut fire, for the yefáčel love warmth. Mašemikens cries: "My yefáčel is now with me! Are you all courageous and strong enough to sing along out loud? Many yefáčel are crowding into our lójma-hut!" Now loud wailing and a terrified yelling begin, present trembles with agitation, as though he were out of his mind, everyone lifts his eyes and stares absently into the distance. Into this commotion Thomas yells: "I am singing with all my might! My yefáčel is already here, too, and is listening to my song!" Whaits says loudly: "I cannot understand what the yefáčel are saying to one another. There are many of them here in the lójma house. We must all sing lustily!" Suddenly Emilia, like one demented, beats about with both arms. Mašemikens explains this in the following words: "Emilia has just caught hold of a yefáčel and pushed it into the fire. But it quickly escaped!" The singing continues excitedly. Mašemikens cries: "I see, the yefáčel are very angry! They are throwing stones at us with their

/1409 cont./
slings because Emilia pushed a yefáčel into the fire. Emilia did this because that yefáčel would not sing along with us." Soon afterward Emilia takes Santiago's hand and rubs the palm of his hand with hers, saying: I have caught the yékuš that the yefáčel hurled with his sling; it now belongs to you [Santiago], I'm giving it to you!" While everyone present goes on singing, she adds: "I have great power over Haučélla. My first /1410/ husband was a capable yékamuš; I learned a lot from him!" After a time the song becomes somewhat weaker, and Emilia cries anxiously: "Everybody here seems to be very discouraged! They are no longer making an effort and act as though they were dead. Please help me sing, my yefáčel loves singing. It came from a great distance, from šégetex-tulēwa [on the Wollaston Islands]. Are all the ušwáléxamuš present?" There is a "Yes" from many voices. Emilia continues, her eyes still staring into the distance: "I see other yefáčel there on Cape Horn. Some of them are constantly slipping on the smooth ice. But others are coming with lightning speed. They are already standing here. I must sit down in front of them!" A bit later Emilia squats in front of me, she excitedly draws her open hands over my body from the top of my head to my knees; then she presses her hands hard against my chest, and finally says, straight into my face: "Herewith I give you your own yefáčel. It comes from the extreme south where there is all that ice. From now on it belongs to you!" Thomas cries loudly: "This yefáčel is behaving in a very friendly way!" Loud singing follows and continues for ten minutes. Finally Maŝemikens announces: "Now all the yefáčel are leaving. Mine is sad because it must leave me, but the other yefáčel demand it. They are already out on the high seas!" Quickly silence again falls on the lóima hut; only one person continues singing in a weak voice.

Similar performances go on evening after evening, and everyone present takes part. Words and gestures are expressions of the confused fantasies of each speaker, who is free to clothe his feelings in words. Now and then the yékamuš also engage in their well-known feats of strength, namely, a contest held in the visions of usually two opponents. The rest of the yékamuš carefully follow this struggle and let the people present know

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X156 781 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lóima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lóima hut, the others seize his késpix to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

X156 781 776 The Haučéllakípa have been mentioned several times. These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lóima-yékamuš. There are many Haučélla, both male /1411/ and female, and they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakípa, just as he has his own yefáčel. When they say that Haučéllakípa is the mistress and female ruler of the lóima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all the details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakípa as the ruler of the lóima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly héte, héte, hétetetetéte in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakípa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

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resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A Haučéllakīpa has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the Haučéllakīpa and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a Haučéllakīpa! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom Haučéllakīpa attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my yeščel is perturbed because I murdered that Haučéllakīpa; /1412/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motons as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirt. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my yeščel is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

/1412 cont./
advance on Haučélla (p. 1334). The women in the camp are seized with fear whenever they hear the howling of the men, indicating that the latter are again obliged to struggle with Haučélla.

γ. The Conclusion

From the preceding description one can easily see the goal of the lóima-yékamuš, namely, maximum development of the power of imagination and auto-suggestion, stimulation and cultivation of the dream-fantasy, and increased ability to fuse external phenomena and everyday occurrences with individual fantasies. A yékamuš, by means of his singing, must be able to put himself quickly into the dream state in order to feel that the dream images and fantasies are living personalities; he must associate with them and deal with them, offer resistance to them, and give them orders as though they were human beings. It cannot be definitely determined to what extent an uš̌wā́aléxamuš succeeds in this accomplishment; in all these things he is left to his own imagination. Whatever the old masters say on the subject is not regarded as a judgment that must be taken into account. They decide on special treatment only in the case of a candidate who is very slow in his progress. Mašemikens experienced this himself and described it to me. A capable yékamuš will make the unsuccessful apprentice stand up in front of him and will say to him: "I shall try to strangle you!" He seizes a stout leather strap, puts it around the boy's neck, and says: "Now watch out!" The yékamuš chokes the apprentice as hard as he can, until the boy falls over. Repeatedly he shouts at him: "Remember, this lóima house is a place for Haučélla!" Soon the apprentice sees many Haučélla sitting around the fire warming themselves. Then the apprentice's kéšpix approaches these spirits, but he begins to feel uneasy in their company, and full of fear, he withdraws. Now the yékamuš removes the leather strap from the neck of the apprentice. After that the latter has no difficulty in quickly transporting himself to the realm of the kéšpix; Mašemikens assured me of this from his own experience. Naturally, a yékamuš

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Y756 787 does not literally strangle the apprentice; rather, this act, too, takes place in a visionary state, and the yékamuš merely describes it in words that can be understood.

With the lõima-yékamuš the old masters strive to train a number of candidates /1413/ to make them sufficiently skilled in their calling. Hence the length of the training cannot be determined beforehand. Most of the yékamuš, though not all, remain together until they have achieved the desired results, that is to say, for the entire winter, perhaps even for five months. The daily monotony wears down the ušwáaléxamuš and puts their nerves in a state of extreme irritability. On such soil there is a luxuriant growth of those fantasies and hallucinations which are sought by auto-suggestion and striven for by the immediate circle. After the lõima-yékamuš is over, each apprentice attaches himself to the man who was his particular guardian during the affair. He takes further instruction from him alone, until he can independently begin to practice the art of the medicine man. The rest of the yékamuš also continue to observe each one who was trained in the lõima hut and follow his activities. They exchange opinions about whether or not unusual achievements may be expected of him.

When the goal of the old masters has been achieved, they discuss the conclusion of the affair with the leader. They soon agree, the visitors are notified, and everyone renews his body painting with particular care. The formal farewell from the lõima house consists of a čõwánni song, by means of which the spirits of the many different kinds of coastal and deep-sea animals are invoked. Thus on the last evening the people present intensify their singing at the given hour, put themselves into a state of spiritual excitement, and first of all invoke the kẽšpix of those yékamuš who have died in that particular region, calling them into the lõima house. After a brief period of singing every participant thinks he feels their presence, and from then on the singing goes on, but faintly. Meanwhile everyone thinks about the čõwánni spirits. After a while the singing grows louder and stronger. At the same time everyone makes running movements along the ground with the fingers of both hands. These are supposed to show that his kẽšpix is walking down to the beach with

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787 the penguins, as far as the water line. From this point his kéšpiš begins a flight far out to sea in order to fetch the čōwánni spirits from the distance. This is immediately followed by arm movements which look as though the cupped hands were constantly shoveling water from below upwards, which means that the kéšpiš of the íleščí (herring) are rising out of the depths of the sea and assembling. They are joined by the kéšpiš of whales and seals, marine and beach birds. Mašemikens cries: "Foam is appearing on the waves, it constantly increases! Soon the čōwánni spirits will turn toward our lōíma hut!" Immediately Emilia clears the ground a bit in front of the entrance, "so that the canoes of the kéšpiš can easily glide in." As she does so, she calls: "Those čōwánni spirits have a great many vessels!" Now she gazes outside in a particular direction and moves her arms vigorously, "so that those spirits will quickly come." The singing of all the participants becomes more excited. Emilia cries enthusiastically: "The čōwánni spirits are quite close!" She stares at the ground in front of her /1414/ and cries joyfully: "All the canoes are now here where I am sitting! There are a great many. We must be alert or one of the canoes will hasten off with our kéšpiš!" Immediately Black sprinkles ími upon the many vessels, that is, on the spot in front of Emilia, because he, too, sees the many canoes in his mind. Emilia behaves most excitedly. She stares at the ground as though she were looking for something and declares: "These kéšpiš are bringing a lot of paddles, the men have a great many harpoons. I shall now distribute a few of these things!" She gesticulates as though she were taking hold of paddles or harpoons and rubs the hands of all the women and men, thereby handing these things over to them. Then all the women begin making rowing motions and all the men gesticulate as though they were hurling harpoons. In between there are shrill cries of hi hi hi...All this is done to please the kéšpiš who are present. Mašemikens repeatedly interrupts with cries of "Be on guard!" The singing grows fainter. Emilia looks around the circle as though mentally absent and says in a croaking voice, as though she were short of breath: "My own kéšpiš is now sitting in a canoe of the čōwánni spirits. I know many of them!" Once more the singing becomes animated, with all the people taking

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Y456 787 part with full force; it is always the monotonous melody on the same pitch, without unison. It is only after some time that the voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the canoes back again!" While the faint singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep thrusting their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of kɛ́kɛ́t, which are supposed to push the čōwánni spirits out of the lōima house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the Haučélla spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the čōwánni spirits.

With the agitated čōwánni song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared in the lōima hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large lōima hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the families are scattered in all directions.

Y456 773 Not only the lōima-yɛ́kamuš, but the entire medicine-man system has been in the possession of the Yamana for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin; there is no myth that tells about it. Old Thomas gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The yɛ́kamuš arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the kína also brought along the yɛ́kamuš arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the kína. Then when the general upheaval occurred in Yáiaaíga /1415/ and the kína was taken away from the women by the men, the great yɛ́kamuš of that time changed themselves into stars and animals, Lɛ̄m and Akɛ̄inix, Aíōula (Pseudorca crassidens), Yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), and many another capable yɛ́kamuš. The few men [yɛ́kamuš] and women who did not perish in that upheaval became the teachers of all the subsequent yɛ́kamuš. There were some of these at all times." This reference to the origin of the yɛ́kamuš system in the north points also to its connection with the kína; this has been stressed in Gusinde (n):972. This explains the

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X756 773 designation ǫ́ona-xéǫla which is the equivalent of yefáčel-xéǫla. The lǫ́ima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauinčiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauinčiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lǫ́ima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lǫ́ima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 787 533 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefáčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefáčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefáčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs. If the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such..."; 'Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary power" /translated from Spanish/.

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X756 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the
787 moment at which the yefáčel itself takes over the melody and
533 carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefáčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuš is aware of everything that the yefáčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefáčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuš and his yefáčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefáčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The kéšpiš of the yékamuš gives way to the yefáčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefáčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefáčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X756 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the
302 medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apáwē>a which he ties around his forehead (p. 1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

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X 756 and as he must lead in funeral ceremonies, his qualifications must be to weep whenever he desires. His practice is to outshout, if possible, the roaring of the wind, and to stay the pitiless pelting of the storm by pelting mussel shells into it" /cited in English/. Bridges writes: "Doctors are believed to have great power in their dreams, even to eat persons, that is, to kill them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864); he (h):209 and (a):213 also says: "They are said to possess supernatural powers to bring about good or bad weather, to cure the sick, etc." /translated from Spanish/. According to Burleigh, "the yẽkamuš practice a kind of witchcraft and profess to be able to see into the future and foretell events" /cited in English/ (MM:XXIII, 245;1889). This is really true.

Because of these multiple duties of the yẽkamuš they specialize, so to speak, each one generally devoting himself to a special area in which he achieves a certain mastery. Thus some yẽkamuš /1417/ are very well informed about the heavens and the sun, moon, and stars; others about clouds and the weather, rain and snow, frost and ice; still others about air currents, namely, winds and storms and the movement of the water, especially waves and eddies; other yẽkamuš are reliably informed about everything that moves in the forest, chiefly the habits of the guanacos and foxes, rats and owls; still others carefully observe the habits of whales, seals, and schools of fish in the water and flocks of birds along the coasts; finally, certain yẽkamuš are outstandingly capable in combating illness. Thus a Yamana who is in any kind of distress turns to a friend who is a "specialist" and requests from him counsel and enlightenment, help and support.

X 756 787 Again it must be emphasized that every medicine man performs only "in the dream," that is to say, in a mental vision. He sings continually, as though lost in dreams, and whatever he sees in this awake visionary state has reality for him. He names and describes in audible words the details of his actions and those of his spirits, and on the basis of this the people around him follow his activity. Nothing that he shows or describes, grasps or gives away during his singing is actually present as such; the other people cannot perceive it with their senses or feel it with their hands. Only the yẽkamuš in his dream state deals with all the different things he mentions, yẽkuš and sling, weapons and tools, kẽspix of

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X 756 787 human beings and animals, yeſáčel, and Haučella as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yékuš, hurled by a hostile yékamuš, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yékamuš performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yékamuš as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

a. Healing the Sick

X 756 753 755 The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yékamuš does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yékamus, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yeſáčel. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yékamus must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yékamuš. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yékamuš to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yékamuš in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

/1418 cont./

X756 755 The medicine man proceeds as follows. By means of his singing he puts himself "in the dream." Now he sees the kĕ̆pif of the other person; he seizes a yĕ́kuĭ and hurls it against the person, who is wounded in a more or less dangerous spot, just as the yĕ́kamuĭ intended. He immediately recognizes the effect of his yĕ́kuĭ, although the person who was hit becomes aware of what has happened to him only after some time. The malevolent yĕ́kamuĭ is pleased over his success, especially if he has performed this act at the special request of a fellow-tribesman. Sooner or later the other person feels sharp pains; perhaps he will have feelings of fear or, without any reason, will be filled with alarm. Since he cannot find any external reason and cannot explain his condition as due to obvious causes, he will reveal it to a friendly yékamuĭ. The latter puts himself in the dream state, discovers and observes how the kĕ̆pif of the person was treated, finds the impaled yĕ́kuĭ, pulls it out, examines it carefully, and recognizes in it the person who hurled it. Simply because he is strong enough, that is, stronger than the first yĕ́kamuĭ, he succeeds in freeing the wounded person of the yĕ́kuĭ and making him well. Otherwise, he is powerless to help and the person must die if the yĕ́kuĭ has not been removed in time in one way or another (330). Soon after he has awakened, no matter

Fig. 98. Yekuĭ. Two-thirds natural size.

330. This interpretation was indicated earlier, but in each case inaccurately, by Alvarez:147, Bridges (l):18, Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):192, and others. In one instance Bridges says more definitely: "Yecoosh, they suppose, is driven into their bodies by some ill-disposed doctor or

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other. This Yecoosh, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864).

how /1419/ his effort has turned out, he notifies the person of his condition and also identifies the yékamuĭ who wounded him. Moreover, he soon thereafter turns to that yékamuĭ, "in the dream" naturally, reproaches him for his destructive act, and rebukes him thoroughly: "Know that I am stronger than you! Beware of harming any of my relatives or friends! Look at this yékuĭ which you hurled against X [he gives the name] and of which I relieved him!" The other yékamuĭ realizes that he is exposed and does not contradict him. Sometimes the successful yékamuĭ shows the people around him the yékuĭ that he took out of the wounded person. Everyone who sees it -- naturally, only in their imagination, as presented by the yékamuĭ -- is amazed at its size and the ability of the medicine man. The people's admiration increases if the yékamuĭ has brought relief to a friend who was in great danger from a hostile yékamuĭ without being aware of his condition. Many medicine men spend considerable time in the broad realm of imagination and fantasy, and they are obviously the cause of all kinds of provocations by individuals or whole groups against one another.

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Usually the yékamuĭ applies his cure directly to the sick person. He has rubbed his own body with white pigment and tied his apawĭ-s around his forehead. He sometimes also puts two or three of them around his torso. This external wrapping lends special solemnity to his activity. The sick person is lying on his pallet, and the yékamuĭ squats beside him. Usually members of the sick person's family are present. The medicine man begins his song, and in his awake vision he points with his finger to the part of the body where the yékuĭ is lodged. First he presses and manages the spot with his hands, then he puts his mouth to it and sucks as though he were drawing the yékuĭ up to the surface. Finally, at the moment of greatest agitation, while his whole body

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is trembling in a frightening manner, he gives a tremendous jerk and lifts up the extracted yĕkuĭ in his convulsively clenched fists. In another instance he will bend the upper part of his body far forward, press hard against his belly, and make strenuous vomiting motions, meaning that he is trying to get rid of the yĕkuĭ which he has sucked into his own body from the sick person (331). When

331. Bridges (i):18 describes the activity of the medicine men as follows: "They oftentimes handle the sick very roughly when in this wrought-up state, excited through much chanting and violent controtions they exorcised the pain and its cause from the body of the sufferer, pretending to do this by the hands and suction and to swallow the malady and its cause, which was supposed to be an arrow or spear pointed flint called yecoosh, of which the doctors always professed to have a supply in their stomachs" /cited in English/.

the yĕkuĭ or the stone or harpoon point /1420/ has been extracted in one way or another, the yĕkamuĭ shows it to the people present, as it lies on the palm of his hand. Then he brings his outstretched hand with the palm upward toward his mouth and with a short, vigorous puff blows the yĕkuĭ far away so that it is lost. After singing briefly the yĕkamuĭ gradually awakes and regains full consciousness. Everyone thanks him for his efforts. The person who has been treated also gets up and feels some kind of relief (332). We would interpret this sort of phenomenon as the

332. The writings on the treatment of the sick, for example by Bridges (k):237, Bove (e):158, and others, must be corrected on the basis of the above description.

effect of auto-suggestion.

In the case of superficial injuries or if someone has merely lost his footing, in the case of a slight mental indisposition or after unpleasant dreams, the Yamana goes to the yĕkamuĭ with

/1420 cont./

X756 755 whom he is on familiar terms. He immediately treats the petitioner with what I may call his "magical massage." Thereupon the latter departs in a state of relief. The yẽkamuĩ gently rubs the painful spot with the palms of both hands, or he massages the joint, or, in the case of an eye disease, he passes his open hands in circular motions in front of the face several times. After that he rubs both hands together, holds the palms upward, and with a vigorous puff that sounds like a shrill ft, he blows the "evil" far away. He makes the same movements over a person who has inadvertently stepped on a "harmful spot" (p. 1390) or over certain foods in order to render them harmless to eat (p. 505).

X756 753 755 The common people, as well as the medicine men, make a very definite and clear distinction between an evil and disease caused by a yẽkamuĩ and one that is caused by Wataxinẽwa. Every yẽkamuĩ can make certain of this "in his dream" or by asking his yeĩ'ẽl, and he notifies the people around him. If a sufferer wretchedly groans E. E. it is obvious that Hayẽ'ẽlia has caused the evil and is crying out from the sick person. If, however, an illness is very violent from the start and develops so rapidly that the victim is soon at death's door, the people recognize this as the work of Wataxinẽwa. In each case, in order to reassure the people and above all, the sick person, the yẽkamuĩ will try his method of healing. He knows just as well as those around him that the malady has been inflicted on the person by Wataxinẽwa himself as a punishment and that it is areal illness which only he can take away, that the cause is neither a buried yẽkuĩ nor a Hayẽ'ẽliahpa. Well aware that only Wataxinẽwa can help, the yẽkamuĩ tries his best and at the same time begs in the name of the sick person: "May the-one-up-there give you back your health!" If the medicine man realizes his helplessness in the case of /1421/ a certain disease, he, too, turns directly to that higher power which has caused the serious illness. Indeed, even more. Before the yẽkamuĩ begins his treatment in the case of a particularly serious illness, he prays to Wataxinẽwa and says: "Heal this man! But if you will not let him get well because you are justifiably angry with him, take the illness away from him for my sake! At least be kind to me, for it is very important to me to make this man well. Be good to me and give me enough strength

/1421 cont./

to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back his health, for my sake!" Obviously the *yékamuš* is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulae to *Watayinčiwa* so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The *yékamuš*, however, is also impelled by ambition, since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on *Watayinčiwa* for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly *yékamuš* will say to the survivors: "That *yékamuš* [he designates him by name] has caused them death!" It is a universal belief that only *Watayinčiwa* can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to *Watayinčiwa*, they will accuse him of being in collusion with that *yékamuš* and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "*Watayinčiwa*, why did you join that *yékamuš* and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 889).

B. General Animism

The individual Yamana, as well as the independent family groups, will turn to a friendly *yékamuš* in all kinds of daily distress. Although I often heard, "*Watayinčiwa* causes bad weather, *Watayinčiwa* sends the heavy snow and the bad storms!" nevertheless the Yamana also attribute to their *yékamuš* a definite influence on the weather (332). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

> 332. Bridges (b) 19 and (b) 227 assumed in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few *yékamuš* are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the *yékamuš* will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

/1401 cont./

day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The children, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1402/ Once on a rainy day I also heard, "Tomorrow *ushpa* [the constellation Orion, p. 1178 /unreviewed/] will appear!" On another winter's day a *shaman* assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Taking-Sunrise again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether these *shamans* were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the *shaman*. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the *shaman-shaman*. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great privation. Then the *shaman* must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his *Ilwdani* song, and thus invokes the *Ilwdani* spirits. The latter have whole swarms of hunting with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people in dimness. In the same way the *Ilwdani* spirits drive many round crabs (*Lithodes acanthina*, Fig. 10 /in unreviewed portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby ocean. The *shaman* also one another helper. In his dream he calls an *ahlala* to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the *ahlala* returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1380 /unreviewed/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their *shaman* for this rescue. He finally releases the helpful spirits with his *Ilwdani* song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the *shaman* assembles the day before and start the *Ilwdani* song. This is supposed to ensure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

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K 156 189 125 banners uurem. While they sing, they stare into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skrill or several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the héfaif of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

K 156 187 The Yamana believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yékamuf themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 28, 1882, I was standing with several people when Mateméiben said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1423/ canoe approaching with tuguílwa [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon of the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yékamuf know so many things in advance!"

Y 156 255 If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yékamuf occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a makáiyina. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his feet, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of tę tę. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

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Y 156 155 air. They believe that Wataúinčiwa-sef sent the affliction (p. 910); therefore, the wrath of all of them is directed against him. After that they repeatedly strike at the fire with their hands with fingers outstretched, as though they were pushing the "sickness-evil" into the flames. After this agitated performance the yčkamuš promise the people that they will soon be freed of their suffering.

Y 156 At this point it should be recalled that the medicine man is sometimes a sort of leader. This is apparent in the lóima-yčkamuš and in the kína (p. 1215). When a murder is to be avenged, he usually leads his people (p. 901), and two hostile groups attack one another under the direction of their yčkamuš. In everyday life, too, everyone likes to get advice from the medicine man with whom he is friendly and acts accordingly; especially if any kind of danger threatens the entire group appeals to him. The following will show that the yčkamuš feel obligated toward their groups. If a depressed mood, a psychic malady, or a general feeling of fear has seized the people, for example, during widespread illness, the yčkamuš arrange the makáinkína, which is also the concluding ceremony of the Kina festival (p. 1289). This remedy dispels the particular spirits that have brought about melancholy and general despondency. If the yčkamus wish to calm the people after a day of excitement and prepare them for undisturbed slumber, they start the tíxer song. This is a real evening song, a soothing farewell to the waning day (pp. 797 , 841).

/1424/ Y. Harmful Practices

Y 156 154 If the yčkamuš himself has quarreled with a person and wants to cause him grave harm, or if he intends to avenge a personal insult, or if he is carrying out the secret order of a friend who wishes to do away with an opponent, then he must first of all capture the késpif of the person and lock it up in a little bag, no matter how far away this késpif is. He needs a tiny bit of something that is closely connected or in close contact with that person, either a hair from his cloak of skin, a bit of wood from his hut, or a tendon from his bag; it may even be a

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X756 754 hair from his head, a bit of fingernail, or any insignificant thing. He takes it in his hands, stares fixedly at it for some time, kneads it and presses it, pulls it and shapes it, until it has taken on the shape of the person who is to be harmed. He can observe this transformation in his awake vision. Then he hides this little piece in an insignificant little bag called wůkur$^{\check{z}}$ (334). Now the kĕšpiš

334. I cannot decide whether it is this that BD:275 designates as "humuluf, a skin bag in which yekamuš kept their odds and ends" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):307 gives this word as "bag of the healer" /translated from French/.

of that person is locked up as in a prison, and he cannot get out by himself. For his wůkur$^{\check{z}}$ the yĕkamuš prefers to use the conical [825] cocoon, about three centimeters long, of the Thanatopsyche chilensis (Bombycidae), an insignificant-looking Fuegian butterfly whose caterpillar usually hangs its cocoon on Berberis bushes. From time to time the yĕkamuš takes the little piece out of his wůkur$^{\check{z}}$, squeezes it and kneads it, crushes it and presses it, pulls and yanks it, drops it on the ground and stamps on it with his feet, tosses it high into the air and catches it again convulsively in his hands, and worries it in every conceivable fashion with emphatic and limitless malevolence. Finally the person from whom this little article was taken feels somewhat weak and unwell. As time goes on his feeling of sickness increases more and more, for he lacks his kĕšpiš which the yĕkamuš retains in his wůkur$^{\check{z}}$ and constantly torments. Since the body of the person must do without his kĕšpiš for such a long time, he uses up his vitality and grows progressively weaker. If a stronger yĕkamuš does not see the situation in his dream and, aware of the threatened position of that person, order a halt, the person is doomed. If he is stronger than the other yĕkamuš, he must immediately free the person's kĕšpiš from the wůkur$^{\check{z}}$ and lead it back to its body. As a rule the sufferer does not realize soon enough that a yĕkamuš has robbed him of his kĕšpiš. It is only after much blood has flowed from his nose and mouth and he is very weak that a capable yĕkamuš will reveal the situation and offer to make the urgently necessary rescue. He does

/1424 cont./

X156 754 this by freeing the person's késpix from the power /1425/ of the malicious medicine man, catching it with his own hands, and restoring it to the suffering person. Usually this rescuer calls the other yékamuš to account for his base behavior.

Almost all yékamuš practice the above method of harming another person and torturing him to death. Each késpix caught is put in a separate wúkur. When he is not being observed, a yékamuš will take out the little pieces representing the individual persons and their késpix, one after another, mention each person by name, torture each one in a special way, and once again lock each one in his own wúkur. He frequently fills the bag with blubber, so that the késpix will remain motionless, and sews it shut with tendons. He puts the separate wúkur safely away in a secret place. He continues his torture of each individual késpix until the person in question collapses from weakness and dies. In the mental visions of the medicine man the késpix has the same form and shape peculiar to the living human being to whom it belongs, but the yékamuš sees it only in diminutive size.

If a medicine man wants to create a lasting impression among his people, he will call them together and, after singing briefly, put himself into an awake visionary state. Then he shows the people a real wúkur, takes from it an infinitesimally small object, and stares fixedly at a particular person. He says to the person: "Herewith I give you back your késpix, it was in the power of X (335)!" The same thing is repeated with other

335. He specifically names a medicine man, usually one who he knows is hostile to himself or to the person addressed.

persons. They are surprised and believe that they remember having felt more or less exhausted. Now they are released from serious danger and loudly thank the yékamuš for their rescue. They have still more respect for him.

A capable medicine man sometimes succeeds in murdering another person within a few days. He either attacks a personal enemy or he acts on the special request of a fellow-tribesman. As he sings he puts himself into the dream state; his own késpix

/1425 cont./

X 757b 754 leaves his body and meets his Haucéllakípa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the késpix of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the késpix defends itself, Haucélla is stronger and finally hurls a yékuš at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his késpix does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haucélla fatally injures a késpix with the yékuš of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yékamuš succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haucélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watauinéjwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yékamuš are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yékamuš.

δ. Feats of Strength

X 756 787 [555] There are all kinds of occasions when a yékamuš wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yékamuš in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were toming burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

/1426 cont./

X756 787 vomiting motions, as though he were spewing out the burning embers. Afterward, when he awakes, he is, of course, unharmed, but the people around him believe that everything took place just as he described it. Nevertheless, it happens now and then that he really does seize a burning ember and instantly tosses it away: during this brief interval, noticeable burns cannot form, but his action, which is certainly not deception and is not intended to be, makes an impression (336). On one occasion I was told: "The

336. It is only in this sense that one can interpret what Bridges (k):237 and (l):18 observed: "I have seen one of them hurl himself on the fire and throw the burning embers up in the hut among the people assembled there; meanwhile he danced on the superheated hearth. It is to be supposed that the hard skin of his feet was somewhat burned, and it is probable that he took the precaution of wetting them well beforehand" /translated from Spanish/.

medicine man Inois from the eastern group once had an asikíku in a lonely section of the forest and remained in the dream state for a long time. He saw many xówánni spirits who sat down all around him, were very gay, and invited him to a meal. When he woke up, the fire that the xówánni spirits had kindled was still burning beside him. He seized a few glowing pieces of wood, put them in his mouth, on top his head, and behind his neck and /1427/ then went to sleep again. Later he told his relatives about it. They looked him over carefully, but discovered no signs of burning and were very much astonished." Obviously all this took place in the mental vision of the medicine man. In March, 1923, Charlin told me: "Once there were several yékamus assembled in Bahía Moat. As it happened, a dead whale was drifting in the broad [illegible]nel just opposite this place. There were high waves; no one would venture out in a canoe. They had no recourse but to draw the whale to them with their 'strength.' They sat down at the edge of the water and began to sing. Meanwhile each of

Y156 T17 /1427 com./
them hurled a few yékuš at the whale. They hit their mark and it drifted to shore. When the people learned of this act of their yékamuš, they maveled at their ability." Again this is an incident that occurred in the mental vision of the yékamuš and afterward was told to the people.

Moreover, two yékamuš will also have an actual contest in which one will try to outdo the other. An example of this has already been given on p. 1310. Usually the procedure is for each one to aim his yékuš at a particular goal. The one whose yékuš reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In another type of contest one yékamuš will catch in flight the yékuš hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yékamuš can observe such proceedings in their mental visions, and they inform ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yékamuš over his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harmful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1345 and 1353. They also show how easily a yékamuš can disturb the peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

Y156 T19 Every yékamuš, without any undue effort, can make the kéšpix of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yékamuš keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a stronger yékamuš frees him. If this does not happen and the kéšpix is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man commences the lóma song in his hut and is disturbed by a child, he will seize the child's kéšpix. During the brief period of the song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people present are anxiously concerned that the yékamuš soon restore the kéšpix to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he will make violent retching motions, recover the kéšpix, and hand it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down several times along the child's body. If the kéšpix were not returned in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yékamuš is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opinions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.

/1428/ 2. His Relationship to Spirits

X756 187 The previous description leaves no room for doubt that all the activity of the medicine man takes place on a spiritual level. Thus he is completely dependent on certain spirits. When he practices his calling, he has no connection with Watauinéiwa, but in individual cases he realizes that he can achieve nothing in opposition to the Supreme Being (p. 1347). Once Maŝemikens said to me very definitely: "Watauinéiwa does not bother about the things that the yékamuŝ do. They ignore him entirely. Sometimes, however, they ask him for help." Similarly the Yamana do not mention any connection between the yékamuŝ and Yetáita, who is mentioned in the youth initiation (p. 760), or Tánuwa, who plays an important part in the Kina, or the Yoálox family, which rendered important service to the Yamana (p. 1120). The water spirits, Lakúma, which threaten ordinary people, are well-meaning toward a yékamuŝ and let him pass unharmed if he identifies himself by his singing. He is directly dependent on the Yefáčel and Haučélla (337) in his calling, but occasionally he also

337. Bridges (k):238 has already mentioned this: "The yecamush pretends to have dealings with beings called yapahchel and hoachiella, and they give him the ability *to see and do fabulous things, especially to* cure and to kill"/translated from Spanish/.

turns to other spirits.

I was told about the following lakúm-asikáku yékamuŝ, that is, the visionary intercourse of a yékamuŝ with a lakúma. A yékamuŝ was married to a woman who was very jealous of him. He was very much concerned about the welfare of his countrymen, which she did not like. Once when the two were on a canoe trip, she said mockingly: "I thought you were a capable yékamuŝ! You get all kinds of things to eat for other people; for me you do not let a whale or fish be driven ashore, you do not let birds land or crabs come to the surface. You ought to take much better care of your wife!" The yékamuŝ was very upset by these sarcastic words,

X 756 787 /1428 cont./ and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Kā́awaja. Meanwhile the yę́kamuš slept and called to two Lakū́ma from Kā́luwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Kā́awaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yę́kamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakū́ma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakū́ma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakū́ma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakū́ma did not offer any resistance. Then the yę́kamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hī hī... The two Lakū́ma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you *very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent* yę́kamuš!"

α. The Yefacel

X 756 776 787 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit known as yefą́cel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at all on this belief, every yę́kamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefą́cel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yąpą́cel, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yę́kamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

/1429 cont./

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The medicine man treats the yeſčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kelpif of the yékamuš associates with the yeſčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yeſčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

338. Bridges (i):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yékamuš, that is, it sings through him. The yékamuš calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yeſčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called uńna yeſčel and aćna ńima. If in an exceptional *case the yeſčel does not appear, the yékamuš feels abandoned* and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yeſčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yeſčel converse among themselves and with the yékamuš in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tx, tx, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yékamuš and yeſčel. /1430/ The yékamuš is content in the company of his yeſčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yeſčel will report to his yékamuš various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yékamuš and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

/1430 cont./

B. The Haucella

Besides a yefăčel, the medicine man is supported by a Hagčellakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Hagčella is incomparably mightier than the yefăčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Mafemikem told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Hagčellakipa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Hagčella. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Hagčella even assault our men and Hagčellakipa do the same to our women (338).

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338. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yekamuš, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a Hagčellakipa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman, I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1430 cont./

X 156 776 787 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllahipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kétpuš remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yékamuš realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of dose evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X 156 828 776 787 Maïermilkens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molineux Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwělla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many asíye [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakčteyíka. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warm you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllahipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

/1431 cont./

X756 776 787 In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Haučélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his visions a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Maïemikens assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Haučélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Haučélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Haučélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Haučéllakĭpa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that he has lain in the embrace of the Haučélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Haučéllakĭpa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Haučélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čówánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his kĕ́pix] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Haučélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čówánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Haučélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čówánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

/1432 cont./

he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under the spell of the Haučélla, but he does not bother about them."

As an exception, a yékamuř will have a female yeřčel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuř should force his [female] yeřčel to make love, his Haučéllakípa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yeřčel. The yékamuř will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Haučéllakípa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Haučéllakípa. Such a yékamuř must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yeřčel. Again it becomes evident that all the Haučélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuř.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Haučélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Haučélla; they remain with the Haučélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Haučélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuř is well acquainted with each of them."

Although even the yékamuř must be on his guard against a Haučéllakípa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his Haučéllakípa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Haučéllakípa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Haučélla spirit, his kíwpif goes on living among the Haučélla, but he himself does not turn into a Haučélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuř must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Haučélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Haučélla spirit, the yékamuř will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuř angrily bites the ground and wounds the Haučélla spirit fatally:

/1433 cont./

the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevolent medicine man is accompanied by his Hayčéllakipa as he walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child, she will take its kčípif away. Quickly an alert yékamuf must snatch the kidnapped kčípif from the Hayčéllakipa and give it back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Finally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have your kčípif back!"

I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana associate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before the general upheaval in Yíjaačípa, there was not a single sick person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men assembled and considered how this illness could have come about. After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hayčéllakipa. Then they considered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and they requested the yékamuf to offer their help to all Yamana." This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the medicine men.

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d. Characteristics of the Medicine-Man System

X756 The preceding description definitely shows that the yékamuf occupies a unique position among the Yamana. The medicine man is more or less feared, no matter how much help he gives his family group. Since he does, after all, attempt at times to bring considerable harm and death to other fellow-citizenmen, whether on his own initiative or at the request of a friend, /1434/ he is remote from the frequently recommended virtue of universal helpfulness. The privileged position which is granted him on some occasions is at variance with the equality that is generally conceded the members of the tribe. As a result, every yékamuf is exaggeratedly anxious about his personal honor, as is shown in the stories about the medicine man (p. 1266 /unrevised/). Linked with this is selfishness which is strictly prohibited in the everyday life of our Yamana. If a yékamuf has cast his eye on a beautiful, capable woman, she will marry him even though she has little desire to do so. She is governed by the consideration that he could do her serious harm if she refused. The special feather decoration, xpewíyre, a unique body painting, and the íkima-yékamuf, are reserved exclusively for the yékamuf. If several medicine men are sitting together in a group, other people, especially children, must be particularly respectful and quiet, so that the medicine men are not disturbed. Often a yékamuf will seize the spirit of the person who comes near him. It is advisable, therefore, to pass in front of him, not behind him, so that one can observe his attitude. If someone is obliged to pass him when his back is turned, he should do this very slowly and cautiously. The medicine men do not trust one another. A person who takes a piece of meat or a swallow of water should first remove the "harm" which an enemy has possibly put into it, or he will become ill. Hence he makes certain movements, as though he were sweeping out the "evil"; he places it on his open palm and blows it far away.

X758 X766 The corpse of a medicine man is given careful treatment. Soon after his demise he is painted in the manner peculiar to him and decorated with the xpewíyre (p. 1048). He is also painted red all over (p. 1110). His material possessions are placed beside him

/1436 cont./
and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomush dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /typed in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1034). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yêhamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual Totenreich. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1048), is related to tôlhuš in 80:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

342. Bridges (j):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /typed in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Holly Lawrence said in all seriousness "Since our tôlhuš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily kneeling during the day, the yêhamuš sat ning /1435/ and when being back the tôlhuš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the tôlhuš of dead yêhamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be outwardly distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition in many instances.

If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of the Yamana or to the

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X756 182 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Maĕemikens designated Hĕipul, Yo'okalĕa, and other birds as the first yĕkamus (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 114 No people on American soil has been rated as low and esteemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 80 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

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missionaries in his underestimation of the entire cultural heritage of our Fuegians (p. 323 /untranslated/), and none of the missionaries would have succeeded in persuading him otherwise. The Yamana soon realized that Bridges, with emphatic disdain, rejected their ideas and customs, which, without exception, were valuable to them and worthy of respect. Consequently they drew away from him and /1436/ made many of their spiritual possessions unavailable to him (p. 144 /untranslated/). Their attitude did not change even when Bridges, in exceptional cases, spoke a brief word in their favor (344). Actually, Bridges was the

> 344. These statements, such as the one in (1).12, therefore have much more value for an outsider: "These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I will know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses" /cited in English/.

adviser and the decisive source of information for all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego who consulted him during his long years of missionary activity. His many publications were also regarded as those of an authoritative observer whom others had no opportunity to correct. Although the members of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, for example, maintained close contact with a group of natives there for an entire year, nevertheless their publications prove how dependent they were on Bridges, especially in their evaluation of the spiritual equipment and mental state of the Yamana. This state of affairs explains the uniformly low opinion of almost all the travelers who commented on the mental capacity of our Fuegians. Nevertheless, favorable testimony, such as that of Snow (b) 288, is not altogether lacking: "I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for the children, and for each other" /cited in English/.

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181 114 Experts on primitive peoples were not doubt upon the trustworthiness of all these reports on Tierra del Fuego, and here insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:307 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them....The four Fuegians whom Captain Fitzroy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Retzel 2,128 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are already human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 182 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country; they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

[1427 cont.]

incapable if they were suddenly transplanted to that environment. The quality of their cultural possessions, properly understood as having been fashioned from their natural surroundings, is persuasive testimony as to the mental capacities and well-developed senses that our Fuegians enjoy. They needed to develop their mental aptitude only to a certain degree, and were able to do so, in accordance with the external demands made on them. Once this equilibrium was achieved (346), there was not only a

> 346. Darwin did not see this state of equilibrium. Basing his discussion on the poverty of that corner of the globe, he (1427) judges quite falsely: "How little the higher mental powers can be exercised here; what can the imagination picture there, what can reason compare, judgment decide? To knock off a bowlful of mussels from a rock does not even require craftiness, this humblest mental capacity of an animal. In some respects their skill can be compared to animal instinct, for it is not refined by experience; their canoe, their most ingenious invention, achievable through it is, has remained the same for the last 100 years, as we know from Drake.

lack of pressure for greater accomplishments, but these would have resulted in a disturbance of the equilibrium. Hence there was an actual standstill, with a steadfast persistence throughout centuries in the particular form of culture with its many striking and insignificant details which was finally achieved after an inestimable number of separate experiences and which assures the Fuegian an adequately satisfying existence.

1. Mental Activity

For from being forced and led by blind instinct alone, the Yamana's actions often follow long, thorough consideration. He

/1437 cont./

53 makes a plan for a particular goal, considers the ways and means of achieving it, tests the forces at his disposal, and carefully observes the development of his undertaking. Sometimes he discusses it with others and secures the advantages of their advice, experience, and co-operation. He wisely takes into consideration what seems to be most useful for his purpose. Whether the attempt succeeds or not, he mercilessly renders an account of it to himself and his neighbors. In /1438/ so many words he judges this act a failure and that one as the decisive turning point toward success. To their own shame many a man and woman will frankly complain to others: "I should have done this or that some other way, then I would not have made a useless effort!" Every outsider who carefully observes the Yamana can find hundreds of examples to prove their casual thinking. True, our Fuegians often act without much reflection and do not thoughtfully go over a matter if they must make a momentary decision. Their thoughts then come in fits and starts and their decisions are made without premeditation. Aside from the fact that in this form of behavior they resemble all other groups of human beings, in such a situation they are at least guided by an instinct trained through experience and enlightened by quick thinking. Their language has plenty of bluntly descriptive words for persons who always act thoughtlessly or who behave stupidly.

A person who often considers his own experience and who more than others thinks about the behavior of persons around him will attain considerable keenness of judgment with which he protects himself against mistakes. It is not surprising that a sharp-witted Yamana likes to emphasize: "What our forefathers taught us is most preferable, is most suitable!" He realizes that this or that arrangement or specialty proves to be far better than new experiments, hence everybody's respect for tradition, for the many details and individual items of their cultural heritage. The members of the tribe seek advice from a person who is mentally superior; they follow this advice whenever unusual circumstances arise. To act after judicious consideration, to evaluate calmly the effects of an act, and to adapt to all the knowledge gathered by experience -- all this has led our Yamana to adopt whatever is most serviceable in their country. All subsequent generations

/1438 cont./
have clung to it (346).

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346. It is meaningless to say, as Hyades (q):248 maintains about the mental capacities of our Yamana, "that they are little developed, are not applied to bettering existing conditions, and seem incapable of improvement" /translated from French/, or, as Lovisato (b):144 declares, "the Fuegians have little intelligence, very little memory, no retentiveness" /translated from Italian/.

182 The meager natural products that the region offers could probably not be better utilized for modest requirements than they have been by our Fuegians. In particular, the technical perfection of their weapons and implements should be noted (p.210), the efficiency of which could probably not be increased. Men, as well as women, have at their disposal only inadequate resources and raw materials. After all, the tools they use are their own handiwork. One must marvel at the usefulness and effectiveness of all the objects that their patient labor fashions from the rough material. The "artisans" pay careful attention to /1439/ beauty and regularity, which are, correspondingly, more or less praised by other people. Further endeavor and the urge to perfect a piece in order to achieve greater efficiency thus lie beyond the wish and will of the Yamana. For them the traditional goods are the best and most effective because they have been tested by previous generations. With these and similar words the retiring generation justifies itself to the rising generation for its definite resolve, in its own day, to cling to the form of culture achieved and handed down by their forefathers and to abide by it steadfastly (347). Recognizing the useful service of the dog,

347. Weddell (a):6 gave an incorrect explanation: "It has been denied that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have any capacity for mental development and they are credited with an animal instinct. I believe

/1439 cont./

182 this condition is merely the result of their remote location, and that it would soon improve with frequent visits from outsiders. I found them obliging and friendly, indeed, in some respects active and inventive."

which was introduced only about two centuries ago, they adopted this animal within a short time (p.292) and accordingly have used the bow and arrow less (p.155). The material possessions that in recent times have passed from Europeans to the Yamana certainly do not represent an enrichment or an improvement of their conditions of life (p.382).

153 Anyone who compares the mental activity of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam will realize that there is an easily recognizable difference. The slowness of the Selk'nam in making decisions and their obvious perplexity in a suddenly altered situation is by no means as widespread among the Yamana. The latter are, by comparison, more animated, more active, and quicker in making decisions. It is particularly striking that the Yamana will immediately understand a joke or a humorous remark, whereas the Selk'nam almost always needs to have it explained. The two tribes, however, resemble one another in their amazing memory which does not fail them under any circumstances (Vol. I, 1089). This is especially true of their memory for places. Finally one must point out a very reliable gift of observation which has helped the Yamana to know in detail everything about their own country and to notice immediately any change. This gift also makes it possible for them to imitate exactly the movements and sounds of animals (348). They have

348. My statements are abundantly confirmed by definite examples given by Hyades (Q):249 and by many statements of missionaries.

many opportunities to show this accomplishment, not only on the hunt or in the Kina, but especially in their social games.

/1439 cont./

2. Character

157 The character of the Yamana can be sketched in a few strokes, for in general it is simple and transparent, and it can be easily recognized in the behavior /1440/ of individuals. Our Fuegians are extraordinarily shy and reserved toward strangers, which accounts for the incorrect statements of hasty critics (349).

349. For example, Forster (b):244 maintains of the few natives he met in December, 1774, in Christmas Sound: "Their situation was far from any kind of comfort; hence one never notices an expression of joy or contentment on their faces. In fact, these moral, social feelings were foreign to them and were completely swallowed up in their concern for necessities."

In their hearts the Yamana are good-natured and genial, peace-loving and definitely averse to disturbances caused by animosity and hatred (350). They are unpretentious and content with even

350. Aspinall:270 writes similarly: "Generally they are by nature easy-going and helpful. They never speak an untruth or try to appropriate things belonging to others. All the more emphatically, on the other hand, do they insist on what belongs to them 'by right,' and even resort to weapons in order to obtain what is their due." Hyades (c):142 and (d):307 declares: "The character of the Fuegians is generally gay, laughing, changeable, but not very expansive" /translated from French/. Compare Spegazzini (a):167. Bridges (a):203, using ugly colors and untrue assertions, draws a badly distorted character sketch of the Yamana.

/1440 cont./

157 a little comfort; although they demand nothing for themselves, they freely give help to everyone. A person who puts himself into the hands of a certain group is well taken care of, even if he is a European, and is provided with the best they have to offer. Just as they praise and practice unselfishness, they condemn and loathe egoism in any form. An astonishing delicacy of feeling for dealing with others and for the behavior of the individual in a group has set up rules of conduct (p. 912) which would be appropriate and could be recommended even in Europe.

A strong sense of duty makes their often unpleasant daily work a welcome occupation for our Indians, to which they devote themselves without grumbling (p. 218). They conform to the traditional customs out of respect; they defer to traditional religious and mythological conceptions in their opinions and avoid any kind of fault-finding and quibbling about their inherited fund of ideas. They can hide their feelings to the point of complete unrecognizability if they are confronted by suspicious or hostile persons; in gay company they are sometimes boisterously unrestrained. They pour out their grief, which is always deeply felt, without reserve in a large circle of fellow-tribesmen. Hyades (p):33 describes these traits in the following words: "Their character is serious and concentrated. They do not laugh easily; their laughter is always boisterous" /translated from French/. It is not maintaining too much when I say that every Yamana, man or woman, can momentarily flare up and give free vent to his exuberant temperament. After a few hours, when calm consideration has set in, he collapses like one who has been completely disarmed.

Everyone defends his rights with stubborn persistence and accepts personal praise with satisfaction, although he does not show it. To be treated scornfully hurts even children /1441/ to an extraordinary degree, and adults all the more. They are all quite vain. The Yamana is bold and unafraid toward any kind of danger; confident of his powers, he persists in carrying out his plans. Bridges (e):332 declares that the Yamana "were stronger and wiser in their own appraisement than were the pale faces."

My contact with these people was pleasant and comfortable. I did not have this feeling of well-being to such an extent among

/1641 cont./

157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

351. Along with these words Hyades (q):244 also offers a special section entitled "Expression des émotions."

human. This is corroborated by the opinions assembled here and the many accounts on the preceding pages. Even Darwin (f):I, 234 confesses: "When I lived with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' I was constantly surprised by many minor character traits which showed how similar their mental characteristics were to our own."

156 577 The character formation just described is fostered by the many principles that are followed in training the young in the parental hut (p.704). No less beneficial for adults is the pressure for many kinds of social duties (p.905). Morality in the widest sense of the term is held in universal esteem (p.1022): the majority of tribal members try to fulfill their duty faithfully. Even Bridges (e):333 did not suppress the following acknowledgment: "Among the Yahgan, vices of all kinds were condemned on account of their evil consequences, while virtue, because of its good results, was recommended." Once again it is to be admitted that many a Fuegian stays on the proper path, especially in the realm of sexual morality, primarily because he wishes to retain his good reputation among his neighbors. The feeling for proper modesty, more among women than men (352), and for justice in general is

352. Snow (s):I, 326, 349 expressed his astonishment at this a number of times. He (b):262 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):308, too, declares:

/1441 cont./

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (h):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):230 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 358 /unranslated/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

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What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167:1859).

/1442 cont./

153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

151 In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):329 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and...they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I, 43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

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353. He (d):239 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):125 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

/1443 cont./

151 larger social group. Hyades (q):196 conducted careful investigations in order to determine the physiological soundness of the eyes of our Yamana.

Since the Fuegians must very attentively note everything around them, they also need their sense of hearing, day and night. The softest sound or the slightest noise does not escape them any more than it does a watchful dog; one would think that they were constantly pricking up their ears. It may be, as Hyades (q):329 says, that "their hearing is as sharp and has the same range as that of most Europeans" /translated from French/, but our Fuegians are more alert; hence they consciously absorb more than Europeans. Constant practice makes it very easy for them to trace individual noises accurately back to their cause, to distinguish the voices of birds and mammals, and to interpret even very faint sounds reliably. It is strange that an unusually violent rending of the air, for example, a loud bang or a shrill whistle, neither startles nor annoys them.

To judge from what was said about our Indians' feeling for cleanliness (p. 87), one might regard their sense of smell as highly insensitive. Hyades (q):209 expresses himself in this vein: "Olfactory sensitiveness is quite blunted among the Fuegians; they do not seem to make a distinction between what we call good and bad odors" /translated from French/. With all this, however, I do not mean to say that their sense of smell is less effective than that of a European. Even the Yamana many times less his nose decide whether a piece of meat has started to decay and hence has become inedible, or whether putrid matter makes a certain spot uninhabitable for him (p.28). The stench of human or dog excrement arouses passionate repugnance. They have become so completely accustomed to their own skin odor, which is disgusting to Europeans, that they do not seem to notice it at all.

In seeking food and in eating, the Yamana are obviously selective (p.325). Their sense of taste decides clearly enough what appeals to their palate more or less or not at all. They are crazy, so to speak, about the taste of a few things, for example, liquid blubber in a short piece of gut (Fig. 99) and certain pieces of whale meat (p.310). Their country furnishes them extraordinarily few sweets (p.301): hence in recent times people eat

/1443 cont./

151 extravagant amounts of sugar. Their desire for salt is slight for obvious reasons; they get enough of it in their exclusively meat diet (p. 301). They do not really enjoy alcoholic beverages, but most present-day Yamana desire them very much because of their intoxicating effect (p. 302). Even if a person is tormented by hunger he will refuse things abhorrent to his taste.

151 /1444/ At first glance it seems as though there were some-
147 thing peculiar about the sense of touch of our Fuegians. In reality this is not the case; according to Hyades (p):328, also, "their tactile sensitiveness is neither more nor less developed than among the French observers" /translated from French/. The Yamana, however, is not sensitive and plaintive to the same extent as a European. He feels cold and heat, frost and the sun's rays, the sharp stones on the ground and the hardness of his bed, injuries and wounds, but he accepts all hardship with equanimity and bears it silently. If a person must constantly endure considerable pain, he merely groans and whimpers softly. Whenever he can easily /Fig. 99 appears here./ make himself a little more comfortable, he does not fail to do so, but if the annoyance cannot be avoided, he pays no attention to it and makes the best of it. Certainly his skin, especially that of hands and feet, does not react as much as that of Europeans who are constantly protecting themselves with clothing and closed dwellings. He has, however, also hardened himself to a great extent against outward stimuli, and therefore he controls his feelings far better. The many delicate and precise objects made by him show that there is fine feeling even in his heavy hands and clumsy fingers. Moreover, the dexterity that every Yamana shows on the hunt and in setting traps argues for well-developed senses (354).

354. Even Darwin (f):I, 62 was amazed at this and says: "To hit a mark accurately with a stone, as a Fuegian can when he is obliged to defend himself, or to kill birds requires perfection in the efficient correlation of the muscles of the hand, arm, and shoulders, not to mention a fine sense of touch."

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b. General Knowledge

The endowment that each child brings into this world as his heritage from his parents and as his natural equipment shows many different gradations even here in Tierra del Fuego. The aptitude of the individual is developed in actual education, at first in the parental hut, later in the [illegible]. Adults regard their own /1445/ efforts to train growing youngsters as a serious duty which they perform daily, so to speak. Tirelessly they teach their children, they show them this and that operation, explain one thing and another to them, demonstrate this and that, ask their own questions and

[351]

Fig. 98. Piece of Gut Filled with Blubber. Two-thirds natural size.

answer those of youthful questioners, observe the lager's progress and warn them of a wrong course. Although this instruction is primarily designed to help the younger generation obtain great proficiency in the use of weapons and implements, nevertheless in their daily contact the adults also give general information and occasionally special knowledge about definite usage and customs, about religion and mythology in the broadest sense of the term. Step by step and gradually, as circumstances advise and the mental maturity of the young person demands it, he learns more and more about the rich and manifold fund of knowledge of his tribe. There can be no question of orderly lessons, explanations and comments are given on occasions offered in everyday life, the boys being taught primarily by the male, girls by the female adult tribal members, chiefly by relatives within the family group.

/1445 cont./

Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of *quot ribanua* rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating the real value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are usually decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift raises it higher or lower. On page 173 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékáli; two = kompéine; and three = máten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wíšu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wíšu wíšu or čúla wíšu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manšana wíšu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékáli yéf, "one hand," and kompéi yéf "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:235 gives daučí, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as máten čúla máten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (q):317. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say kenémuka, from keném = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 201 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ŋí = good, right, very well; or an excited tes = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wíf = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

192 another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns
201 his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ɣ. Compare Hyades (q):247.

2. Time Designations

905 The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mɨ́ɨla = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mɨ́ɨlalan = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare SD:251. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say ɨ́ɨka or mɨ́ɨla tuyɨ́ɨna for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of ɨ́ɨka is "dawn." SD: 550 given tuyɨ́ɨna as "to spread as light does so that day is spread about" /cited in English/. This is followed by yɨ́nataya mɨ́ɨla, noonside, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yinota, "to come over..." /cited in English/ in SD:655. Then comes ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨnata, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. SD:181 given ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨnota, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yɨ́rum ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨna, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨna is followed by ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨs, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yɨ́nataya ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨs, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mɨ́ɨlaya yɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨnata, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

/1447 cont./

345 being very apparent. Therefore, our Fuegians speak of four seasons. The word ôrna means "spring". BD:61 writes ôrna, "spring, season of spring" /cited in English/. The word kûsi is "summer". kûsiskâf is "autumn." The latter word is a combination of kûsi, "green beech of summer" (Nothofagus pumilio), and kâf, "red," in other words: time of the red-colored beech leaves. The word îna means "winter." Compare BD:3 and the word yêkun, "the early part of winter" /cited in English/, in BD:638. The above designations are used in various word combinations, for example, kûsiôrna, "next spring," and kûsiîna, "next summer." Compare BD:202 and Bridges (1):16. The general concept "season" is not absent. BD:61 also gives ôrum, "season, time" /cited in English/. The Yamana, therefore, favor the following division of the year:

/1448/ kûsiôrum: "the time when the bark is loose," when the sap rises in the beech trunks and the bark is easily peeled off. This means early spring, September and October, when the first shoots come out. A person who wants to know "whether the bark is already loose," listens for the sound ŝgâ, ŝgâ, the call of the great or the small snipe, known as ŝgâsina or yêlekaŝŝ. This call sounds exactly like the noise one makes when he loosens a strip of bark, tearing it off with a sharp pull. The word ŝgâsina is probably related to ŝkâa, "to make come" /cited in English/, in BD:132. BD:270 also gives kûsiaôrum, "the early season for making spring comes early in October" /cited in English/.

îna: "the time when one finds the first birds' eggs," the height of spring. A person who now finds the first fresh egg breaks it open and with the yolk drawn a vertical line across his forehead and the bridge of his nose as a sign of joy (p. 986). At this time, also, everyone combs the down for kaiyâluf, the new ornament (ACCESSORIES). He rejoices if he finds particularly luminous colonies of these small animals, for to him they are harbingers of spring (p. 985). BD:61 also gives kûsiôrum, "very early in spring" /cited in English/. They are not satisfied, however, with a single indication of spring's arrival. A reliable sign is the ascending sun. A person who knows how to observe it keeps careful watch for a few days through a small hole at a particular spot in his hut, always holding his body in the same position. If he has proved to himself that the sun is ascending, he also considers the other indications

/1449 cont./

86 mentioned above and joyfully announces to the whole neighborhood: "Spring is here!"

ukú: "the time when birds' eggs are heavy," because the birds are already sitting on their eggs and the embryo is developing. This means early summer.

ukú-ta'ákáka: "the time when birds' eggs are empty," for hatching is over. This is the beginning of midsummer. This term is nothing more than a combination of ukú, "egg," and ta'ákáka, "to be empty." RD:181 says more briefly, "ukúkáka, the season of the year when empty shells are in the nest, answering to January" /tr.ted in English/.

yáyakénga: "the time when young birds happily stretch and expand," for their large wing feathers are forming and they will soon be able to fly. The height of summer. This word, according to RD:84, 181, is made up of yáya, "the young of any animals or birds" /tr.ted in English/, and énga, "to lie or sit down in the sun to enjoy its heat" /tr.ted in English/.

tákúshuf: "the time of the red-colored beech leaves," autumn proper, the whole of March. Now the female otters with their young come back to the coast from the brooks and lagoons in the interior of the islands, to where the male animals stayed throughout.

yaiyáhin: "the time of the first snow," early winter, April and May. Snow first falls on the mountains, then advances in deeper layers, and finally reaches the coast. A thin coat of ice covers brooks and lagoons. /1449/ Now all the mammals and birds are fat, the marine animals particularly tasty, and hunting profitable for these eight weeks.

ihnúkmáh: "the time when the sun goes west," that is, when it stays longest in the west or north, the time of year around the solstice when the days are shortest. This word is a simple compound of ihn, "the sun," and kumáh, "to move going W." /tr.ted in English/, according to RD:214. The time of deepest winter. The Yamana explain: "The sun-man hides in his dwelling and under the huge mass of snow, he wants to conceal from the people that he will again return." Some of the older men watch the lengthening days with particular attention. They pass on their observations, and their announcements awaken loud expressions of joy. Hunting is still very good.

/1449 cont./

These eight periods form the complete cycle of the year. In order to mark them off approximately, the Tanana at the same time observe the position of certain stars. They wish to prove that their position in the heavens coincides with the corresponding events here on earth. The position of the sun and conspicuous weather conditions are decisive. In order to emphasize these correlations of the sun, the Tanana use the word [illegible], "time of return of the sun S. ward after midwinter" /cited in English/, according to BD:166. Or the word [illegible], "strong S. or SW. winds accompanied with rain and sleet prevalent at the break up of winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:285. Furthermore, the word [illegible], "the late autumn, early winter, referring to the snowy, overcast, dull weather then prevalent" /cited in English/, according to BD:276. The Tanana even use conspicuous phenomena connected with certain species of animals to characterize the seasons. They point to [illegible] (p. 985); they use [illegible], "the time of the young moths, Oct. and Nov." /cited in English/, according to BD:11. Finally, they speak of [illegible], "dull time when the young birds are hatched, i.e. [illegible]" /cited in English/, according to BD:285.

Even regular changes in vegetation, especially in fungi, serve the Tanana for determining the seasons. They use the word [illegible], "the time of the withering of plants, i.e., early winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:367. The expression based on the growth of [illegible], Cantarellus floccosus, is a great favorite. According to BD:66 this fungus is "the chief summer fungus" /cited in English/, which grows on the knobby parts of beech branches (Fig. 8 /in unnumbered portion/). The general term is [illegible], the mature stage is called [illegible] (p. 176).

[illegible] the fungus when it has just appeared.

[illegible], the fungus in its maximum size.

[illegible], the fungus in the young, its surface is still smooth.

[illegible], the fungus with its surface riddled with holes.

[illegible], the fungus with loosened hyphae, which falls of easily.

[illegible], since all fungi have fallen off, but are still somewhat soft.

/1449 cont./

ɑ̈ɑ̈ɑ̈

/1430 cont./

124 there were actual people, all the stars, whether or not they are now known by name, were independent personalities on the earth. Special myths are devoted to some of them. It is a fact that some individuals among the Yamana, especially certain yékamal of former times, were well acquainted with the peculiarities and movements of the stars and informed their countrymen about them. Most recently, during my stay in Tierra del Fuego, I often used outside with a few old people on a clear, starry night in order to learn something definite from them about the stars, but their knowledge was surprisingly deficient. To their sorrow, these persons confessed that many details had been lost to them since they had adopted the European way of speaking.

The irregular juxtaposition of a few stars is regarded as a family group, in which the larger stars are the adults and the smaller ones the children. The dense clusters of small stars are regarded as a mass of ondjim, berries. Girls like to stretch out their arms as though reaching for them, and they then gesture as though they were scattering a handful of them about. In doing so, they promise themselves an abundant harvest of ondjim. The constellation uyáma, the belt of Orion /1431/ (p. 1278 /unnumbered/), is particularly bright in midwinter. As long as it is visible one may neither split wood nor make a loud noise. Nor may one at this time carry a glowing stick of wood uncovered; it must be wrapped in a piece of bark. Next to it is tálaxaja, Rigel. Aldebaran, α Tauri, is called Yáhlay-émuxaja. The two recognizable nebulae, tálmuluf, are described as pockets of the Yáhlay brothers, who keep all kinds of things in them and keep sharp watch over them. The bright, reddish Betelgeuse, α Orionis, is tálhuxaja, which, as a star, is generally called Lílkaja, the first wife of the two Yáhlay brothers (p. 1138). The Milky Way, hálmaka chéwina, has the same meaning in the canopy of heaven as a wide, painted post that is used in the framework of the /1432/ hut (p. 677). A few Yamana deduce the direction the wind is expected to take from the brightness of the stars. A closed ring around the sun is regarded as a sign of good weather; if it is open to one spot, there will be strong winds from that direction.

Our Fuegians, of course, observe the striking progressive changes of the moon, and they have special terms for its individual

/1401 cont./

[2] phases. Then, hánuga wayápare is the full moon, ánukáha, the completely invisible new moon, yámun hánuga, the waxing moon, and, finally, hánuga téyte, the waning moon. The word téyte is probably the same as tetê, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in SO-302. There are also other designations in SO for the phases of the moon. The Yaghan like to measure time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yámun hánuga téyte-mâ ker-i-kayáka, I shall come again at the new moon" (SO).

[P3]

307. Hyades (p) 360 and Spegazzini (e) 369 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yaghans.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yaghans are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yaghans certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kámha, is almost never heard in their region; our Yaghans have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 33 /unreviewed/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

[3] On their countless trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yaghans are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1402/ The basic terms are: ŝa, ŝa, "the south, southward"; ŝa ŝa, "east, in an easterly direction";

/(143) cont./

§23 ...ar. "northerly, the north"; finally ...ten, "in a westerly direction, the west." These root terms serve for all kinds of communication. Instead of listing them, I refer the reader to §5. They are used very often, not only to describe the distribution of the large ethnic groups, but also to designate the directions of air and water currents, of swarms of birds and fish, or of a journey on foot or in a canoe. Accordingly, they say: ...kalum-...ala, "people of the east." A more complete form of this is ...kalum-...alum-...ala. The word ...alum or ...alum means "from this place, from yonder." In contrast, there is ...kalum-...ilis, "the east wind." It can be noted as a rule that an expression for a motion or an activity of motion at the same time indicates the particular direction. This kind of accuracy, which, as such, is still no proof of the richness of the language, may seem to be exaggerated, but it is valuable and sometimes of vital necessity to a nomadic Fuegian. An example may make this clear. If I am standing to the north and at some distance from a channel, looking south, I call the north coast of this channel ...ukuyakuyalis, but its southern coast ...kakuse-...kuyal-...ilis. Using this latter formation, the Yamana says ...kakuse-...ilis, namely, a channel extending south of me, or, "...kakuse-...ilis," a channel which runs from my position to the north. As may be seen from these examples, the relationship of one thing to another in space is specifically designated. This is usually done with reference merely to the quarters of the heavens, often the vertical relation of a thing to space is expressed together with its horizontal relation, that is, according to the quarters of the heavens (158).

158. Bridges (b):206 several times confirmed the strikingly frequent use of designations for directions. Compare Furlong (f):171, Hyades (g):181, Lovisato (b):111.

§24 Even more surprising is the almost unbelievably large number of place names. Coves that are more frequently visited and sought out by individual families, above all those along Beagle Channel and Angamos Bay, have their own names which characterize very short distances or only one spot, a small projection or a rather large cape, a shallow or deep bend, a steep or

/1455 cont./

183 fier there. Every special peculiarity, though it may appear insignificant, is named and provided with the appropriate supplementary term. The following words belong to this category: wólaia[1], "projection, point"; ólga, "channel, arm, branch"; yíha, "coastal strip, beach"; wíja, "large and small inlet"; yúha, "island, isolated rock, stone protruding out of the water." I entered the least common names on a geographic map of the native country of the Yamana, and I counted more than 370. Most of them are true proper names; the rest are simple descriptions with a supplementary term. Examples of the first group are to be found on pages 280 /unassimilated/ and 537; examples of the second group are /1455/ halúnaka-úma-yúha, the "island of the dirty water," between Tierra Mayor and Goble Island -- halúnaka, "dirty, muddy"; úma, "water"; yúha, "the island" -- and the longest word in the Yamana language, introduced on page 591. Naturally, there are special names for every large arm of water, for example: aúr(a)-ólga, eastern Beagle Channel, wólmun-ólga, Brazo Noroeste; lúnf-ólga, Brazo Suroeste. Similarly, for a large island or an entire group of islands: Wulája-yúha, Isla Bonnet in front of Wulaia Bay; Ulúnux, Hoste Island, Yálalúm, Wollaston Islands. For a large bay: Agíjua, Ponsonby Sound; Hárawíja, New Year Sound. For a long coastal stretch: Wasaníga, the southern edge of Navarino Island. Finally, for extensive areas near the shore: Anjawíja, the valley between Ukawíja and Lapaníja. Any large area in the interior of an island, more or less distant from the coast, is commonly called ólga, there are no specific local designations for such areas. The Yamana are also content with the general term múlua, "mountain," without distinguishing one height from another with a proper name. The wide ocean is called háka. Very occasionally a larger brook or river also has a special name, for example, Háfthálax, Río Mayor at Puerto Harberton (350). The Yamana use

350. This typical Yamana name is found on maps as "Lashpanhac."

the many individual names with astonishing accuracy.

/1453 cont./

823 They are aided by a no less reliable and very accurate knowledge of places which they acquire by their frequent visits to each locality. Their memory of places is refreshed every time they take a canoe trip or stay anywhere. Thus one thing explains the other. Actually, the region comprising their native land, which every family constantly traverses, is not very extensive. They go beyond these boundaries only on special occasions and then they let themselves be guided by a family native to that region. Moreover, thanks to the excellent gift for observation with which our Fuegians are equipped, old and young really know every nook and rock, every inlet and coast, every brook and beach. The story of the origin of the many wide and narrow, quite irregular channels that make the whole Cape Horn Archipelago look like a land savagely torn to pieces is told in the tale about the Laławája rock (p. 1216 /untranslated/); the origin of the little brooks running down from the hills and mountains is explained in the Čilawája-wátuwa (p. 1207 /untranslated/); legend even tells about the origin of the magnificent glaciers, known as dáun, in Brazo Nordoeste (p. 1283 /untranslated/).

805 823 Contrasted with this wealth of place names, the lack of designations expressing distances, intervals, and time is all the more striking. They usually refer to the position of the sun or the stars in order to determine the approximate time of day or night. Such estimates, of course, leave a wide margin of uncertainty which disturbs the Fuegian not at all. On his journeys and canoe trips he is, in any case, dependent on the quite unpredictable influences /1454/ of natural forces. He never knows beforehand how they will affect him. Those unbridled natural forces to which he is exposed are stronger than he; hence it would be senseless to set a goal to be reached in a short time under any circumstance. If our Fuegian wishes to designate a great distance, he speaks of two or three or many travel-days and estimates from six to eight hours for a single day of the journey. He does not lose or gain anything worth mentioning whether he reaches his goal sooner or later. In a most literal sense, no hour strikes to mar a person's happiness down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago!

/1454 cont./

5. Botany and Zoology

824 Only a few species of higher plants are represented in Yamana country, but there are considerably more kinds of higher animals. Our Fuegians have an accurate knowledge of the one as well as the other. This means, first of all, that they know the special characteristics of each plant that is of any use in the household, and they have selected it from those available to them on the basis of its suitability for their purposes. I pointed this out most emphatically when I described their individual implements and weapons. The vegetable kingdom does not offer the Yamana any food worth mentioning, but the extremely little that it does offer in luxuries (p.299) -- if one may call it that -- is well known and utilized. One could hardly estimate the number of experiments and the long series of observations by former generations that must have been necessary before this knowledge became a universal possession of the entire tribe. It was then transmitted throughout the centuries to each subsequent generation.

825 The Yamana is vitally dependent every day upon the animal kingdom; to it alone he owes his subsistence. Everyone is therefore obliged to observe carefully the habits and movements of the species useful to him. If the Yamana gives a proper name to every larger plant family, this is all the more true of every animal species, with the exception of insignificant lower animals that are in no way useful to him. He has originated and developed the various hunting methods on the basis of his knowledge of the habits of each species (p.213). His booty by no means has equal value; he distinguishes the various species, and even different parts of the body of the same species, according to the tastiness of the meat, the greater or lesser usefulness of bones and feathers, fur and skins, even sections of gut, according to their durability and efficiency. All this is based on rich practical knowledge. The Yamana can creep up on their game animals with amazing skill, and they imitate the movements of certain species in some of their games. Here, too, one can see how carefully /1455/ our Fuegians observe the animal realm surrounding them. On this, in turn, they base their rules for the hunt, for the gathering

/1455 cont./

825 of eggs and shellfish. With clever calculation they observe a closed season for certain species, and they know the time of year when it is not advisable to eat certain species. Our Indians very much enjoy watching the harmless play of animal parents with their young. /Fig. 100 appears here:/ they marvel at the wonderfully majestic flight of the mighty stormy petrel and thoroughly enjoy the clumsy movements of penguins (Fig. 100) and cormorants; the graceful agility of the pinnipeds in the water amazes them no less than the awkward behavior of these animals on land (Fig. 95) makes them laugh. The hunter approaches a certain species with extreme caution or with the assurance of victory, all depending on its nature, physical strength, and mobility. From the unmatched character delineations in many of the myths one sees how well the hunter is acquainted with all the characteristics of the most common animals. From early youth, through frequent play with young animals and daily observation, the Fuegian acquires his rich knowledge of the peculiarities of the not inconsiderable number of animal species that, like he himself, inhabit the storm-tossed Cape and provide a livelihood for him and his family.

Fig. 100. Pygoscelis adeliae.

Our Indians cannot be blamed for giving a superstitious interpretation to much of the strange behavior of their animals (p. 1189). After all, they want to explain this behavior, and their judgment is usually based on what happens under similar circumstances among people. Thus they say, to mention still another

/1455 cont./

example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yékamuf, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.313), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.306). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.298). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

> 360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

/1456 cont./

147 Our Fuegians are anything but complaining. They bear physical pain with courageous patience; their feeling of pain is by far not as acute as that of Europeans. Compare Hyades (p): 228. The very first missionaries, Despard (b):698 and Bridges (e):202, mentioned the most common ailments, and Hyades (f): 580 and (q):222 gave an accurate list. I am able to give a few supplementary data from my own observations. The most frequent are regular accidents, namely, burns and wounds (361).

164

> 361. Burleigh is absolutely right when he declares: "To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" /cited in English/ (Mbl.XXV, 23,1931). What Hyades (f):581 says is pertinent in this connection: "It is probable that accidents and injuries carry off a large number of natives, for they do not give any care to the injured" /translated from French/.

Persons of all ages complain of headaches, ihákpi-ska a great deal. Rheumatism, akutar-ásha or akutapílle, is a common ailment, but its acute form is rare. The first designation probably corresponds to akútáshta, "to chop off" /cited in English/, in SD:18. Gout affects an individual limb for many people, but it soon passes. The respiratory organs are rarely affected by bronchitis and only in quite exceptional cases by pneumonia and pleurisy. Ailments of this kind are called kemúna-ska, that is, "stabs, pains in the chest" (p.1078). Older /1457/ persons frequently cough. Abdominal diseases are rare; instead, there are a great many digestive disorders, chiefly diarrhea caused by immoderate eating or spoiled meat. Eczema and other slight skin troubles are more frequently seen; they usually heal within a short time. It is obvious that untended wounds lead to phlegmon and gangrene. Hyades (f):581 declares: "I have not had to see a single cancerous disease" /translated from French/. It is also true that originally the Yamana were free of syphilis, gonorrhea, and all forms of tuberculosis. Most people suffer from inflammation of the eyes

/1487 cont./

164 because they are constantly exposed to smoke from the hut fire. Mental disorders occur very rarely, but "idiocy is unknown" /translated from French/, as Hyades (p):339 asserts. Many an aged person suffers from impaired hearing, ufkirtuwa. Infectious general diseases, actual epidemics, lēkhīja, lēmīja, did not occur before there was contact with Europeans.

159 Thus our Yamana suffered very little from disease. This was especially advantageous because effective remedies are totally lacking in their country (362). They try to alleviate the pain or ailment with procedures recommended by general health care. For some reason they expect great results when they are unwell by totally abstaining from food for a whole day. As Bridges (j):19 also declares, everyone expects that this will even bring "good health and efficiency in hunting" /cited in English/. For this reason a hunter considers it beneath his dignity to take refreshment with him when he goes hunting. A sick person sits huddled up in his hut, remains motionless, and lets the warmth of the hut fire have its effect on him. When he requests something, a member of the family hands him what he wants. The Yamana often recommend perspiring: the sick person is placed beside the fire and covered with many skins. Blubber is often used: for rheumatism, the affected part of the body is rubbed with it; for

362. This has been confirmed a number of times. Fitz-Roy (a):186 writes: "When ill, however seriously, they know of no remedies but rubbing the body with oil, drinking cold water, and causing perspiration by lying near the fire, wrapped up in skins" /cited in English/. Despard (b):698 asserts: "Remedies are simple indeed; they burn the part where pain is felt, or produce counter-irritation by whipping with stinging nettles" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (f):585, "the Fuegians do not know any medicines" /translated from French/. Finally, Aspinall:270 says briefly: "The art of medicine is limited to rubbing and the infusion of a few roots."

/1457 com.:/

757 an ear ailment the blubber is warmed in a mussel shell and drops are put into the ear canal. As an alternative, especially to clean the ears of small children, a bit of milk is squeezed from a woman's breast, warmed in a mussel shell, and trickled into the ear passage. The same remedy is used to cleanse the eyes of newborn babies and generally for eye diseases in small children. If a person has a cramp, kelé́ki, in some limb, it is rubbed with fresh leaves of Drimys. In case of lumbago, a man is treated in the following manner. He lies down on his belly. His wife warms her right foot at the fire and places /1458/ it gently on his back. Then she lifts her left foot so that the entire weight of her body rests on her right foot. After some time, when the warmth has gone out of her right foot, she climbs down and again warms it. She treats the entire back, section by section, in this way, beginning at the buttocks and proceeding up to the neck.

[278] As a laxative the Yamana recommend chewing the leaves, liuI, of ufkútta (Drimys winteri); this is also effective for heart and stomach ailments. Still more effective are large quantities of blubber which must be drunk at brief intervals. Finally, the sap of young beech trees is used in the following manner. The small trunk is broken off or chopped off, the end held over a fire, and the dripping sap caught in a mussel shell. They swallow the sap, as is, and await its laxative effect. This remedy also heals inflamed eyes. In the case of inflamed eyes, télla sex, an actual eye bath is recommended, that is, dipping the face in salt water and opening and closing the eyelids several times while doing so. For cases of violent vomiting, amíja, one drinks a great deal of

[278] salt water. The large beard moss, túxalapajíla (Usnea barbata), is effective against the type of diarrhea, ufpalaxína or yíkena, that is common there. One chews small amounts of it, swallows the juice, and spits out the wood fibers. Nowadays an extract is prepared in a suitable pot. Celery, húfun, is recommended for dis-

[278] eases of the respiratory organs; stalks of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed. For coughs the Yamana rub the outside of the throat with spittle, perform a brief, actually magical massage, and finally blow away the coughs, hífa, with lively motions of the hands. A person who coughs up blood drinks salt water; better still, he stands in the water, ducks under a few times, swallows

/1458 cont./

759 the water a number of times, and then dries himself and lies down beside the hut fire. For strong palpitations and shooting pains in the heart the patient must remain motionless on his bed. A person who feels feverish, a rare phenomenon, lies down on the beach in such a way that the waves cover him; sometimes he stays under water for 20 minutes or longer. He does not eat blubber, fat, or the meat of whales, seals, or birds.

As a remedy for the very common headache, fresh nettles are put around the forehead and secured with leather bands. The entire head is also gently whipped with a bunch of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12, p. 121 /in untranslated portion/), whose small leaves, as is known, end in sharp, hard points. The yékamus also helps in his way by grasping a bunch of the sufferer's hair and suddenly pulling upward, which causes a faint crackling sound. As an alternative, according to Despard (b):698, "they roast their heads, and take repeated draughts of stagnant sea-water to produce nausea" /cited in English/. Bridges (i):19 maintains, as I, too, observed: "Headache was relieved by making the nose to bleed by cutting it within the nostrils" /cited in English/. Painful areas are relieved by short superficial cuts, causing a slight flow of blood. For sharp pains in the chest and labored breathing, flat /1459/ stones the size of a hand are placed on the chest after being heated in the fire; when they cool off, they are reheated. A magical effect is obtained if someone hits the painful part with a piece of skin and with each blow loudly and with great exertion exhales a stream of air.

759 278 The Yamana heal suppurating wounds and abcesses, alax, in various ways. The bark of young branches or long twigs from any kind of tree are held with one end over the fire. The sap dripping off the other end is allowed to fall on the affected part. In the winter finger-thick stalks of Macrocystis are used. Certain growths on beech trunks, about the size of a cherry, contain a sticky substance that is dripped into the wound after crushing the growth. Then down feathers are spread over the wound, which stick to it and dry it up. For skin eruptions, eczema, and similar conditions, chalk powder is rubbed over the entire body or the resinous, gum-like discharge of the cushion plant (Azorella) is

/1459 cont./

spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resembling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Maytenus are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with most strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

3. The Language

It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):102 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

/1400 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consideration should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 190 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (1): 1000.

197 This is not the place to describe in detail the more important peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (5b): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, *a* is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (h), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades pp. 280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I
197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p. 399). /Fig. 101 appears here./

[856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p. 525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p. 81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1462 cont./

822 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana. Spegazzini (4):185 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornament are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1462/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[GS 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wIlIpiltas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

/1483 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to RD:630, or wéyima for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Tamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A foreigner, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Tamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, but very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Tamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
302 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
303 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: hlí = red, scarlet; yégu = light, luminous, white; finally, ilmhi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 95 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pówajigu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pójalhí. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1401 cont./

have maintained the contrary, without justification.

another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1404/ mourning (p. 1[illegible]). Besides given the Yamana intense pleasure (365), the color of the [illegible] blossoms serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1361 and (d):398 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (d):384 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p. 4[illegible]). The Yamana use the well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental mats used in the [illegible] hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word w[illegible]ptsha means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with lime as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to HD:410; the word [illegible]ptsha means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to draw among the Yamana (366). I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (s):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

/edit copy/

§22 continued to practice their skill, copying this and that, chiefly parrots, albeit with very crudeness success." Appleton 271 does not prove his statement that "they have a great talent for drawing."

them or drawings in the sand with their fingers or with small sticks of wood on the hut framework or the canoe with pieces of charcoal. Although I very often /[illegible]/ wrote and drew in my diary, this did not even stimulate the adults, much less the youngsters, to imitate

§23

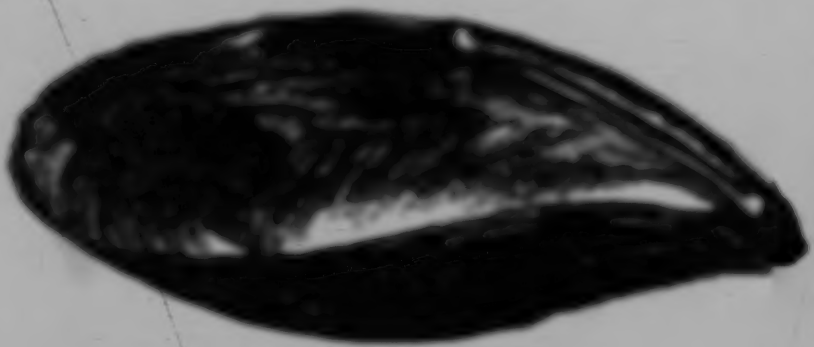

Fig. 105. Shell of a Large Mytilus Edulis. Three-fourths natural size.

me (367).

367. What Know (x):1, 339 has to say proves the curiosity of the Fuegians in Banner Cove: "They were all greatly astonished at my writing in pencil on blank paper;...and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work trying to write as I did" /cited in English/.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (c): 187: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, ʷón lápúka, of Photinula violacea are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognisable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

L: Gemünde--1410 8-5 (1915-1934) 1937 [illegible]

237
301

Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears
301 here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./
301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. Fitz-Roy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them, ... that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiéxaus (pp. 713, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as hapaxél, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwéxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawéx-a is only worn by the yékamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiéxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiéxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,
533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing;

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

/1468 cont./

533 up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" /translated from French/. In Spencer:111 it is said: "The words, they say [in their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down in parrot form from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Alakaluf tribe" /cited in English/.

how else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not [854] sing any kind of cradle song to her darling whom she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sways back and forth she repeats the sounds hūš hūš. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p.585).

The songs in the čiéxaus, which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few sounds on the same pitch, carried on at night sometimes by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. 791); more elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p.822). In songs of mourning, especially in the yamalašemóina, the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch; the melody is constantly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p. 1070).

I would broadly characterize the táxer as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a čiéxaus (p. 841). The brown meadow bird, táxer, invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable yékamuš, it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.

/1468 cont./

533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1469/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted mussel to everyone present. The kĕspíx of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the tăxer bird. Far out on the high seas these kĕspíx meet other kĕspíx and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving kĕspíx and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these kĕspíx take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed; the other kĕspíx remain far out over the ocean. During the tăxer song the kĕspíx of a human being leaves its body, exactly as it does when the person is dreaming. The song is always sung seriously and calmly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Yamana express with the word kĕspíx in this explanation clearly corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the tăxer song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every yékamuš has a particular song that was given to him by his yefáčel (p.1918). The čōwánni song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the introduction of which is reserved for the yékamuš (p.1349); in the east the čōwánni song is called uwáwen-yékmuš, in the west, atuíle-yékamuš. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "dream state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called lōima-yékamuš because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

533 177 The pasánna may be regarded as a kind of jolly folksong; the designation tapalisánna is less common. Everyone may sing them wherever and whenever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the pasánna were first given to the western Yamana group long ago by the Halakwulup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

/1469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word ariwa, as well as acagwirafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasánna of the drunken ones"; it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ēk'soxwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [s]:1013). In another pasánna the expression guanáko seftihóx is repeated. The word guanáko possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasánna, for otherwise they use only amēx-a. This pasánna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasánna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasánna.

533 302 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akáinix song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

126 369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 532 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Ašikanšis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ánawẽ, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p. 580), is called hanaxwẽnteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tauwẽla, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaxwẽrentega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umáku, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

/1471 cont./

533 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The čõwánni song and every yékamuš song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the tâxer song, the

[177] čiéxaus song, and the pasánna songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

571 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

/1471 cont./

1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
593 who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
521 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and tacitum. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p. 513).
593 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
961 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p. 921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

/1472 cont./

571 between individuals may last far into the night (370). There is
521

370. If, as Bridges (h):205 reports, several families had joined around the fire, "they were very animated, spending most of their time in jovial conversation and in the most exuberant demonstrations of happiness. Their laughter, natural and cordial, was excessive in the extreme" /translated from Spanish/.

an exchange of personal adventures and experiences, they report and discuss what has happened in their own families, and they cover in detail their lives and activities as these unfold day by day in a smaller or larger group. This kind of exchange keeps everyone informed about the actions of his relatives and friends.

571 Of far greater significance are those gatherings that come about in connection with a universal obligation, such as /1473/ to instruct young people in the čiéxaus (p.705) and kína (p.1295), to express sympathy to mourners in the yamalaŕemõina (p.1079), or to demand atonement for a crime against life, as happens in the case of revenge for bloodshed (p.898). All these gatherings are occasions for renewed acknowledgment of prevailing custom and lawful tradition, occasions when adults are reminded anew of their valuable heritage and it is passed on to young people. I am thinking here primarily of religious belief and [illegible] social and moral precepts, but also of the historical and mythological tradition (371). It has been mentioned a number of times that a gift

371. The assertions of Bridges (k):236 and Hyades (p):338, namely, "The natives neither preserve any tradition about their past history nor know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/ and "there are two or three legends of fantastic exploits, each telling of some ancient actual deed..." /translated from French/, do not need special refutation in view of what is contained in Part 4 of the present volume.

/1473 cont./

571 for story-telling is greatly appreciated (pp. 934 ,1096) (372).

> 372. Bove (e):159 declares: "The Fuegians have an amazing gift of speech [i.e., talent for story-telling!]; very often an old man in the huts will start talking and tell about battles, violent storms, meetings with the evil spirit, and hunting adventures for hours without stopping."

These gatherings are indispensable for the assured and orderly continuance of the entire tribe; they enrich the individual and promote the general welfare. When a gathering breaks up, the participants scatter to the four winds, fully satisfied by the experience and with renewed strength within themselves, willing to conform faithfully to the prevailing obligations and laws.

Thus the larger as well as the smaller gatherings of families are extraordinarily valuable; the individual derives the most benefit from them, and the group as a whole gains many advantages. In this connection there is also the half-serious, half-humorous verbal contest known as wólaʔka (p. 955) which is sometimes followed by a regular fist fight between two groups who finally smash all the implements at hand belonging to each other. It starts out of sheer exuberance, and although the participants become very excited during the mad encounter, they end it with their tempers calmed. Finally, the ḷánalpi, a social celebration on a more modest scale, must be mentioned. It takes place when a few people gather for some happy occasion, for example, if the hunt was very successful or if a girl's parents give their daughter to a young man as his wife. The persons arranging it gather a great amount of meat and invite everyone available to a common meal. The almost commanding influence of a tiámuna has already been described (p. 635). He is never at the same time a yékamuł. He is very conspicuous at a mourning; he speaks comforting words to those who are most affected, pointing out to them that Watauinéjwa has let their relative die out of righteous indignation and as a punishment. In kindly words, he constantly points out tribal customs to the younger people. Thus, each tiámuna exerts his influence through precept and example.

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.595) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585): concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 53;1865). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (373).

373. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and stones" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (a):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, Whaits in MM:X, 12;1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in BD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (a):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kálaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (i):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI, 128;1872), which they call kálaka áraku. This is almost the

/1474 cont./

526 same as the other game of ball, known as kálca. BD:201 mentions only kálaka, "a ball of any kind" /cited in English/. For kálca one needs the stomach of a seal, which is dried and blown up. With the hand flat it is tossed vertically into the air, but since the shape of the ball is irregular, its flight is uncertain and it often falls to the ground outside the circle of players.

Whereas men and women join in ball-playing, only two men take part in wrestling, which is less popular. It is called kálaka múlaka. The name is easily explained: Before the match begins, a person chooses his opponent from the audience and challenges him by placing a little ball, kálaka, at his feet. This man must accept if he does not want to be called a coward, and with the other man he immedfately steps inside the large circle of spectators. At once they seize each other and wrestle until one of them is held down by the other in such a way that his entire back is on the ground. The spectators follow the match with loud cries and enthusiastically acclaim the victor. Tripping a person is not permitted, but one man can use his knee to kick the shank of the other so hard /1475/ that he sways and is more easily knocked over. The one who is defeated suffers a considerable affront to his own honor and that of his best friends. One of the latter immediately steps inside the circle of spectators, grasps the ball, and places it at the feet of the winner who has no choice but to prove his skill with the new opponent, and the two grapple. As Bridges (i):16 asserts: "they never tried more than twice when those matches proved equal" /cited in English/. Before the fight a yékamuš gives strength and stability to the knees of the wrestlers by his magic massage. The one who is defeated is called ûiya or takupêna. The winner, áťaša kálaka, who is unmarried is very much desired by girls for marriage (cf. the wrestling match of the Selk'nam in Vol. I, 1134). A general struggle, known as hamkajyáwa, takes place if a man has been successively victorious over several men of another group. In order to vindicate their wounded honor, the latter appear before this man, and one of them places the little ball at his feet. The two start wrestling within the large circle of spectators which has quickly formed. If the previous victor keeps the upper hand, a friend of the defeated one will immediately challenge him, and a new struggle begins. A third and a fourth man follow.

/1475 cont./

526 Soon a second, fourth, and sixth pair have come together, and finally all the men of one group are wrestling with those of the other. Then the women also pitch in and push the wrestling pairs to the ground. Finally, in the general melee, no one knows who can boast of having won. Thus, the ones who began the wrestling believe that their reputation has been restored and both groups separate peacefully. The women do not care for this general wrestling, for it ends in a nasty brawl.

527 The so-called imitative games are more enjoyable and much more agreeable to the Yamana because they are in such perfect accord with their nature. They reproduce the movements and the calls of certain kinds of animals with amazing accuracy. Mimicry is only a supplementary aspect, for often they repeat the melody without the body movements. These games are permitted only during the čiéxaus celebration, either in the Great Hut or in front of it (p. 822): it is the duty of the winefkēya to keep curious persons away. At the general concluding ceremony, however, old and young may look on (p. 811). Sometimes only men or only women take part, but usually both together. Each of these games has its own melody.

The ímaxēl, the game of the sea lion (Otaria jubata). Both men and women, clumsily and ponderously, lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright, drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth to the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This or that one will repeatedly snap shut /1476/ his wide-open mouth, as though he had caught fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will roar in a deep, threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out hoɣ-hoɣ... or rúkrúk... After some time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after

/1478 cont./

another with a short piece of leather. Immediately each one collapses and is "dead." Lying in jumbled confusion, they remain motionless until the same woman puts a mussel shell, filled with water, to the mouth of each one; he takes a small swallow and is "alive" again. When all the players have resumed their places, the whole company concludes this extraordinarily charming game with loud, high-pitched cries of hō hō.

The haĭ̯wĭ̯pisa-xēl, game of the blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). This is a game for men only. At least 12 of them sit down on the ground, each one spreads his outstretched legs apart and leans with his back close against the chest of the man behind him. The latter puts both arms under the armpits of the man in front of him and holds him tightly. The man sitting at the head of the row rests both fists on the ground and braces himself firmly against the man behind him. Swaying from one side to the other, the whole row clumsily slides slowly from the spot, naturally in the direction opposite the one they are facing. At short intervals all the men howl while the women present uninterruptedly carry on the slow, rhythmic song. Finally a woman hastens along the entire row and gently slaps each man with a piece of skin, whereupon the men in the row lie down on their sides and "the whale is now dead." This game is supposed to show the final clumsy movements of a whale that has been tossed up on the beach.

The aŏ̯ula-xēl, game of the small whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/). First of all the men form a long row in the manner described above, and the row leans against an identical, shorter one. The former represents haĭ̯wĭ̯pisa, and the latter, aŏ̯ula. The accompanying song is similar to the previous one, but the howling of the long row is fainter and more doleful. Both rows slide along simultaneously, but very clumsily. After a while the men in the shorter row brace themselves with all their strength against the men in the longer one. The latter groan most pitifully, the cry gradually subsides, and the row collapses: the aŏ̯ula has "fatally wounded" the haĭ̯wĭ̯pisa and the latter "dies."

The ilawĭ̯a-xēl, game of the kite (Catharista atratus). The men and women crowd close together and assume a squatting position. Their half-open hands rest loosely on the ground and scratch in the sand. They very accurately imitate the rustling beat of the hard, stiff wing feathers of the vulture. A few persons hop about happily,

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turning in one place or moving forward stiffly. They often interrupt their constant singing with screeches of joy. They grasp a /1477/ a piece of skin with both hands and slap it against the ground or pull it through the sand. This vulture ploughs up the ground in exactly the same way with its wings. Other persons move forward in long steps, spasmodically, as it were. Still others hop with their arms partly raised. In all this one recognizes the movements of ilawila. Compare Figure 10 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The yo'khalla-sil, game of the hawk (Milvago chimango). This is almost the same as the preceding one in its movements, but the melody is different. Besides, the gestures are much more amusing and livlier, the striding motions are slightly springy and graceful. The short, thrill cry repeated by individual persons cannot be distinguished from that of this predatory bird.

The khilla-sil, game of the great gurfalcon (Polyborus thurus). When the special song is in full swing, a few men and women step out of the circle of participants to the open fire. There they squat down, resting their open hands lightly on the ground. They repeatedly shake their outstretched arms, just as the falcon shakes its half-open wings. They also make brief rolling motions, exactly like the falcon when it lifts itself up to fly. At the same time their hands are three-quarters open and their fingers spread apart. With the upper part of their bodies bent forward, they scratch busily in the sand with their hands, an activity that the gurfalcon very much enjoys. A gay, shrill cackle is often heard. The people present toss a piece of meat into the circle of players. One or another will grasp the piece with his teeth. Immediately another player jumps up, bites at the piece of meat, and tugs at it impatiently until someone else comes up. Anyone who has torn off a piece cackles loudly and hides it from another person who might snatch it away from him. All the movements are very lively, the leaps gaily excited, and the thrill cries of khē khē... or xī xī...or yē yē...are loud. Toward the end, all the players utter several croaking kī kī sounds and the spectators answer with loud cries of ho ho as the conclusion.

The ghēpu-sil, game of the great albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). After the people present have introduced the

/1477 cont./

524 proper melody, a few men and women step inside the small circle. Some of them remain standing; others kneel down and lift their outstretched arms to shoulder height. They keep their arms in this position. The people standing then step slowly forward, gliding past one another and bending the upper part of the body calmly and sedately to one side and then the other. At the same time they move their outstretched arms in wide arcs through the air, but without hitting one another. The moderately loud hó hó cries of the gĕrăpu are uttered sporadically and very realistically, sounding like a long drawn-out cooing of doves. The players do not actually make striding motions, but glide along the ground. All their movements are extremely elegant, for only /1478/ slim persons play this game which is supposed to show the majestic flight of the albatross over a raging sea. After some time all the players form a circle, take each other's hands, their arms only slightly held out from their bodies, and slowly walk around the fire. They huddle down several times for a few seconds and then get up again, for the albatrosses, too, sometimes alight on the water close together. While this circle is slowly moving, a woman approaches it; in passing, each one takes a swallow of water from the mussel shell which she holds up to his mouth, for the albatross, too, occasionally comes to the shore for water. When the loud, high-pitched cries of ho ho resound from the group of spectators, the players cease their graceful body movements. Compare Figure 11 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The tăkaă-xĕl, game of the loud gull (Larus belcheri). The participants are mainly girls and young women, who crowd close together and remain for some time in a squatting position. They get up, hold hands, and move about in a circle several times. After they have crouched down, one of them will try to induce another to get up by uttering shrill xa xa cries. Indeed, one or another of them jumps up, bends the upper part of her body partly forward, and keeps her arms bent at the elbow at right angles. This is a favorite position of this gull when it sights its prey. Later when the players again squat on the ground in a closed circle, a woman hastens past them and lets each one take some water out of a mussel shell, for tăkaă, too, drinks fresh water. Amid loud cries of xa xa the players all get up and go back to their places.

/1478 cont./

524 The ʃĕkuĭ-xĕl, game of the Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/). The men and women who step inside the open circle bend their bodies slightly forward from the waist, bend their knees considerably, hold their upper arms horizontally at shoulder height, and let the lower arms fall down loosely from the elbow at right angles. They remain in a squatting position until the song of the people present is loud enough. All get up and again assume the position just described, while the men utter lively xi xi calls and the women joyous xa xa calls. Then they hop every which way in a crowded heap, and amid loud ps ps calls, every man seeks either his own wife or a woman friend. This pair hops happily up and down on the same spot; the two gaze at each other lovingly and beat or stroke each other with their "wings." The man repeats his ps ps calls and the woman her xa xa calls very animatedly; he taps her on the shoulders and she taps him on the hips. This pair hops and giggles until another man moves up to the woman and shoves the first man aside. The happily excited song of the spectators encourages the pair in their charming love-play, until it is ended with loud cries of ho ho. It is well known that ʃĕkuĭ is strictly monogamous.

The kĭmpa-xĕl, game of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). In this game, too, the people leave a central circular area free. The players /1479/ assume the position they take in the ʃĕkuĭ-xĕl. First a few of them remain in the squatting position for a short time; then a man rises, moves to a woman he is fond of, taps her on the shoulders, and thus invites her to the love-play. She rises at the same time. These two persons, facing each other, take turns in loudly twittering xa xa... and xi xi... and hop hither and yon. Then they separate again and form couples with other persons. The short striding motions are stiff, like those of kĭmpa. As in the ʃĕkuĭ-xĕl, the love-play of this species is also portrayed very realistically indeed. The two games are clearly distinguished by their melodies.

The ulpĕ̆ĭ̆ĭ̆ĭ-xĕl, game of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76). Several persons, huddled together, hop into the circle. Again and again they bow their heads almost to the ground, support themselves on their arms, and constantly repeat short pit pit calls. Three or four hop simultaneously to the same place, bow their heads several times, and repeat the pit pit calls. This is

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594 exactly the way the oyster catcher behaves on the beach. Amid shrill sounds of i i, all the players rise up at once, as though a flock of these birds were flying off. They disperse to loud ho ho cries of the spectators.

The toywillwa-xēl, game of the Vigua cormorant (Phalacrocorax olivaceus). Several women squat beside the fire or in the open space amidst the group of people who have begun singing the melody. They use their fists for support in such a way that thumb and forefinger are pressed against the earth. Hopping gently, they move in this crouched position and give a good imitation of the waddling walk of the cormorant (Fig. 103). Now and then they twitter xi xi...as they push past one another. Finally they form a circle, hold hands, rise, and go around the circle a few times. A woman stands beside this circle, holding a mussel shell filled with water in her left hand and a little twig in her right hand, with which the besprinkles everyone who glides past her, "for when toywillwa build their nests, they come to the shore, drink water, and spatter it in all directions." At a sign from the leader, this game is ended with loud cries of ho ho.

Sometimes the calls of the winelwa are heard during the course of the individual games. The games are put on in the čiyaxa but and not in full view of the public because "the animals imitated were formerly human beings and much of what happened to them is known." I did not have an opportunity to see some of these games, for example, the laiēma-xēl; the people were not nice enough of the melody. Instead, Nelly Lawrence and elderly women told me about the following custom. Formerly the Yamana made these games even more realistic by actually masking the participants. Each one wrapped himself up completely in a sea-lion skin from which the head had not yet been cut off, or he placed /1480/ a piece of skin over his head so that only part of his face was uncovered and put a few large teeth of the sea lion into his mouth so that they protruded very prominently. All the people thus masked very carefully imitated the movements and the behavior of the sea lions while they moved from the čiyaxa hut to the shallow water at the beach. Clumsily they slid into the sea and squirted themselves with water out of sheer exuberance. If while this was going on several women succeeded in surrounding a man, they kept

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him encircled and led him back to the [illegible] hut. It was only here that the victorious woman released him amid loud laws. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate words for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.[illegible]). during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a) 209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

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functional implements. The bark canoe has no counterpart /1451/ anywhere in the wide world. Even that of the neighboring Halakwulup shows differences imposed by the material used. Could a more effective weapon be invented with such simple materials as those used by our Yaghan for his large harpoon? Using the possibilities offered by his environment and by existing conditions, he has created the characteristics of his form of economy.

Such achievements are true works of culture in the narrowest sense of the term, accomplished in the given locale. The ancestors of the Yamana, in their wanderings through the extensive American continent from the far north to the southernmost tip, possessed, of course, various cultural assets of a material and spiritual nature, which they brought with them to their ultimate homeland. However, all the special forms that have an "indigenous smell," if I may so express it, were created by these immigrants in Tierra del Fuego itself. This means true cultural progress beyond that enjoyed by those first newcomers up to that time, and by means of these accomplishments they actually made cultural history. All the new achievements with which they, as the first pioneer settlers of the Cape Horn Archipelago, must be credited were, to be sure, not transmitted to other peoples, because the Yamana have remained completely isolated. Nevertheless, this cultural heritage has absolute value and therefore is an enrichment of the culture of mankind as a whole. Moreover, the Yamana developed their achievements to the degree of perfection permitted by the material itself. If this limit had not been imposed, who could doubt that our natives commanded sufficient mental power to have accomplished even greater things. The environment itself made it impossible for them to develop further the economy they adopted. Morton (4):178 is of the same opinion, that "this apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their food, principally by fishing in the fjords in their canoes" /cited in English/. When, after long observation and experimentation, those forms and peculiarities were chosen and permanently adopted, which made possible a calm equilibrium between the inhabitants' demands and necessities of life on the one hand, and the meager supply of raw material and the unpropitious living conditions of the Cape Horn Archipelago on the other,

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182 the Fuegian was satisfied with this harmonious balance. For that reason he stubbornly persisted in maintaining his traditional material heritage. Once he was offered from the outside the possibility of a slight change and a certain amount of progress through the introduction of the dog, he resolutely adopted it and made this new source of strength an integral part of his previous economic arrangements. This is proof enough that the limitations of the economic form actually achieved by the Fuegian were imposed upon him from the outside; there was still more vitality for progress within him, but it could not become effective.

/1482/ Fuegian social organization is closely connected with this state of affairs. A livelihood through gathering does not permit an organization of all tribal members and a close, permanent union. Their religious awareness culminates in the assumption of a personal Supreme Being with definite characteristics. The image of his deity that the Fuegian has created does not show any kind of environmental influence. Quite the contrary, it is the result of simple reflection, of a direct demand for causal thinking. It is quite different from mythological and superstitious conceptions.

086 Historical relationships between these Fuegians and other peoples, as well as comparisons of their culture with that of other ethnic groups, would be in order, for merely to ascertain facts, describe objects, and evaluate institutions is not culture history. I am well aware of this, and I shall comply with these justifiable demands in the third volume of this work. With abundant satisfaction I shall now conclude this long description. It presents a total picture of the strange and unique culture of this tribe of people that lived on the inhospitable southern tip of the Americas for centuries and has only recently been driven to destruction by the intrusion of European culture. The last two dozen surviving Yamana will soon have sunk into their graves. To this people misunderstood by Europeans for three centuries, the tossing, foaming waves of the eternally restless sea around Cape Horn will sing a never-ending dirge. /Fig. 105 appears here./

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Fig. 105. Phalacrocorax olivaceus.

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If several works by one author are listed, I have adopted the symbols used by Cooper, Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Territory, namely, small letters of the alphabet in parentheses. Thus, his bibliography and mine correspond.

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

BD = T. Bridges: Yamana-English Dictionary

Vol. I = M. Gusinde: Die Feuerland-Indianer /The Fuegian Indians/, Vol. I.

VP = The Voice of Pity for South America, London, 1854-1862.

VSA = A Voice for South America, London, 1863-1866.

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/1498/ List of Some Yamana Words

104 /Page numbers refer to the pagination of the original text; an asterisk following a page number indicates that the page is untranslated./

Abaĵlăkin, Supreme Being, 1046

adakutăruwaxĭpa, foster mother, 713

ăĵapux, sea otter, Lutra felina, 36*, 536, 1193*, 1277*

akăĭnix, rainbow, 1148, 1342

ălĕm, brother-in-law, 1250*

amăĵm, berries, 556, 1450

amĕĭra, guanaco, 1240*

ănan, canoe, 448

aŏna-xĕŏla, guardian spirit, 1398

apananŭši, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

apawĕĭra, feather diadem of the yĕkamuš, 1389, 1416

apawáta, bat, 1302

ápi, paddle, 449

asánu, pouch for fire-making materials, 393

asikăku, apparition, 1398, 1426

asĭna, necklace, 434

astĕla, shelter, 371

104 /1498 cont./

aš̆ga, channel, arm of water, 1452

aš̆im, Cyttaria harioti, 554

aš̆ōula, false killer whale, 37*, 1261*, 1302

auilāf, common otter, Lutra felina, 536

auāčix, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

axiya, round crab, Lithodes antarctica, 364*, 489

āyušuēkēr, multiple family hut 386

čiexaus, youth initiation, 176*, 184*, 805, 823

čilawāja, čilaāja, large fox, 25*, 537, 1207*

čílēr, Berberis shavings, 397

čōwánni, spirits, 1397, 1413, 1426

dāšalux, albatross, Diomedea melanophrys, 43*

dāun, glacier, large mass of ice, 1453

dēška, sea duck, 1304

dētēhūrux, small woodpecker, 42*, 1197*

ēkēli, children's hut, 388

ēmbalim, small sucking tube, 573, 953

ēpāiačí, killer whale, 37*

ēma, spring, 1447

ēmuf, mussel, Mytilus chilensis, 487, 1464

/1498 cont./

104 ésēf, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

ɛ́'ɛtɛx, cormorant, Phalacrocorax magellanicus, 43*, 1189*

gulēkēr, cone-shaped hut, 375

halakwúlup, Halakwulup, 246*

hánislus, autumn, 1447

Hánnus, forest giant, 1288

hánuxa, moon woman, 1152, 1342

hapananúsi, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

hapaxēl, forehead ornament, 846, 860, 1130

hašuwápisa, blue whale, 36*, 1299

haŝamáif, beech branch with excrescence, 554, 1250*

hášaxuwa, elephant seal, Macrorhinus leoninus, 40*, 1225

hátus, neck ornament, 435

Haucélla, evil spirit, 884, 1062, 1100, 1158, 1309, 1398, 1410, 1425, 1430

héspul, sparrow, 956, 1271*, 1303

hésteka-yékamus, spirit, 1397

Hidábuan, Hitapúan, Supreme Being, 1046, 1048

híka, ocean, 1453

hílix, mask of bark, 1329

/1498 cont./

104 híyal, pumice, 471, 497

hulušénuwa, wren, 42*, 1169, 1274*

hupuxkémak, neck ornament, 434

húruf, giant fulmar, Macronectes gigantea, 43*, 1237*

ikamána, to draw, to paint, 429

íla, bone wedge, 441

ílalumáala, southwest group, 205*

íleščí, herring, 549

ílu, south, southward, 1452

íman, maternal uncle, 648

ími, red pigment, 428

ína, winter, 1447

ínalumáala, west group, 205*

indáruwa, paternal uncle, 648, 662

ínu, west, westward, 1452

íŋga, north, northward, 1452

íškun, meat, 579

ítu, east, eastward, 1452

ítulumáala, east group, 201*

kála, bark container, 501

/1498 cont./

104 kā́laka, ball, ball game, 772, 1474

kā́laka mūláka, wrestling match, 1474

kalā́na, mussel fork, 487

kā́lea, ball game, 1474

kečṓin, mussel, Mytilus edulis, 487

kēspíx, soul, 1094, 1278

kētḗla, gerfalcon, Polyborus tharus, 42*, 1205*

kḗti, sausage, 584, 1191*, 1267*

kī́li, sandals, 404

kī́na, men's ceremony, 1312

kī́na tagā́guwa, leader of the Kina, 1321

kī́si, summer, 1447

kiwā́gu, gull, Larus dominicanus, 43*

kíxinteka, gray gerfalcon, Circus cinereus, 42*, 1201*

kompḗipe, two, 1446

kuhúrux, great horned owl, Bubo magellanicus, 42*, 1190*

kun, blubber, 584

kusimḗya, shell mound, 598

/1499/

kwaxwḗxeni, band of skin with down feathers, 1467

/1499 cont./

104 kwínan, widow who has remarried, 647

láka, fire tongs, 396

lakúma, water spirit, 1236*, 1285, 1309, 1428

lána, large woodpecker, Ipocrantor magellanicus, 42*, 1199*

lášla, leather pouch, 499

lášix, the swift, 1227*

lẽxuwakípa, spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis, 42*, 1155, 1232*, 1304

lẽm, younger sun-man, 1147, 1339, 1342

lẽxakípa, Kina spirit, 1363

lóima-yékamuš, medicine-man school, 1399

luš, red, scarlet, 1463

makáinkína, ceremony to calm everyone, 1376

máku, bush, Embothrium coccineum, 702, 1243*

mákuxípa, wife of Yoálox, 1169, 1451

Manunákin, Supreme Being, 1046

mápi, a rush plant, Marsippospermum, 503

mašakána, modesty apron, 406

máten, three, 1446

máala, day, light, 1447

/1499 cont./

104 merané·kĕr, cone-shaped hut, 378

mérana, cone-shaped hut, 375

mun, ankle band, 434

omó·ra, humming bird, Sephanoides, 42*, 1206*, 1211,* 1215,* 1218*, 1276*

pálala, European, 333*

pasánna, song for amusement, 723, 1469

pušáki, fire, 392

sĕ·x, physical pain, 1458

Sínuluwatayinĕ·wa, 547

sírsa, crab fork, 544

síta, horned owl, 42*, 1303

stekáluš, round crab, Paralomis granulosus, 489

šafína, sling, 481

šewáli, flint, 392

šĕkuš, Molinas goose, Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/, 43*, 1197*, 1304

šéggtex, kingfisher, Ceryle torquata, 42*, 1219*

škínašpi, social celebration, 1473

šón ūšpúka, Photinula violacea, 1465

184 /1499 cont./

šúpun, bachelor, 1256

tílaywaja, mourning, 1122

talaxikamšna, painting stick, 429

Tšmuwa, Supreme Being, 1046

tšmuwa, Kina spirit, 1338, 1363

tšruwalēm, elder sun-man, 1145

tšxer, song, 922, 1423, 1468

tekeenika, geographical name, 196*, 209*, 237*

tšši, round stone, 491, 547, 1212*

tjšmuna, influential old man, 803, 1473

toywšliwa, Vigua cormorant, Phalacrocorax olivaceus, 43*, 1259*, 1482

tšku, ladle, 450

tulšra, mountain, 1453

tumarápu, white pigment, 427

tšx^w ikīpa, girl at the menarche, 743, 1172

tštu, small bird, Myiotheretes, 1230*

tuwšaki, back cape, 401, 405

tuwšn, meadow bird, Spinus ictericus, 42*

tšwux, night heron, Nycticorax obscurus, 42*, 1219*, 1303

ufkšrš, scraper, 492

/1499 cont./

104 ūkeĭa, long leather strap, 440, 840

ūlulufáala, a band of certain souls, 1101, 1434

ūxwi, bast fibers, 445

ūĭipin, a person without a birthplace, 950

úŭka, European clothing, 411

uŭkéyonaóna, a legendary people, 201*, 243*

uŭmína, leather mask, 1329

ūŭpúka, neck ornament, 435

uŭtánim, comb, 422

uŭwáala, candidate, 1320

uŭwáaléxamuŭ, yékamuŭ apprentice, 1405

uŭwúmi, tendon fibers, 416

uxápu, constellation of stars, 1276*

wáĭa, bay, 1452

wáĭikuĭ, awl, 495

wákimáala, central group, 205*

wāsénim, cormorant, Phalacrocorax gaimardi, 43*, 1187*, 1216*

Wataŭinéiwa, Supreme Being, 1045, 1156, 1158, 1184

wéoina, blackfish, Globicephala melas, 37*

wélakiŭ, tip of a cliff, promontory, 1452

/1499 cont./

184 wə́lapetuŋ, Supreme Being, 1046

wə́ɬáwa, sling, 1258*

wə́ɬyə́ŋ, condor, Catharres aura, 42*, 1302

winefkə́ɬa, predatory bird, Leucophaeus scoresbii, 43*, 838

wə́iyen, duck, Anas cristata, 43*

wolakə́men, twins, 708

wə́kuɬ̆, bag of the yə́kamuɬ̆, 1424

wə́ɬa, much, 1446

xə́l, imitative game, 1475

yaaga, yahgan, yagan, 196*

yə́l, yə́lyí, pouch for pigments, 429

Yajaaɬə́ga, a place name, 1069, 1338, 1344

yamalaɬemə́ɬa, general mourning, 1127

yámana, human being, 197*, 332*

yamaskə́ma, a call, 103*, 133*, 196*, 265*, 283*, 333*

yapuɬə́ke, charcoal, 427

yeskə́čel, guardian spirit, 1294, 1398, 1430

yə́kamuɬ̆, medicine man, 190*, 1383

Yetə́ɬa, spirit, 850, 894

/1499 cont./

144 yẽkẽ́ll, one, 1446

yẽkuĺ, arrowhead, 486, 490, 1618

yẽkú'a, dog, 969

yẽkẽ́lingẽ́a, southern group, 29P

yẽnadí'ni, maternal aunt, 662

yẽxalem, the star Venus, 1148

yẽ́ka, island, rock, 1452

Yẽ́kux, culture hearer, 17P, 1144, 1158, 1168

yo'okalí́, hawk, Milvago chimango, 42P, 1364P, 1383

yẽ́ka, beach, coastal strip, 1452

1: Gramby—1450 8-5 (1910-1924) 1927 1000 Yahgan 1000

142
362
291

Tamate Man

Tamate Woman

Tamate Children

Children at Play

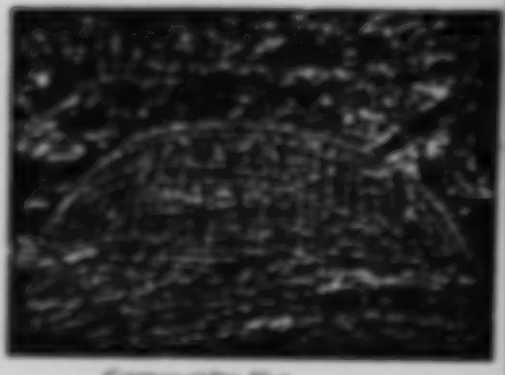
133

Beach of Beagle Channel

1. Gestinde--1451 E-5 (1919-1924) 1927 5098 Yahgan 5098

342

Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Wolyenbolle Game

Halyekanenashwa Game

[341]

Former Clothing

Voltore Game

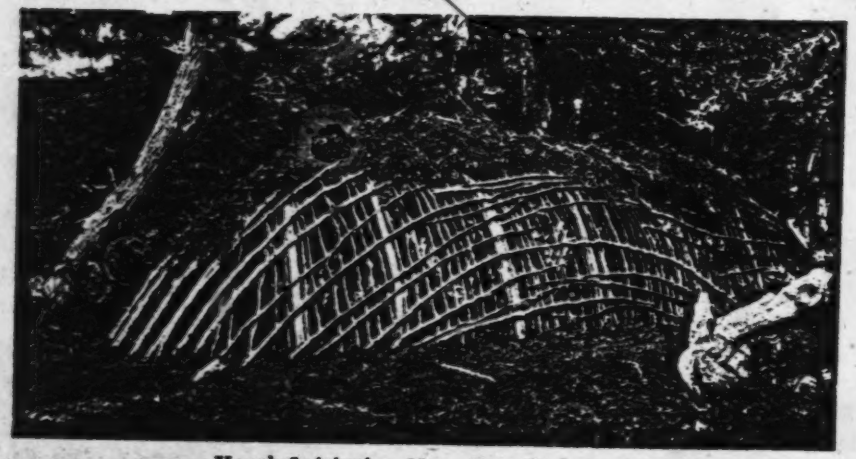
Albatross Game

1: Gusinde--1452 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
346

Watchmen in Action

Youth Initiation Hut, Interior



Youth Initiation Hut, Exterior

302
881

Ciexaus Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

1:Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Yékamuš Aspirant

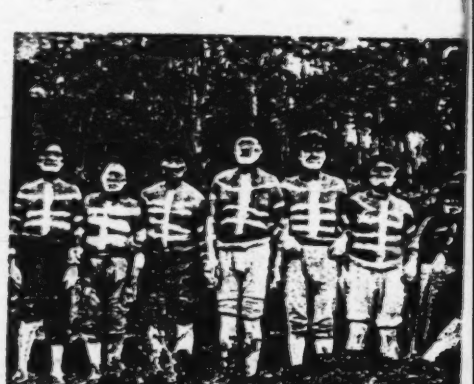
Čiexaus Painting

Gusinde with his Sponsors

Yékamuš

575
302
[345]

Kina Hut



Kalampasa Game

[292]

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

133

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

1: Gusinde--1455 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

535
302
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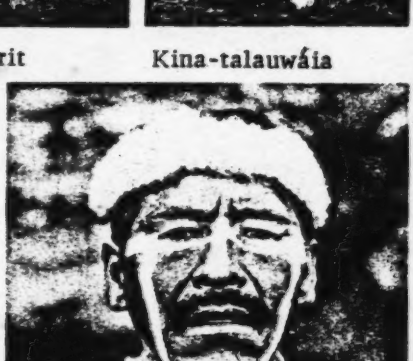
Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talauwáia

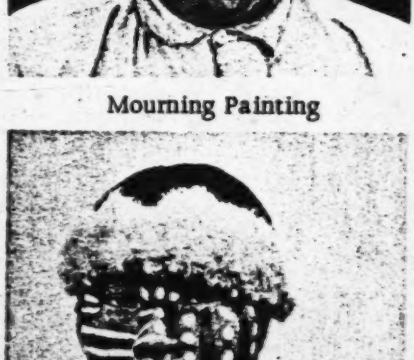
142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting



Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting



Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1456 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1457 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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Antarctic Beeches

F3374
.S82
G5

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

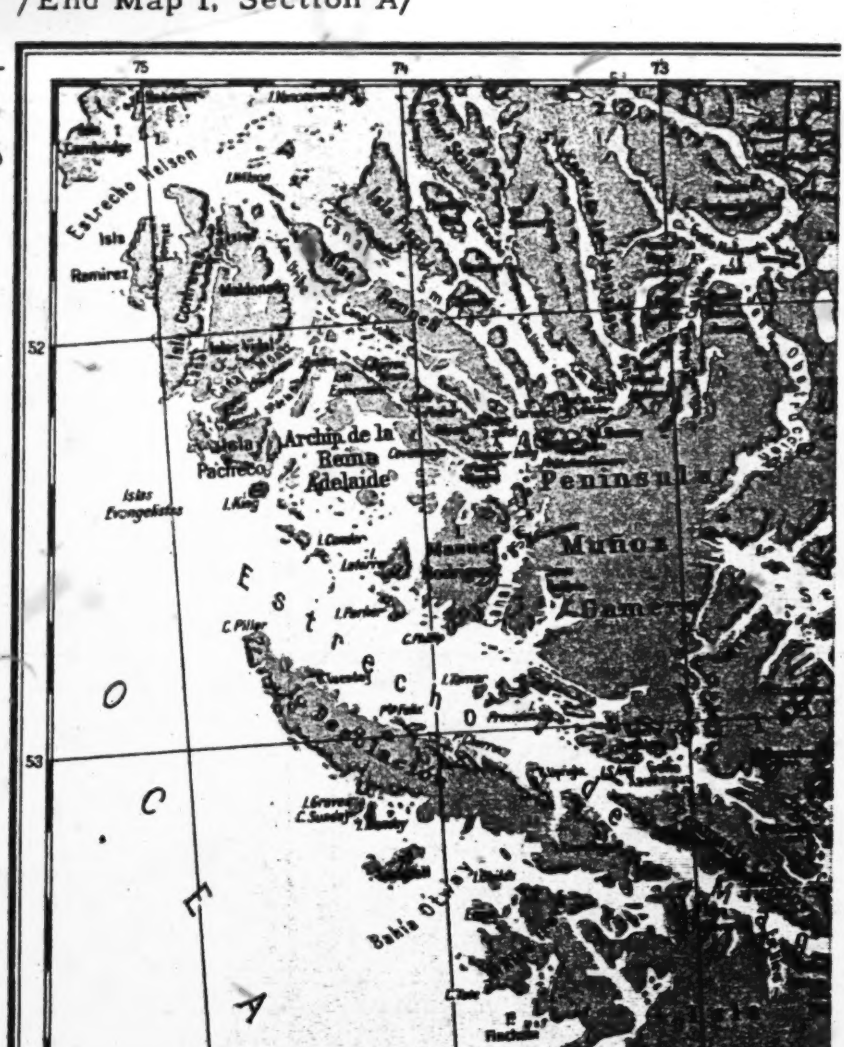
133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

1:Gusinde--1458 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section A/

102
103
133
491



1:Gusinde--1459 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section B/

102
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133
491

1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

102
103
133
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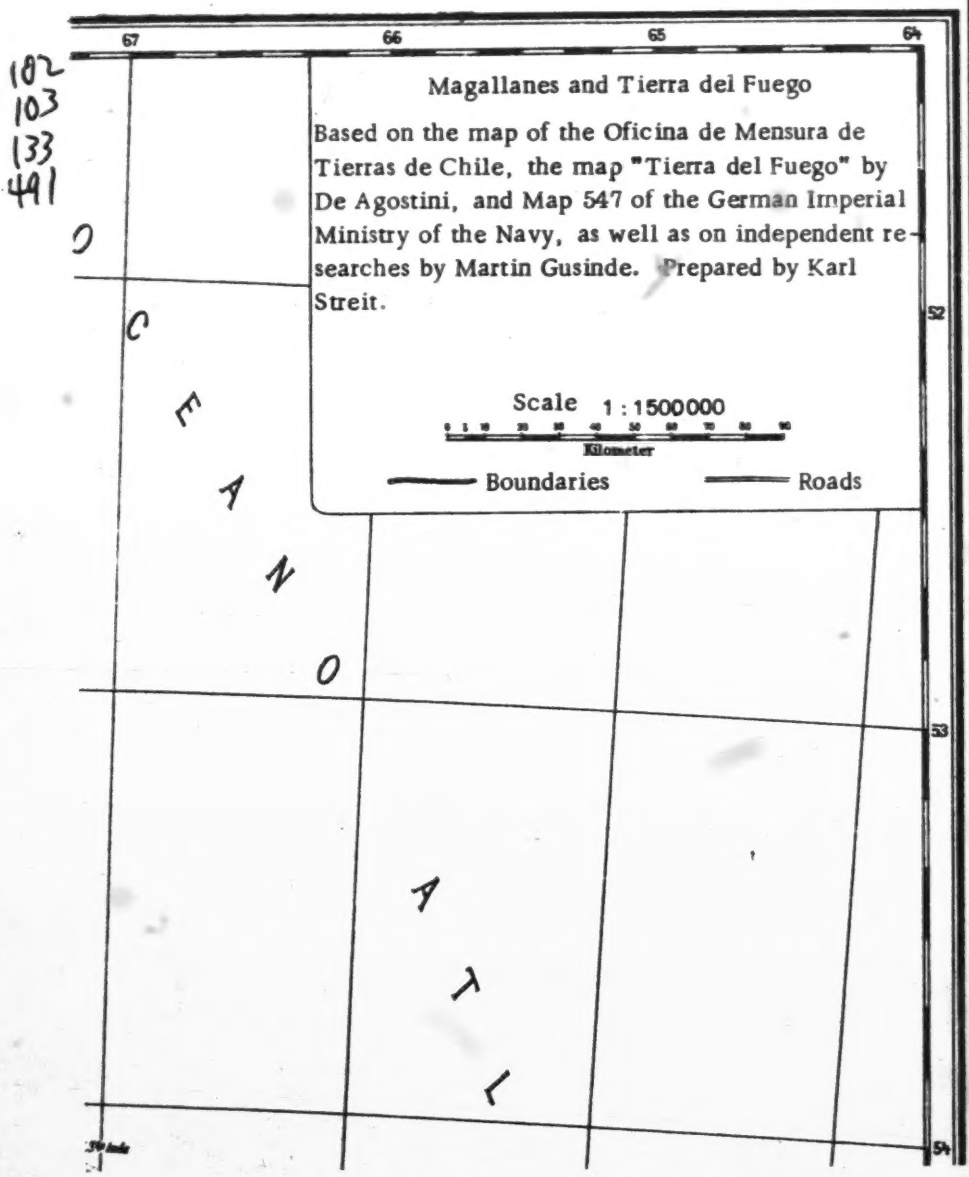
1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/



1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

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133
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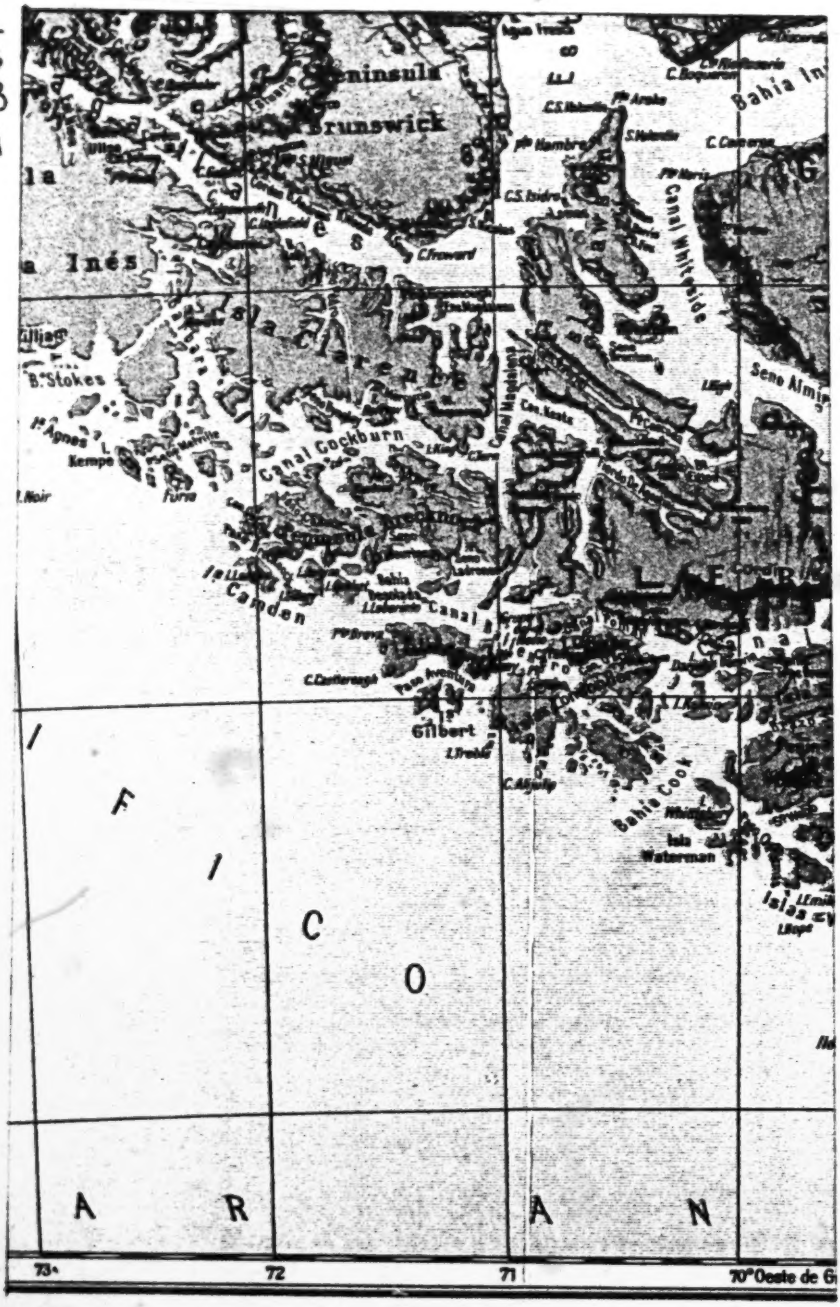
1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

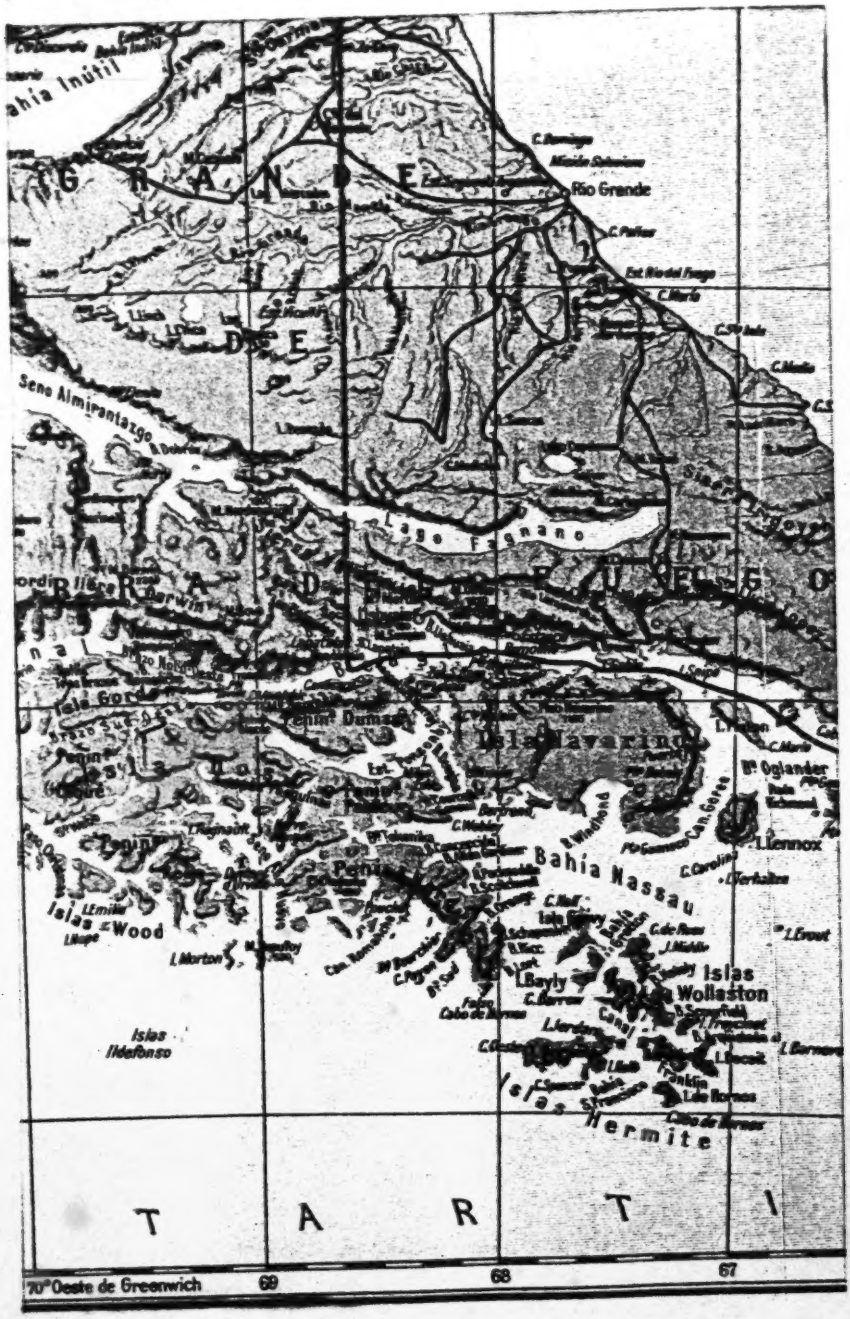
102
103
133
491


Peninsula
Brunswick
Bahia In
Canal Whitesides
Seno Almir
Canal Cockburn
Canal Magdalena
Canal Beagle
Gilbert
Bahia Cook
Waterman
Islas
Camden
B.Stokes
Kempe
Furia
Noir
C.Froward
C.Valdivia
Pan Americano
Canal B
Isla Inés
Isla Clarence
C.S.Isidro
C.S.Nicolas
C.Cameron
Pto Harris
Pto Arenas
Pto Hambre
S.Nicolas
Islas
Islas
Isl

1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

102
103
133
491



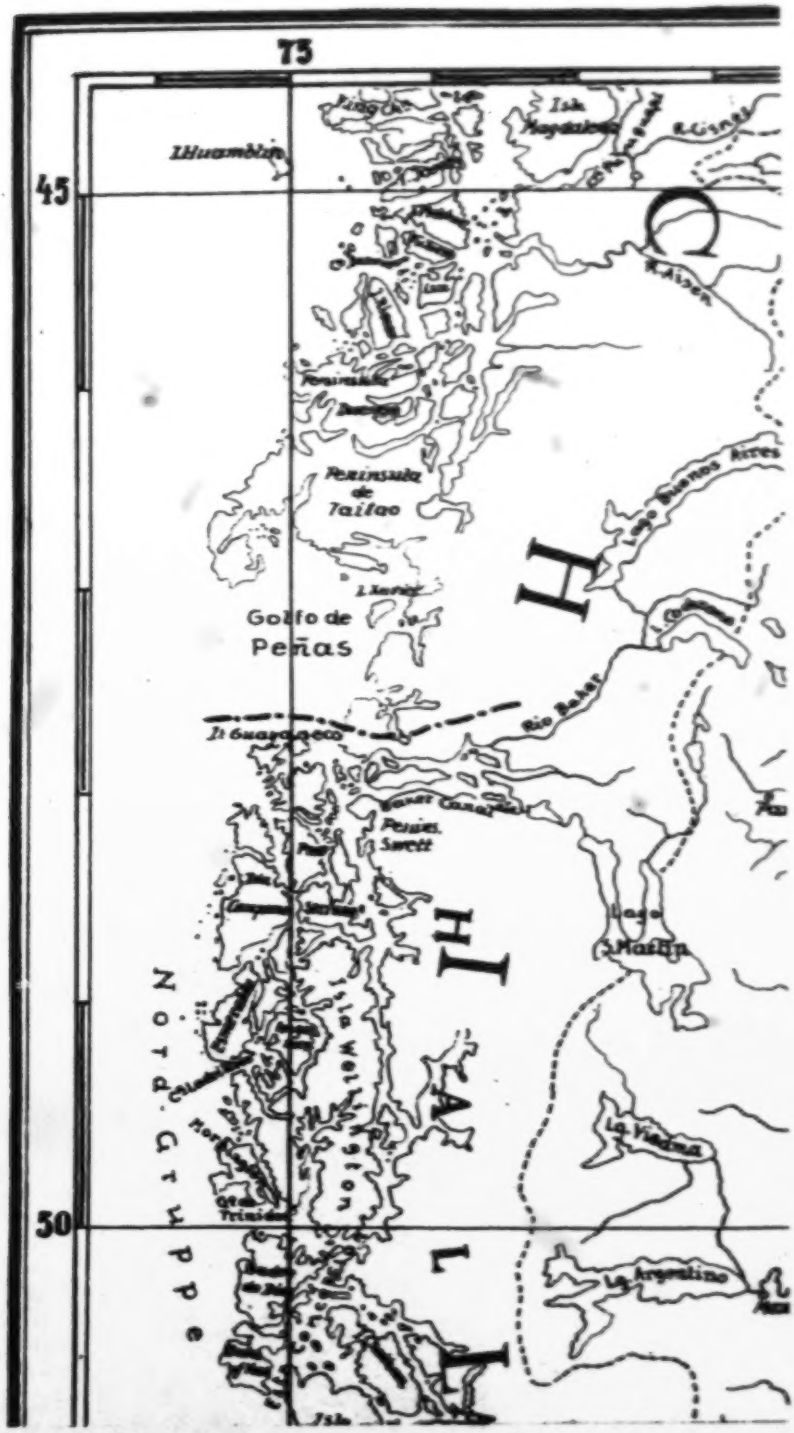
1:Gusinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

101
102
131



/End Map II, Section A/

1:Gusinde--1467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH8

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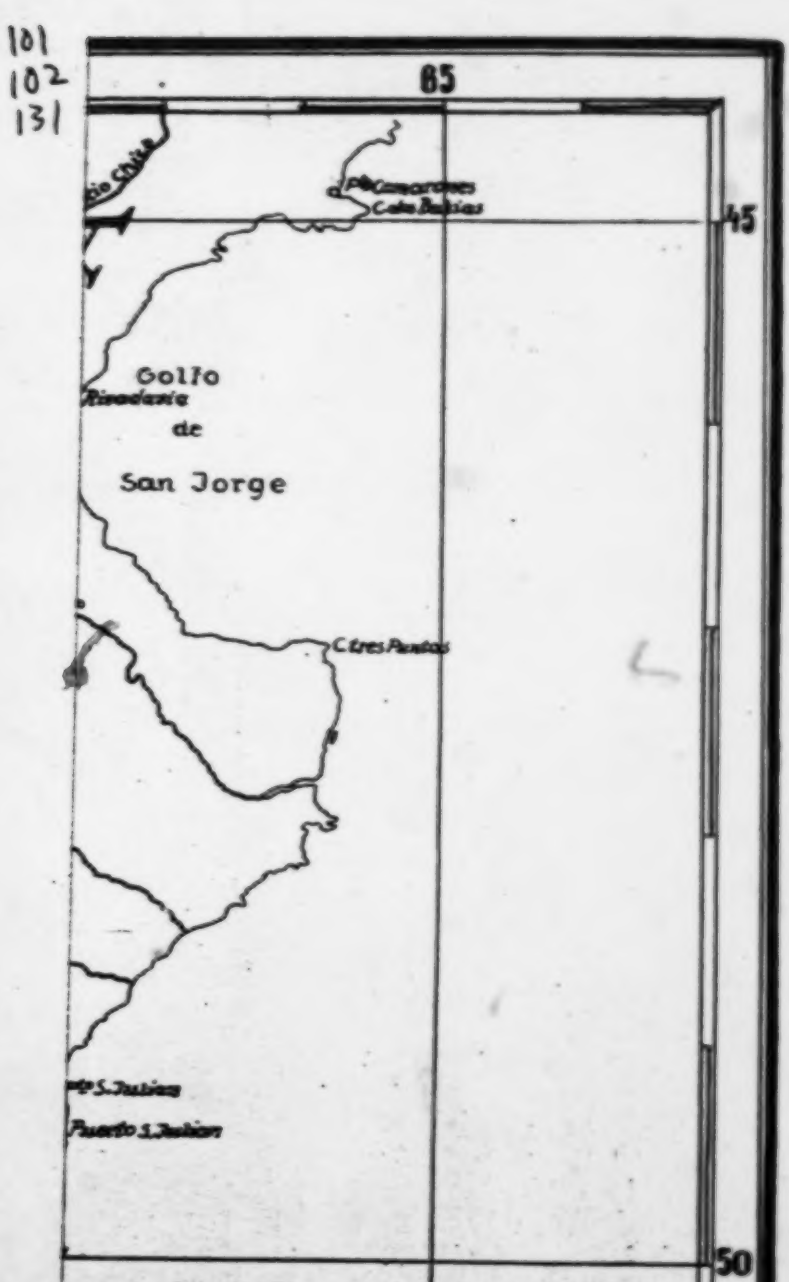
70
Lag. Fagnano
Río Claro
Lag. Cóndor
Col. Sarmiento
Ushuaia
Río Grande
Río Irigoyen
Río Chico
Río Chico
Río Chico

1:Gusinde--1468 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6



/End Map II, Section C/

1:Guinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 Sht6 Yahgan Sht6

181
102
131

Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego.

Based on the researches of M. Guinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

/End Map II, Section D/

/End Map II. Section E/

/End Map II, Section F/